

Bhudeb Mukherjee Collection

THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
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Modern History:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA.

CHAP. I.

General Description of RUSSIA.

THE empire of *Russia* extends in length from west to east, from the fortieth to the two hundred and ^{*Situation and extent of Russia.*} and ~~hundred~~ degrees of longitude; and from north to south ^{it is the same}, and in some places twenty-five degrees in breadth: so that it is at least five thousand miles long, and from eight to sixteen hundred wide (A). It is bounded on the north by the frozen or northern ocean; on the east, by

(A) This is, pretty nearly, the length of the *Russian* empire, computation given by the accurate *M. Busching*, in his excellent *System of Geography* (1) But *M. de Voltaire* (2) makes the greatest reckoning from the isle of *Dagö* on the west of *Livonia*, to its most eastern boundaries, upwards of two thousand French

(1) *Vol. I. p. 379.*
tom. I. p. 3.

(2) *Hist. de l'Emp. de Russie, sous Pierre le Grand,*

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by Great or Chinese Tartary, and part of the eastern ocean which divides Asia from America; on the south, by Calmuc and Cuban Tartary, Persia, Georgia, the Caspian sea, the mountains of Circassia, the Euxine sea, and part of Turkey; and on the west, by Poland and Sweden (B).

Its general division. THIS vast empire, larger, says a celebrated modern writer, than all the rest of Europe put together, and far more extensive than ever was the Roman empire, or that of Darius conquered by Alexander, lies partly in Europe, and

c VOLTAIRE, Hist. de Russie sous Pierre le Grand, tom. i. p. 4.

leagues, that is to say, above five thousand five hundred of our statute miles; and its greatest breadth from south to north, eight hundred and fifty French leagues, or near two thousand three hundred and fifty of our miles. He adds, and the observation is not only curious, but may be just enough, that the Russian empire contains upwards of eleven hundred thousand square French leagues; whereas the Roman empire, and that of Alexander, contained each of them only about five hundred and fifty thousand; and that no kingdom in Europe is the twelfth part so large as the Russian empire was.

(B) The limits of Russia towards the west and south, are settled with the several powers bordering upon it on those sides; namely, with Sweden, by the treaty of Nyssadt in the year 1721, and that of Abo in 1743; with the Poles, by certain conventions agreed on in 1667, 1672, and 1717, though these were not ratified as to every article. With the Turks, the boundaries of Russia were agreed on by the treaty of Carlowitz, concluded in the year 1701; but some alterations were after-

wards made at the treaty of the Pruth, and ratified in the year 1714: and further changes also took place with regard to the limits between Russia and Turkey, at the treaty of Belgrade in 1739. Pursuant to the late treaty of peace concluded with Persia in 1732, the river Kur, which runs into the Caspian sea, was made the boundary between the Russian and Persian dominions: but the Russians having, soon after, relinquished the provinces they had taken from the Persians, the river Terk is looked upon as the present limits. The wandering tribes of Tartars who live further south, such as the Caracalpackians, Kasatchia-Horda, Calmucks, and others, are confined by lines thrown up on the former. ~~the~~ last treaty of peace, with ~~them~~ and the Mungalians was concluded in the year 1727, on the banks of the river Bura; and in 1728, the several ratifications of it were exchanged at the river Kiama. By virtue of that treaty, barriers have been set up on the south-side of the mountains of Sayan, and farther towards the east, quite to the river Argun (1).

(1) Eschibing, and Strahlenberg's account of Siberia, p. 188.

partly in *Asia*; reaching from *Poland* to the *Frozen Sea*, and from *Sweden* to *China*. The general division of its *European* part, is into *Great*, *Little*, and *White Russia* (C), which properly constitute ancient *Russia*; and to which have been added, in this century, the duchies of *Livonia* and *Esthonia*, with the provinces of *Ingria* and *Carelia*, conquered from the *Swedes*. The *Asiatic* provinces of the *Russian* empire make a considerable part of *Great Tartary*. • •

The *Russian* empire is divided into governments, each of which consists of certain provinces or circles, some of them immense. The number of these governments has varied at different times, but they are now the following sixteen, viz. 1. *Great Novogorod*: 2. *Archangel-gorod* (D): 3. *Moscow*: 4. *Nischni-gorod*, or *Nischni-Novogorod*: 5. *Smolensko*: 6. *Kiew*: 7. *Bielagorod*: 8. *Woronetz* and *Afow*. These are situated in what is generally called *Russia Proper*. 9. *Riga*: 10. *Reval*: 11. *Petersburg*: and, 12. *Wiburg*, have been formed out of the conquered provinces of *Livonia*, *Esthonia*, *Ingria* and *Carelia*. The four other governments, viz. 13. *Astracan*; 14. *Ozenburg*; 15. *Casan*; and, 16. *Siberia*; are in *Asia*. We shall begin our account of these several districts with *Russia* in *Europe*.

(C) *White Russia*, in this empire, must not be confounded with the country of the same name in *Lithuania*. As for *Red Russia* it belongs to *Poland*. In order to understand the origin of these names, it may be proper to observe, that it is a custom among the eastern people to distinguish countries by the epithets *White* and *Black*; and that they give the former to the most extensive and fertile, and the latter to the least and poorest territories (1). In this sense all the *Tartars*, *Calmucks*, and *Chinese*, call the *Russian* monarch *Tsagan Zaar*, that is, the *White Caesar*; and as *Marcus Paulus* observes (2), *White* was formerly the champion of *Tartary's* favourite colour, as it

still is that of the *Chinese* emperor, when he appears in state as champion of *Tartary*; for as emperor of *China* he wears pale yellow. The *Tartars* commonly call all residences *White cities*; and in *Russia* itself they call the crown-lands, and those of the nobility that are free from taxes and contributions, *White Lands*: and on the contrary, they call all farms and grounds in cities that pay taxes, *Black grounds*. They also call the peasants and lower sort of people, *Czorni Ludi*, *black* or mean people; because *black* is a colour not esteemed in *Russia*.

(D) *Gorod*, in the *Russian* language, signifies a city or town.

(1) Busching's Geography.

(2) Libi. 1. c. 66.

S E C T. I.

RUSSIA in EUROPE.

Its bound-
aries.

THE eastern boundaries of this part of the *Russian* empire are the same with the limits between *Europe* and *Asia*; but these are not easily ascertained. All that can be said with any certainty, is, that the river *Don* has always been considered as the southern boundary; that the kingdoms of *Asiracan* and *Kasan* are deemed a part of *Asia*; and that the *Wercoturian* mountains have been generally allowed to divide *Russia* from *Siberia*.

Rivers.

THE chief rivers that water *European Russia*, are the *Wolga*, the *Don*, the *Dwina*, and the *Dnieper* or *Danapris*.

The
Wolga.

THE *Wolga*, in *Latin* *Volga*, was formerly known by the name of *Rba*, and is at present termed by the *Tartars*, *Atel*, *Edel*, or *Idel*, which signifies the *Great River*. It rises in the forest of *Wokonfski*, and is one of the largest rivers in the world; for it runs near two thousand miles, before it falls into the *Caspian* sea. The country bordering upon it is in general fertile, and though not sufficiently cultivated, by reason of the frequent incursions of the *Tartars*, yet the soil spontaneously produces esculent herbs of all sorts, particularly asparagus of an extraordinary size and goodness. Most of the *Russian* oaks grow in the parts watered by this river, which is navigable, even for large vessels, quite up to *Twer*, a town little more than eighty miles from its source. In the months of *May* and *June* this river is so swelled by the melting of the snow and ice, as to occasion great inundations. The masters of ships bound for *Asiracan*, through the river *Wolga*, take care to avail themselves of this season; as it affords them an opportunity not only of sailing safely over the shallows, but likewise over several flat islands which then lie at a considerable depth under water. The trees upon its banks are often rooted up by the rapidity of the current, and the anchors of vessels are so often entangled with them, that it is necessary to cut away the cables. The beluga, a fish about eight or ten feet long, and preferable to the sturgeon, is found in great plenty in this river. The *Octa*, *Cama*, and several other rivers of note, run into it, and it discharges itself into the *Caspian* sea, through several channels, which form a great many islands.

The Don.

THE *Don*, in *Latin* *Tanais*, and by the *Tartars* called *Tuna* or *Duna*, was ranked by the ancients among the most famous rivers, and looked upon as the boundary between *Europe* and *Asia*. Its source is near *Tula*, in the *Iwano Oseto*, or *St. John's*

John's Lake. Its course is at first from north to south, and after its junction with the *Sofna*, near *Nowa Pawlowskaia*, in the *Woronese* government, from west to east; and in several large windings it runs again from north to south. It divides at last into three channels, which separate from each other below *Czerkaskoi*, and fall into the *Palus Mæotis*, near *Lutik* and *Afow*. Its waters are not very wholesome, being thick and chalky. This river is very shallow in the summer, and full of sand-banks: but it affords plenty of fish. The *Don*, in its course, approaches so near to the *Wolga*, that, in one part, the distance between them is but 140 wersts, or about 80 *English* miles: and if the *Lawla* and *Camishinka*, the former of which runs into the *Don*, and the latter into the *Wolga*, were rendered navigable, the distance between the two rivers would be then scarcely four wersts; and they might easily be united by opening a canal from one to the other. It seems, however, that *Peter the Great* did not think this project practicable.

THE *Dwina*, in *Latin* *Duina*, is a very large river. The name implies double, it being formed by the conflux of the *Dwina*, rivers *Sukona* and *Yug*, at *Ustiaga*. The two branches into which this river divides itself near *Archangel*, fall into the *White Sea*. It is the opinion of some, that an ancient temple stood upon its bank, in which was an idol called *Solotaiia Baba*, or the *Golden Matron*. This deity was worshipped under the name of *Yumala*, not only by the inhabitants of the country, but also by the *Greek* and *Scythian* merchants, who resided near the *Dnieper* and *Black Sea*, and used to travel hither to trade and pay their adorations to the idol. Others place that temple on the *Patsbora*, and others again on the river *Oby*: this last indeed seems the most likely; but the whole is very uncertain. Care must be taken not to confound this river with the *Duina* or *Duna*, a river of *Poland*, which rises likewise in *Russia*.

THE *Dnieper* or *Danapris*, in *Latin* *Borysphenes*, rises from the a morass in the forest of *Wolonsk*, about ninety miles above *Dnieper*, *Smolensk*. After many windings through *Lithuania*, *Little Russia*, the country of the *Zaporo-Cossacks*, and a tract inhabited by the *Nagaian Tartars* of *Crimea*, it forms a *Liman*, or marshy lake, of sixty wersts in length, from two to ten in breadth; and then loses itself in the *Black Sea*, between *Oczacow* and *Kinburn*. The banks on each side are generally high, and the soil exceeding rich: but in summer the water is unwholesome. Notwithstanding the *Dnieper* has thirteen water-falls, within the space of sixty wersts; yet in spring, during the land-floods, empty vessels may be hauled over

them. This river is so full of islands, till it arrives at the *Liman* near its mouth, that all the intervals do not amount to thirty *English* miles. It abounds with sturgeon, sterled, carp, pyke, karaush, and several other sorts of fish. The only bridge over the *Dnieper* is a float-bridge at *Kiew*, 1638 paces long. Towards the end of *September*, this bridge is taken down, in order to make a free passage for the cakes of ice; and in the spring it is put up again. Upon this river are numbers of mills erected in boats, every one being allowed the liberty of building such.

Lakes. THE principal lakes in this part of *Russia*, are the *Peipus*, *Ladoga*, and *Onega*.

The Peipus lake. THE *Peipus* lake in *Livonia*, called by the *Russians* *Tshudskoe Osero*, is between forty and fifty miles in length, and about thirty in breadth. It abounds with fish, and runs into the gulph of *Finland* by the river *Narva*. This lake has a communication with that of *Pleskow*, which is called in the *Russian* tongue *Pskowskoe Osero* (E).

The lake Ladoga, and its famous canal. The famous lake of *Ladoga*, between the gulph of *Finland* and the lake *Onega*, is near an hundred miles in length, and seventy in breadth. It is thought to be the largest in *Europe*, and is supposed to surpass any other for plenty of fish, among which are likewise seals or sea-dogs.

Ladoga is full of quick-sands, which being moved from one place to another by frequent storms, cause several shelves along its coasts, that often prove destructive to the flat-bottomed vessels of the *Russians*. This induced *Peter the Great* to cause a canal of 104 wersts in length (near 70 *English* miles) 70 feet in breadth, and 10 or 11 feet deep, to be dug, at a vast expence, from the south-west extremity of this lake in *Ingria* and *Novogrod*, and carried, with the necessary windings, from *Schlusfelburg*, at the mouth of the river *Neva*, which is the outlet of the lake of *Ladoga*, to *New Ladoga* on the river *Volcow*. This work was begun in the year 1718, and though prosecuted with vigour, was not accomplished till 1732, in the reign of the empress *Anne*.

THIS canal at first reached no farther than the village of *Cabona*, upon a river of the same name, at the distance of 44 wersts from *Schlusfelburg*, and where the vessels sailed into the lake; for which purpose the sluice is still kept up there. The canal has twenty-five sluices: the rivers *Lipka*, *Nassia*, *Izeldika*, *Lawa*, and *Cabona*, run into it, and likewise two smaller streams, whose names we know not, and upon which

(E) *Osero*, in the *Russian* language, signifies a lake,

stand

stand two villages. At the distance of every werst (F) along this canal, is a pillar, shewing the number of wersts, &c. A regiment of soldiers is constantly employed to keep the canal in repair, and to this end they are quartered at several places along its banks. It is covered, during the summer, with vessels and floats passing from the *Wolcow* to the *Neva*, which last issues from the lake *Ladoga*. These ships pay toll in proportion to their cargo; but several, to avoid the expence as well as the fatigue of drawing their vessels or floats along the canal, chuse rather to venture upon the lake. The islands *Sarcow*, *Selency*, *Kirwet*, and *Tinow*, which lie in the lake, and are inhabited by fishermen, are seen from this canal.

THE lake *Onega*, betwixt the lake *Ladoga* and the *White Sea*, has a communication with the former, by means of the river *Swir*. It extends about 180 wersts in length, and 80 in breadth. Seals are frequently seen in it, though it is a fresh-water lake. A plan was laid before *Peter the Great*, for opening a passage from the lake *Onega* to *Balscro*, or the *White Lake*, by uniting the rivers *Wytegra* and *Rousha*. But the death of the czar prevented the execution of this design.

WE shall now describe the eight governments, of which the several districts are looked upon as parts of *Russia Proper*, and then proceed to those acquired from the crown of *Sweden*.

I. The Government of NOVOGROD

INCLUDES the duchy of *Novogrod*, or island of *Great Novogrod*, which the *Russians* conquered in the year 1478. In this country lies the *Osero-Ilmen*, or *Ilmen lake*, out of which runs the river *Wolcow*; and in this province are the sources of the great rivers *Volga*, *Dnieper*, and the *Polish Quina*. *Peter the Great* caused a canal to be cut between the rivers *Twerza* and *Msta*, near the town of *Wischni-Wolotsbok*; by which means there is a communication between the *Caspian sea* (thence the rivers *Wolga*, *Twerza*, and *Msta*) and the *Ilmen lake*; from thence is a passage for ships, through the river *Wolcow*, into the lake of *Ladoga*, and from the latter down the *Neva* into the *Baltic*.

THE government of *Novogrod* is divided into five circles, or districts, viz. the circle of *Novogrod*, called by the *Russians* *Novogorodskoi Uiezd* (G); the province of *Pleskow*; the province of *Welikoluk*, called by the *Russians* *Welikoluzkaia Pro-*

(F) A werst is equal to 3500 English feet; and 104 wersts are equal to a degree of the equator.

(G) A Uiezd is a circle or

district, less than a province, and more extensive than a stan, a wolost, or a pogost, which are subdivisions of a uiezd.

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vincia; the province of *Twer*; and the province of *Belosero*, in the Russian language *Beloserskaia Provinciia*.

The most remarkable places in the circle of *Novogorod* are *and principal places*. *Novogrod Veliki* (A), or *Great Novogrod*, a very ancient, large, and formerly famous city, situate upon the *Volcow*, where that river runs out of the *Ilmen* lake. It is the capital of the government of *Novogrod*, the seat of the governor, an archbishopric, and a place of some trade. It was first built by the *Slavonians*, in the ninth century, and improved by the *Waregerian* prince *Rurik*, for his place of residence. *Novogrod* was a celebrated staple of the *Hanse Towns* till 1494, and grew so powerful as to give rise to this phrase, *Can any one withstand God and Novogrod?* But by falling frequently into the hands of enemies, being plundered of its riches by the czar *Iwan Basilowitz*, and having undergone many dreadful conflagrations, it is now so greatly reduced, that it scarce retains the least vestige of its former grandeur. The churches and convents are the only objects in it that merit attention, the rest of the town consisting solely of small wooden houses. Its fortifications are old walls, and deep moats. The old Russian writers call this city *Holmgarde*.

St. Antony's convent, on the river *Volcow*, about two wersts from *Novogrod*, is the principal monastery in the country. *St. Antony*, its founder, died and was buried there, in the year 1147. Besides his monument, his pious votaries devoutly shew a mill-stone, upon which, they gravely say, he sailed from *Rome* to this place.

Nowaia Ladoga, or *New Ladoga*, between the lake and the canal of that name, which last here joins the river *Volcow*. This small town is the residence of a waiwode, and was for the most part peopled from *Old Ladoga*, which is now entirely ruined.

Wisnei Wolotsbok, a considerable village upon the *Twerza*, which is here united to the *Msta* by a canal. It was consumed by fire in 1748 and 1753; but has since been rebuilt, and is now inhabited by seafaring people.

Stolbowa, a village near the *Tiksina*, remarkable for the peace concluded there between *Russia* and *Sweden* in 1617.

In the province of *PLESKOW* are,

Pskow, or *Pleskow*, a strong provincial town on the river *Velika*, which, besides its being an episcopal see, is a

• (A) *Wolekpi*, *welikaia*, *welikoje*, in the Russian language, signifies great.

place of considerable trade, and consequently populous. It held out a siege against the *Poles* in 1581.

Pestherskoi, a convent, famous for having been besieged by the knights of *Livonia*. It derives its name from certain subterraneous passages in its neighbourhood, which are commonly reported to have a communication with those of *Kiew*.

THE provincial town of *Velikie Luki*, in the province of *WELIKOLUK* gives title to the archbishop of *Novogrod*.

IN the province of *TWER*, from which the emperors of *Russia* take one of their titles, stands the city of *Twer*, an archiepiscopal see, a place of considerable trade for corn, and formerly the residence of several great dukes and princes. It lies on both sides of the *Wolga*, at the influx of the river *Twerza*.

Cholm, once the residence of the sovereign of the country, who was descended from the royal family of *Twer*, is now a very inconsiderable place.

The province of BELOSERO

Had formerly its own princes, being an appenage of the great ducal family.

THE only place of note in it, is *Belesero*, the provincial town, now situated on the west, but said to have stood formerly on the north-side of the lake of the same name, when, in 862, *Sineus*, a *Waregarian* prince, resided there.

II. The Government of ARCHANGEL

Is divided into the circles of *Kola*, *Dwina*, *Kewrol*, *Mensen*, *Pustoserfsk*, *Yarensk*, *Solwyshegotfsk*, *Ustjug*, *Washek*, *Totma*, *Wologda*, and *Galijsk*.

The government of Archangel. Its divisions, and principal places,

IN the circle of *Kola*, and near a town of the same name, stands the famous convent of *Pestherskoi*, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Ustjug Weliki is an archbishop's see, in the circle of *Ustjug*, and a place of considerable trade, for which it lies very convenient, having a communication by water with *Archangel* and *Wologda*.

THE city of *Wologda*, in the circle; and upon a river of the same name, is an archiepiscopal see, and was once a place of great trade, which has been ruined by the rise of *Archangel*.

Archangel, the capital of this government, and an episcopal see, lies in 64 deg. 34 min. north latitude, on the river *Dwina*, about 75 wersts from the *White Sea*. Its buildings :

buildings are all of wood, after the *Russian* manner, except the *Gostinnoi Dwor*, or merchants exchange, which is of stone. This city, before the great increase of *Petersburg*, was a place of very considerable trade, the foundation of which was laid by the *English*, so early as the reign of *Iwan Basilowitz* (A).

THE other circles in this province contain no place worth noticing here.

Russian
Lapland.

THE western part of this government, bordering upon the *Icy Sea*, includes about a third part of *Lapland*; the other two-thirds of which belong to *Sweden* and *Denmark*. This country is very large; occupying near eight degrees of longitude, and extending from the *Polar Circle* to the *North Cape*. Its inhabitants were confusedly known to the ancients, under the name of *Troglodytes*, and northern pigmies; appellations well suited to their stature, which seldom exceeds, or even equals, four feet, and to their living in caves. They are, as they then were, swarthy; though the other northern nations are fair; almost all little, whilst their neighbours, and the inhabitants of *Iceland*, under the *Polar Circle*, are tall; they are nimble and robust; covered with a hard thick skin, which enables them the better to resist the cold; and have remarkably small hands and feet, as if intended for climbing over their rocky country, which they are so passionately fond of as not to be able to live elsewhere, and which none but themselves would inhabit. *Olaus*, and

(A) Captain *Chancellor*, being in search of the north-east passage, in 1533, discovered the port of *Archangel* (so called from a small convent and chapel, dedicated to St. *Michael* the archangel, the only buildings then on that desert spot) and sailed up the *Dwina*, till he came to *Wologda*, from whence he went over land to *Moscow*, where he delivered a letter from *Edward VI*, to the czar, who received it favourably, and granted the *English* licence to trade, upon their paying very easy duties: a method it were, perhaps, to be wished all nations would follow. The advantages they reaped from this commerce soon prompted other

nations, and particularly the *Dutch*, to put in for a share of it. However, the *English* still preserved their superiority, and their privileges were renewed by *Peter the Great*, with the limitation of their sending their goods only to *Moscow*. Though the port of *Archangel* is frozen up during seven months of the year, the *Russians*, after their acquaintance with the *English*, found their account better in sending their goods thither than to *Great Novogrod*, which used before to be their principal mart; and the trade of *Archangel* continued to flourish, till *Peter I.* opened a new channel to his subjects, by means of the *Baltic sea*.

others

others who have copied him, tell us, that these people were originally *Finns*, who retired into *Lapland*, where their stature degenerated. But why, as *M. de Voltaire* observes^b, when they were moving, did they not chuse a less northern land, where life would have been more comfortable to them? Why are their features, make, complexion, entirely different from their ancestors? It would, perhaps, be just as right to say, that the grass which grows in *Lapland* comes from the grass of *Denmark*, and that the fish peculiar to their lakes come from the fish of *Sweden*. It is highly probable that the *Laplanders* are original natives of the land they now dwell in, as their animals are also a production of that country, and that nature has made them for each other.

THOSE of them who live towards *Finland* have adopted some expressions of their neighbours, which happens to all people. But when two nations give absolutely different names to things which they constantly use, to objects which they always see; a strong presumption lies, that neither of those people is a colony of the other. The *Finns* call a bear *karu*, and the *Laplanders* call it *muriet*. The sun, in the *Finlandish* tongue, is called *auringa*, and the *Laplanders* name it *beve*. The inhabitants of *Finland* and of *Swedish Lapland* worshipped formerly an idol, to which they gave the appellation of *Jumulac*; and since the time of *Gustavus Adolphus*, to whom they owe the name of *Lutherans*, they call *JESUS CHRIST* the son of *Jumulac*. The *Russian Laplanders* are now deemed members of the *Greek church*: but those of them that lie straggling towards the farther mountains of the *North Cape*, content themselves with worshipping a god under rude and uncouth representations. •

THESE *Laplanders*, whose number is but small, have but very few ideas, and are happy in not having more, for then they would have new wants which they would not be able to satisfy. They are long-lived, little subject to illness, and drink scarce any thing but water in the coldest of climates. The custom which has been imputed to them, of desiring strangers to honour their wives and daughters with their embraces, proceeds probably from their opinion of the superior merit of those strangers, whom they think qualified to correct the defects of their breed. The virtuous *Lacedæmonians* did the same. Jealousy and the laws hinder other men from lending their wives; but the *Laplanders* were almost without laws, and probably were not jealous.

^b Hist. de l'emp, de Russie, tom. i. p. 16.

Samoy-
edes.

IN this country are also great numbers of *Samoyedes*, whose nation, indeed, extends very far along the coast of the *Frozen Ocean* and *Ice Sea*. But those that live in the government of *Archangel* are quite separated from the rest of their tribe, and, in a manner, excluded from any intercourse with them. They have also a different dialect, though they agree perfectly in their religion and customs. They are all very poor, simple, and undesigning: but their tawny complexion, longish eyes, and puffed cheeks, make them appear very disagreeable to strangers. In size and make they resemble the *Laplanders*; but they are not of the same race. Like them, they use rein-deer to draw their sledges, they know not what bread is, and they live in huts and caverns: but, in other respects, nature has distinguished this species of men very visibly from that of the *Laplanders*. The upper jaw of the *Samoyedes* is more prominent, advancing as far as their nose; and their ears are higher. Neither men nor women, among them, have any hair but upon the head, and their nipples are as black as jet. The *Laplanders* are not particularised by any of these signs. There are many more species of men than is generally thought^c. Those of the *Samoyedes* and that of the *Hottentots* seem to be the two extremes of the continent; and if we attend to the black breasts of the *Samoyede* women, and the apron which nature has given to the *Hottentots*, and which reaches half way down their thighs, we shall have some idea of the varieties of the human race; varieties unknown in our cities, where people are scarcely acquainted with any thing, but just what is about them.

THE *Samoyedes* have very little knowledge of a supreme being, but pay their adoration to mis-shapen wooden images of men, beasts, fishes, birds, &c. They also worship the heads of beasts of prey, particularly those of bears, which they put up in the woods, and fervently pray to; that being an animal of which they are extremely afraid. They acknowledge a good and a bad principle: and indeed the horrid climate in which they live seems, in some measure, to excuse that belief, so ancient among so many people, and so natural to the ignorant and unfortunate. Their priests, whom they call *shamanns* or *kodesniks*, are chosen from amongst such as are most advanced in years; and they imagine that these men can reveal to them the will of their gods, foretell future events, and perform all kinds of magi-

^c Id. *ibid.* p. 38.

cal operations. Neither theft nor murder is ever heard of among them: being almost without passions, they are without injustice. They have not even in their language any term to express vice and virtue. Their extreme simplicity has not yet allowed them to form abstruse notions. Instinct alone directs them: and this is, perhaps, an incontestable proof that men love justice by instinct, when their fatal passions do not overpower them.

THEIR marriages are attended with no other ceremony than merely an agreement between the parties. Most of them have but one wife; though polygamy is not prohibited among them. Like the *Ostiaks*, they call their new-born children by the name of the first animal they meet; or if they first happen to meet a relation, he generally names the child.

THE *Samoyedes*, male and female, are clothed alike; and as they are equally disagreeable in their features, and the men, as we observed before, have no beards, it is somewhat difficult to distinguish one sex from the other. Their winter-dress is made of rein-deer skin, with the hairy side outwards; and generally the cap, coat, gloves, breeches, and stockings are sewed together, so that the whole suit makes but one piece. In summer they dress themselves with fish-skins; and, instead of thread, they use the nerves of wild beasts cut into long filaments.

THEY all subsist by hunting and fishing; the flesh of rein-deer, bears, seals, or sea-dogs, fowls, dried fish, and turneps, being their usual food. They sometimes boil their flesh-meats, but more commonly eat them raw; which has made some, unjustly, call them *Man-eaters*, and accuse them of devouring their deceased friends, and prisoners taken in war. They eat even the raw entrails of any beast, according to *Ysbrant Ides* and *Le Brun*. Their hunting-weapons are bows and arrows, and javelins pointed with bone; though they have also some darts bearded with iron. When they find it difficult to subsist in one place, they immediately remove to another. Their summer-huts are made of nothing but the bark of birch-trees; but in winter they are covered with skins of rein-deer. Their whole substance consists in tents, cloaths, and rein-deer.

TILL the reign of the czar *Iwan Basrowitz*, the only magistrate among them was the oldest man in the family or village, to whom the rest were subject. But in the reign of that prince, in the year 1563, one *Anika Stroganow*, a man of substance and of some consequence in his country, which was near *Archangel*, observing that these people came yearly down

down a river which falls into the *Dwina*, with exceeding fine furs, ordered his son and some of his servants to follow them to their homes, and bring him word who they were, and where they lived. They did so; and on their return *Anika* reported to the government what he had discovered. Some of these savages were afterwards carried to *Moscow*, where every thing filled them with admiration. They looked upon the czar as their god, and readily agreed that all their countrymen should pay him a yearly tribute of two fables apiece. Colonies were soon established, and forts erected, beyond the *Oby* and the *Irtis*: and in 1595, a *Cosak* was sent, with a party of soldiers and a few cannon, who conquered their country, as *Cortez* subdued *Mexico*. By degrees the habitable places were occupied by *Russian* governors, troops, and traders, and the *Russian* laws were introduced. The *Samoyedes* made two attempts to shake off the yoke, but were soon reduced. Their furs, which they dispose of to the *Russians* for trifles, are the finest in the whole empire.

The government of *Moscow*.
Its division,
and principal places.

III. *The Government of Moscow,*

THE most populous and best-cultivated part of the whole empire, in the center of which it lies, is divided into eleven circles, viz. *Kostroma*, *Yaroslavl* (formerly a principality), *Uglitsk*, *Pereflow-Salesk* (or the duchy of *Rostrow*), *Yuriew*, *Susdal*, *Wolodimer* (which is a duchy), *Pereflow-Riasanskoi*, *Kaluga*, *Tula*, and *Moscow*.

THE principal places in this government are,

In the circle of *Yaroslavl*, a town of the same name, famous for having been the residence of the unfortunate *Ernest-John* duke of *Courland*. It is also remarkable for its manufactures of linen, flowered woollen stuffs, and *yuchte*, or *Russian* leather.

In the circle of *Pereflow-Salesk*, the city of *Roslow*, an archiepiscopal see.

In the circle of *Susdal*, the city of *Susdal*, a bishop's see, and the place where *Peter I.* confined his first wife *Eudoxia Feodorowna*, in the convent of *St. Basil*, after he had divorced her.

In the circle of *Wolodimer*, from which the czar takes one of his titles, the provincial town of *Wolodimer*, formerly one of the seats of the great dukes: and

In the circle of *Moscow*, the city of *Moscow*, or, as the *Russians* write it, *Moskwa*, the ancient capital of the *Russian* empire, and residence of the czars. It derives its name from the river *Moskwa*, which runs on the south-side of it; and

and was founded in the year 1156; or at least it appears to have been a city in 1175^d (A). It lies in a fine fertile plain, in a round situation, formed by the winding of the river, and is about twenty-four *English* miles in circuit. The *Russians* say it was formerly twice as large. Some of its houses are well-built, but in general they are very mean. The streets are wide, and well laid out, but dirty, some of them not being paved. The number of churches in this city is computed at sixteen hundred, eleven of which are cathedrals, and two hundred and seventy one parish-churches. The rest belong to convents. This city is divided into four circles, which lie one within another.

THE interior circle is the *Kremlin*, which is both a palace and a fortress, built no longer ago than the fourteenth century^e, so little ancient are the cities in *Russia*, by *Italian* architects, in the *Gothic* taste, which was then in fashion. There are nine cathedrals in this part of the city; in one of which, St. *Michael's* church, the remains of the *Russian* sovereigns, and of their male descendants, are interred: those of their consorts, and the princesses, are deposited in the convent of *Tshudow*. The whole of this circle is surrounded with deep moats and ramparts, and with very high and thick walls, flanked with six towers, and planted with cannon.

IN the second circle, called *Kitaigorod*, or the *Chinese* town, is, among many spacious buildings, the famous chief dispensary, from which the whole empire is served with medicines, and where all the gallipots and other vessels are of fine porcelaine, decorated with the imperial arms. Before the time of *Peter the Great* there was not a physician in the whole *Russian* empire, except the czar's, and not one apothecary. One side of this circle lies towards the *Kremlin*; another is surrounded by the river *Moskwa*; a third by the *Neglina*; and the fourth is inclosed by a wall which runs from the *Neglina* to the *Moskwa*.

IN the third circle, which surrounds the former, and is called *Belgorod*, that is, the *White Town*, from a white wall with which it is encompassed, is, among several other markets, one in which are sold new wooden houses, which

^d BUSCHING. • • VOLTAIRE.

(A) M. de *Voltaire* does not allow it to have consisted, even in the thirteenth century, of any thing more than huts, peopled by unhappy fugitives from the oppression of the race of *Gengis-Kan*.

may be taken to pieces, and put together again where the purchaser pleases.

IN the fourth circle, which is called *Simlanoigeroa*, that is, a town surrounded with ramparts of earth, and which incloses the three preceding parts, is an university, founded by M. de *Showalow*, chamberlain to the present empress, in the year 1755, a mathematical school, and an observatory, a cloth-manufactory, a magazine for provisions and forage, a mint, and an artillery-arsenal.

THESE four circles are surrounded with vast suburbs, called *Slobodas*, near the western of which is the old castle of *Preobrazhenskoï*, from whence the first regiment of guards derives its name.

THE whole number of the inhabitants of this city is thought to be near five hundred thousand.

ABOUT sixty wersts from *Moscow* lies the famous convent of *Troitz*, or the *Trinity*, a quadrangular Gothic building, surrounded with walls, ramparts, and moats, and always garrisoned by a company of soldiers. This convent, the richest of any in all *Russia*, having no less than 120,000 peasants who are its vassals, was the place where *Peter I.* took shelter after narrowly escaping the hands of the *Strelitzes*, who had been spirited up against him by his half-sister *Sophia*. It has been an ancient custom for the sovereign of the *Russian* empire to go a pilgrimage to this place.

The government
of Nischnei-Novogrod.
Its divisions

IV. The Government of NISCHNEI-NOVOGROD,

Which includes the circles of *Nischnei-Novogrod*, *Balacna*, *Arsmas*, and *Kasimow*.

IN the circle of *Nischnei-Novogrod* lies the city of *Nischnei-Novogrod*, an archbishop's see, a place of great trade, and very rich; but extremely damaged by a fire in 1715, in which some thousands of its inhabitants perished. It was built by the great duke *Jurü* or *George Wsewozkuisch*, in the year 1222, and was the appenage and place of residence of several of the petty *Russian* princes.

and inhabitants.

THIS government is chiefly inhabited by the following tribes:

Mordunians,

THE *Mordunians*, *Morduans*, or *Morduats*, whose language resembles the *Finlandish* dialect.

Tsheremissians,

THE *Tsheremissians*, distinguished into the *Logowoi*, who inhabit the plain on the left-side of the *Volga*, and the *Negornoi*, who live among the mountains on the right-side of that river. The former belong to this government, but the latter chiefly to that of *Kasan*. They seem to have no religion but that of nature. Their chief sacrificing priest they call

call *Tugtush*, and under him is another stiled *Musban*. Their language is neither that of the *Tartars* nor that of the *Russians*. Many of these people have been baptized.

THE *Tshuwashians*, dispersed through this and the government of *Kasán*. In the district of *Tshebaxar* they exceed eighteen thousand souls; in that of *Husmademianski* they are above ten thousand; in the territory of *Siritsgorod* they amount at least to twelve thousand; and in that of *Suyask* to sixty thousand; but in the district of *Kokshaisk* they do not exceed four hundred. They worship, as they say, one God, whom they call *Tora*; they also consider the sun as a kind of divinity, and pay their adoration to that luminary. They have several other subordinate deities, which they say hold the same rank with the saints of the *Russians*. Every village has its own idol, which is erected in a square place, consecrated and inclosed with pallisades. Their devotions are performed near a fire, where they offer a sheep to the idol, and hang up the skin as a trophy in honour of it. The person who performs this sacrifice, and to whom they have recourse in every difficulty, is stiled *Tumasse*; and both sexes are capable of this religious office. Great numbers of these pagans have been baptized, and in all the *Russian* towns in the districts where they live, schools have been erected for the instruction of their youth in the principles of the christian religion, in order to qualify them to be missionaries among their own tribe.

V. The Government of SMOLENSK,

CONTAINING *White Russia*, properly so called, was ceded by *Poland* to *Russia*, as a duchy, by the treaty of *Andrussow*, concluded in 1667, and confirmed in 1686.

The government of Smolensk.

THE most remarkable places in this government are, *Smolensk*, its capital, a large town, well defended with fortifications, on the river *Dnieper*. It is the governor's residence, a bishop's see, a place of considerable trade, and is recorded in history as the subject of many disputes between the *Poles* and *Russians*, during which it was frequently besieged, and taken by both parties.

Andrussow, a village between the towns of *Smolensk* and *Mstislaw*, close by the river *Harodna*, is famous for the treaty of peace concluded there betwixt *Russia* and *Poland* in 1667.

VI. The Government of KIEW.

THIS government is a part of *Little Russia*, and is inhabited by the *Cossaks*, which word implies irregular troops of horse.

The government of Kiew, inhabited by the

The History of Russia.

THE *Cosaks* are divided into *European* and *Asiatic*.

The *European Cosaks* consist of,

Their various names.

1. THE *Zaporog-Cosaks*, who dwell below the cataract of the *Dnieper*, some on the side next to *Russia*, and others on the opposite side of that river. The latter are subdivided into *Sietshian* or *Lower Cosaks*, and *Upper Cosaks*. Most of these are subject to the *Russians*.

2. THE *Bielogorod-Cosaks*; and,

3. A part of the *Don-Cosaks*. Both these are under the *Russian* government.

The *Asiatic Cosaks* are,

1. THE rest of the *Don-Cosaks*.

2. THE *Grebin-Cosaks*.

3. THE *Yaik-Cosaks*.

4. THE *Western Calmuks*, who, retiring from those that inhabited the south borders of *Siberia* under *Taiuki-Can*, settled upon the *Volga*, and are dependent upon *Russia*.

Some account of them.

THE *Cosaks*, as appears from *Constantine Porphyrogenetes*, were known by that name ever since the 948th year of Christ. They dwelt upon mount *Caucasus*, in the place now called *Cabardy*, and were reduced to the *Russian* dominion by prince *Mstislav*, in the year 1021. The *Polish* writers describe the *Cosaks* as a strange race of men; but this may be chiefly owing to national prejudice. They reproach them in particular with being a mixed rabble. It is true indeed, that many *Russians*, *Poles*, and others, who could not live at home, have, at different times, been admitted among the *Cosaks*; but the latter, abstracted from these fugitives, must have been an ancient and well-governed nation.

Zaporog-Cosaks.

TOWARDS the beginning of the sixteenth century, the *Zaporog-Cosaks* fixed their habitations on the spacious plains that extend along the banks of the *Dnieper*. They had undergone considerable hardships from the incursions of the *Tartars*, for which they afterwards found means to avenge themselves in an ample manner. The *Poles*, being sensible how serviceable the *Cosaks* might be in defending them from the ravages of the *Tartars*, and even of the *Russians*, proposed to them terms of alliance. In 1562, they solemnly took them under their protection, and engaged to pay them an annual subsidy; in return for which, the *Cosaks* were to keep on foot a sufficient body of troops for the defence of the *Polish* dominions. With a view to bind them still more strongly by ties of interest, the *Poles* gave them the whole country between the rivers *Dnieper* and *Niester*, and the borders of *Tartary*. The *Cosaks* applied themselves with great industry to the cultivation of this fertile spot; so that

In a short time it was interspersed with large towns and handsome villages. Besides this, they continually harassed the *Turks*, and did them great damage by their incursions; and in order to prevent the latter from pursuing them, or making reprisals, they possessed themselves of several small islands in the *Dnieper*, where they kept their magazines, &c. The *Hettman*, or general of the *Cosaks*, was not in the least subordinate to the field-marshal of *Poland*; but acted in concert with him as an ally, and not as a subject of that republic. But this alliance, though of such manifest advantage to both parties, was not of long duration. The *Poles*, seeing the vast improvements made by the *Cosaks* in the country they had given up to them, became envious of them, and actually made an attempt to bring them into subjection. The *Cosaks*, fired with indignation at such an unexpected requital of their services, applied themselves for protection and redress both to *Russia* and the *Ottoman Porte*. The result of this was a long and bloody war, which, during the 16th and 17th centuries, was renewed from time to time, with the utmost animosity and fury. In the years 1587, 1596, 1630, 1637, and 1638, the *Poles* were generally victorious; but in 1648 the *Cosaks* gained great advantages over them, and the next year came to an accommodation, in which they not only preserved their old immunities, but obtained additional privileges. The result of all was, that these *Cosaks* remained under the protection of *Russia*; and, as their former country was entirely laid waste in the late wars, they settled in the *Russian Ukraine*, upon receiving formal assurances from the court of *Russia*, that no alteration should be made in their political constitution, and that no taxes whatever should be laid upon them. The *Cosaks*, on the other hand, were always to keep in readiness a good body of troops for the service of *Russia*: but, in the year 1708, *Mazeppa*, their *Hettman* or chief, went over from the *Russians* to the *Swedes*; upon which *Peter I.* resolved to prevent such revolts for the future. To this end, after the battle of *Pultawa*, he sent a strong detachment into the above-mentioned little islands in the *Dnieper*, whither the *Cosaks* had fled, with their wives and children, and all their effects; and ordered them all to be put to the sword without distinction, and the plunder to be divided among his soldiers. He likewise sent a great number of men into their country, and caused several thousands of the *Cosaks* to be carried to the coasts of the *Baltic*, where they were put to all sorts of hard labour; and by that means he, in a manner, extirpated them. On the death of their last *Hettman*, in 1722, that office was abolished; but it was restored

again in 1750, when they chose for their *Hettman* count *Kirila Grigorievitch Rasumowsky*, a *Russian* nobleman of great distinction, whose election was approved of by the empress *Elizabeth*.

WHAT distinguishes the *Zaporog-Cosaks* from all other people, is, that they never suffer any woman in their settlements, as the *Amazons* are said not to have suffered any men among them. The women of these *Cosaks* live in other islands of the *Dnieper*. They never marry, nor have any family: all their male children are enrolled as soldiers, and the females are left with their mothers. The brother often has children by his sister, and the father by his daughter. They know no laws but those which custom has introduced, founded on their natural wants; tho' they have among them some priests of the *Greek* persuasion. They serve in the armies as irregulars; and woe to those who fall into their hands^a.

THE country of these *Cosaks*, who are an assemblage of ancient *Roxelans*, *Sarmatians*, and *Tartars*, is called the *Ocraine* or *Ukraine*. It lies upon the borders of *Russia* and *Poland*, *Little Tartary*, and *Turky* (A), and was anciently a part of *Scythia*. By virtue of the last treaty settled between *Russia* and *Poland*, in 1693, the latter remains in possession of all that part of the *Ukraine* which is situated on the west-side of the *Dnieper*, and is now but poorly cultivated. That on the east-side, inhabited by the *Cosaks*, is in a much better condition, and extends about 260 miles in length, and as many in breadth. It is one continued fertile plain, watered by a great number of fine rivers, diversified with pleasant woods, and yields such plenty of all sorts of grain, pulse, tobacco, honey, and wax, as to supply a great part of the *Russian* empire with those commodities. Its pastures are exceeding rich, and its cattle very large; but the inhabitants are greatly plagued by locusts, which infest this fine country. The houses in the *Ukraine* are like those of the *Russians*, mostly built with timber.

The *Cosaks* are tall and well made, generally hawk-nosed, and of a good mein. They are hardy, vigorous, brave, and extremely jealous of what is most valuable in life, their liberty; fickle and wavering, but sociable, chearful, and sprightly. They are a very powerful people, and their forces consist wholly of cavalry. Their dialect is a com-

^a VOLTAIRE.

(A) The word *Ocraine*, or *Ukraine*, properly signifies a frontier.

pound

pound of the *Polish* and *Russian* language ; but the latter is the most predominant. They were formerly pagans or mahometans ; but upon their entering into the *Polish* service, they were baptized christians of the *Romish* communion ; and now, that they belong to *Russia*, they profess themselves members of the *Greek* church.

EACH of their towns, with the district belonging to it, is governed by an officer called *Ottomann*, or *Attamann*.

THE *Don-Cosaks*, so called from their residence upon the Don-banks of the river *Don*, greatly resemble those already described. In the year 1559, when the czar *Iwan Basilowitsh* was emperor of *Russia*, they voluntarily put themselves under his protection, and are at this time on a pretty equal footing with the other *Russian* subjects. They have several towns and villages, upon the banks of the *Don* ; but are prevented from extending themselves farther up the country, by the scarcity of fresh water and wood in many places. Their chief support is grazing and agriculture, and occasionally robbing and plundering, for which they want neither capacity nor inclination. Every town is governed by a magistrate called *Tamann* ; and the *Tamanns*, with their towns, are under the jurisdiction of two *Ottomanns*, who reside at *Tsherkasky*. The troops of these *Cosaks* likewise consist entirely of cavalry. In this country, all the towns and villages are fortified and encompassed with palisades, to defend them against the incursions of the *Calmuks* and *Kuban-Tartars*, with whom they are continually at war. The *Cosaks*, in general, are of great service to garrison-towns by way of defence, or to pursue an enemy ; but are not so good at regular attacks.

THE *Sietsh-Cosaks*, who are also called *Haidamacks*, have their particular *Hettmân*. They inhabit the *Russian*, *Polish*, and *Turkish* dominions, along the banks of the *Dnieper*. Sietsh-Cosaks.

THE *Yak-Cosaks* dwell on the south-side of the river *Yaik*, and upon the success of the *Russian* arms in the kingdom of *Astracan*, voluntarily submitted to them. In stature they greatly resemble the other *Cosaks* ; though, by their boorish manner of living, and inter-marriages with the *Tartars*, they have not the shape and air peculiar to the rest of their countrymen. Their natural dispositions and customs are, however, nearly the same. Husbandry, fishing, and feeding of cattle, are their principal employments, and, like the other tribes, they let slip no opportunity of making depredations on their neighbours. Their continual wars with the *Karakalpacs*, and the *Kasatshai-Horda*, oblige them to keep their towns and villages in a state of defence. They are indeed subject to *Russian* *Wiwodes*, to whom they pay an annual

nual tribute in corn, wax, honey, and cattle: but they have also their particular chiefs, who govern them according to their ancient customs. Notwithstanding that the generality of the *Taik-Cosaks* profess the *Greek* religion, yet a great many reliques of mahometanism and paganism are still found among them. Being naturally bold and hardy, they make excellent soldiers; and they are not so turbulent as the other *Cosaks*. They live entirely at peace with the *Calmuks*, and their other neighbours, and even maintain a commercial intercourse with them.

Division
of the go-
vernment
of Kiew.

THE government of KIEW is divided into the circles of *Starodub*, *Severien* or *Neshin*, (formerly a duchy, ceded by the *Poles* to the *Russians* by the treaty of *Andrussow* in 1667) *Tshernigow* (formerly a duchy, and ceded also by the *Poles* to the *Russians* by the same treaty) *Kiew*, *Pereiaslaw*, *Priluki*, *Lubni*, *Mirgorod*, *Gaditsch*, *Pultawa*, and *Samara*.

THE places of most note in these circles are,

Starodub, declared a royal free city by the kings of *Poland*, and one of the four guarantee towns yielded as a security to the *Russians* by the *Poles*.

Kiew, or *Kiow*, formerly *Kisovia*, the capital of this government, said to owe its origin to *Kius*, a *Slavonian* prince; and, according to the *Polish* writers, to have been built in the year 430: but this account is not to be depended on. It was, at first, the residence of *Skold* and *Dir*, two celebrated *Waregarian* chiefs: but in the year 1037, the great duke *Jaroslav* declared it the capital of all *Russia*; and it continued to be the residence of the great dukes till the twelfth century. Afterwards it fell into the hands of the *Poles*, who, by the treaty of *Andrussow*, in 1667, gave it up to the *Russians* for a certain term of years, and in 1686 ceded it for ever. While *Kiew* was subject to the *Poles*, the papists had a bishop there; but it is now the see of a *Greek* archbishop, who is the principal of its university. In this town, which is the only one in all *Russia* where there are any remains of antiquity, are some *Greek* inscriptions twelve hundred years old, but not such as can throw any light upon the history of the people.

Pultawa, famous for the siege laid to it by the *Suedes* in 1709, and for the defeat of *Charles XII.* after which it fell into the hands of the *Russians*. It stands on the river *Worskla*, and is not a place of any great strength.

The go-
vernment
of Bie-
logorod.

VII. The Government of BIELOGOROD,

A PART of little *Russia*, inhabited by *Cosaks*, is one of the most fruitful provinces in this whole empire, and supplies

plies Poland with prodigious quantities of black cattle, well known by the name of *Ukraine* oxen. This province, and that of *Kiew*, are defended from the incursions of the *Crim Tartars* by lines and forts, which reach from the *Dnieper* to the *Don*.

THE government of *Bielogorod* includes the districts of *Izium*, *Carlow*, *Sumyn*, *Kursk*, the circles of *Bielogorod*, *Waslon*, &c. *luiki*, and *Siewsk*, and the province of *Orel*.

Its capital, formerly called *Sarkel*, now *Bielogorod*, stands on the river *Donetz*, was built in the year 990 by the great duke *Wladimir*, and is an archbishop's see.

VIII. The Government of WORONESH and ASOW

INCLUDES the districts of *Woronesh*, *Idez*, *Schatzk*, *Tam- bow*, *Korotaiak*, and *Bachmut*. Its principal places are, *Woronesh*, a bishop's see, and the residence of the *Statthalter* or governor. It lies upon the narrow, but very deep river of the same name, and most of its streets are laid with beams of timber, instead of a stone-pavement. Here *Peter the Great*, to the astonishment of all *Russia*, built his first large ships of war, in order to maintain his sovereignty over the *Black Sea*; and at the same time he made another dock-yard at *Tawrow*, a small town on the same river. The vessels built at this last were chiefly galleys and barks, which were employed in the war against the *Turks*.

Afow, a celebrated and important fortress, and once a town of considerable trade, but now demolished. Near this place, which lies in the district of *Bachmut*, the *Greeks*, many centuries ago, built the city of *Tanais*, which was very famous for its trade, and, from time to time, underwent many vicissitudes. The *Genoese*, who settled a trade with *Russia* soon after captain *Chancellor's* discovery of *Archangel*, became masters of this place in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and gave it the name of *Tana*, or *Catana* (A). From the *Genoese* it fell into the hands of the *Turks*, lost its trade, and became an inconsiderable town. In 1637, it was taken by the *Cossaks*; who defended it against the *Turks* in 1641, and the next year set fire to it, and blew it up. The *Turks* rebuilt it, with strong fortifications: the *Russians* laid claim to it in 1672, and took it in 1696; but by the treaty of the *Pruth* in 1711, it was restored to the *Turks*. In 1736, the *Russians* became masters of *Afow*; but by

(A) The *Tartars*, who were very powerful in these parts, seem to have been in possession of it long before; for there are *Afow* coins yet extant, on which is the name of the *Taktangsky-Kan*. *Bushching*.

the treaty concluded at *Belgrade* in 1739, they were obliged to relinquish, and entirely destroy the place. Such were the various turns of fortune which befel this important fortress.

THE *Don-Cosaks* are the most numerous part of the inhabitants of the government of *Woronesh* and *Ajow*. Their *Ottomann*, or chief, resides chiefly at a town called *Tsherkask*, built after the *Turkish* manner, on the river *Don*.

THESE eight governments include the country supposed always to have been ancient *Russia*.

The duchies of Livonia and Esthonia.

The Duchies of LIVONIA and ESTHONIA

WERE formerly possessed by three different nations, viz. the *Livonians*, *Lettonians*, and *Esthonians*; in consequence of which they were divided into *Liefland* or *Livonia*, *Lettland* or *Lettonia*, and *Estland* or *Esthonia*; not to mention the duchies of *Courland* and *Semgallen*, which also made a part of this country, till the sixteenth century.

THE name of *Liefland* or *Livonia*, which properly belongs only to the district that lies along the *Duna*, has in time been applied also to *Lettonia*; and, generally speaking, the name *Livonia* comprehends the country properly so called, together with *Lettonia* and *Esthonia*: but, strictly, *Livonia* is only the south, and *Esthonia* is the north part of the country.

Their boundaries on Courland, the Baltic, the gulph of Finland, Ingria, and extent. *Russia Proper*, and *Poland*; and extends in length from north to south, from 150 to 200 miles, and in breadth from 130 to 160, exclusive of the islands belonging to it.

Air, soil, and produce. THIS country consists partly of woods and morasses, and partly in a very fruitful soil. The air is clear and healthy; and though the winter be severe and long, and the summer consequently short, yet the heat of the climate during this last season is such, that the grain sown immediately before or just after winter, ripens perfectly, and yields such plentiful crops, that *Livonia* is called the "Granary of the north (A)."

♫ BUSCHING Geog. & MÜLLER Sammlung Geschichte, vol. ii.

(A) In good years the *Livonians* export great quantities of rye and barley to *Holland*, *Spain*, and other parts. Before the corn is threshed, they dry and harden it in kilns, heated by stoves or ovens; a method which does not in the least hurt it for sowing afterwards, or for making bread or malt. We find this practice much recommended by the celebrated M. *Dubamel* in his *Traité de la Conservation des Grains*.

It likewise produces abundance of flax, hemp, and lin-feed, reckoned the best of any; and exports great quantities of hides and leather. Its horned cattle, horses, and goats, are very numerous, and much esteemed: but its sheep are not extraordinary, their wool being coarse.

THE rivers which water this country are the *Duna*, the *Rivers Aa*, the *Embek*, the *Pernau*, and others of less note. It has also several lakes, as the *Peipus* lake, the *Werczer* lake, which is twenty-three miles in length and nine in breadth, the *Lugan* lake, &c. These, as well as the rivers, afford plenty of fine salmon and other fish. Turbots are likewise caught in the gulph of *Riga*, and a great part of the inhabitants subsist by their fisheries. Upon these coasts are taken prodigious shoals of stromlings, a species of herrings, which, when salted, are the ordinary food of the lower sort of people. A *Swede* has of late set on foot a pearl-fishery, and there are between forty and fifty rivulets and lakes in *Esthonia* and *Livonia* where it is carried on: but the former yields more pearls than the latter, which almost equal the oriental in size and clearness.

THIS country was formerly over-run with vast forests of oak, fir, pine, and birch trees: but the great quantities of timber used in building houses and other structures, almost all of which are of wood, as well in the towns as villages, and the making of the harbour of *Roderwyck*, together with what the inhabitants have cut down in order to clear their lands for tillage, have thinned them considerably, and thereby helped to free this country from numbers of wild beasts, with which it used formerly to be exceedingly infested.

THE roads and highways in *Livonia* are kept in good repair, and at the end of every *Russian* werst, a red pillar is erected, on which is marked the number of wersts from one town to another. The country-inns are very mean; but the post-houses have every thing in good order. The usual way of travelling in winter, is in sledges.

THIS country was formerly interspersed with many towns and villages; but they have been so destroyed by the wars and commotions, which *Livonia* has experienced, that scarcely any thing more than the ruins of them now remain. In many countries, a traveller passes through more towns in a journey of fifty or three score miles, than in all this vast extent of land. To the same cause, among several others, may likewise be ascribed the indigence of the *Livonian* peasants, who are obliged to carry to their lords whatever corn they intend for sale, and to take of them, in return,

iron, salt, tobacco, and such other things, as they have occasion for, charged at an exorbitant rate. These lords afterwards distil spirits from it, which they vend; or send it to the sea-ports, where they dispose of it to the best advantage.

Their inhabitants,

A much greater number of people might doubtless be maintained in *Livonia* than it has at present; for it has been extremely depopulated by war, pestilence, and famine. Their number may be partly ascertained by the following method: The estates in *Livonia* are taxed according to the number of *Hakes*, that is, of men fit for labour; between the age of fifteen and fifty; five of these being reckoned to a *Hake*. Now the peasants of *Livonia* are said to consist of no more than 5000 *Hakes*, which amount to 25,000 labouring men: an inconsiderable number for so extensive a province.

BESIDES inhabitants who are descended from the *Germans*, *Livonia* contains great numbers of *Estonians* and *Lettonians*, people of a very different extraction and language; though their manners and customs are pretty much the same. The *Estonians*, from their similarity of speech, and other circumstances, seem to be derived from the same stock with the *Finlanders*. The *Lettonians*, both from their name and language, seem to have sprung from that of the *Lithuanians*, who were composed of a variety of *Sarmatian* tribes. The *Livonians* call both these *Undeutschen*, that is, people who are not *Germans*. Their stature seldom exceeds the middle size; but they are vigorous and hardy, enduring cold and heat, and undergoing the greatest fatigue and labour with alacrity. Their houses are very mean, and the rooms quite black with smoke, owing to their making their fires in the middle of them. They are all vassals, or rather slaves to their lords, who may treat them as they please, provided they do not kill them. They are chiefly employed in agriculture, grazing, and fishing; have a natural genius for mechanics, though there are few artificers among them; are much addicted to drunkenness, and indulge many superstitious practices in private. There are also many *Russians* in this country. The languages usually spoken here are the *German*, the *Russian*, the *Swedish*, the *Finlandish*, the *Lettonian* and *Estonian* tongues. Most of the inhabitants of *Livonia* are *Lutherans*; but the *Calvinists*, papists, and members of the *Greek church*, residing among them, are indulged with the free exercise of their religion. Their nobility, who are very numerous, and mostly of foreign extraction, being descended from such families as came anciently into *Livonia*, with the king of *Denmark*, or removed thither from different parts of *Germany*, particularly *Lower-Saxony*, together with some *Swedes* and *Poles*,

Poles, have, in general, always chosen a military life. Those who are otherwise inclined, who chuse to reside upon their estates, and make improvements in agriculture, are commonly invested with civil and juridical employments; and of this class are governors, prefects, land-marsbals provincial, and *Hake* judges, &c. They have no reason to complain of having fallen under the dominions of *Russia*; all their rights and privileges have been since confirmed to them, and the estates which the crown of *Sweden* had reassumed having also been restored to the former feudatories.

A diet or provincial assembly is held for *Esthonia* once in three years, at *Reval*; in which one of the chief of the nobility, who is equal to a land-marsbal, is elected by vote, and at the expiration of his office he is intitled, on the first vacancy, to the post of *land-rath*, or provincial counsellor. All matters relative to the public utility are discussed in this diet, and out of it a committee is appointed, in which the *land-raths* have a seat. The diet is convened by the chief of the nobility, on any important occasion: but it is never held at *Riga*, without leave from the court of *Russia*; which being obtained, a land-marsbal is chosen, whose business is chiefly restricted to the affairs under the consideration of the diet.

ALL the parishes in *Esthonia*, which are only forty in number, from whence we may judge of their extent, are subject to the nobility in point of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. They are divided into provostships, according to the circles in which they lie. The consistory of nobles is composed of a president, who is a land-rath, provosts, the preachers at the cathedral of *Reval*, and some other assessors. Here is also a supreme spiritual court of appeals, which consists of some of the clergy, land-raths and nobles. and government.

Livonia, or the general government of *Riga*, contains upwards of an hundred and twenty parishes, which are likewise under the jurisdiction of a consistory of nobles, and a general superintendant, who resides at *Riga*, where the high consistory is held. Each circle has a governor in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, who must be a nobleman. The ministers of *Pernau*, *Dorpat*, and other little towns in *Livonia*, are subject to the general superintendant: but the cities of *Riga*, *Reval*, and *Narva*, have their consistories, which, as well as their magistracy, are independent of the nobility.

THE highest tribunal in *Esthonia* is called *The Government*, or *Supreme Provincial Court*, which assembles yearly for the administration of justice, about the middle of *January*, and continues sitting till *Easter*. It is composed of the governor,

who is president, and twelve land-raths, who are all noble, and have the rank of major-general. The land-raths have power to fill up at their own discretion, the vacancies in their college, from among the nobility, without any licence or nomination from the crown; and the senior land-raths compose a government in the absence of the other governors. Subordinate to this tribunal are the *Mann-Gerichte* or inferior courts, and *Haken-Richter* or inferior judges. The *Haken-Richter* of every circle in *Esthonia* has two adjuncts or assistants. His post is to inspect the roads and bridges, to levy the money granted by the diet for the public service, and to hear and determine all debates concerning limits and other incidents. A *Mann-Gerichte*, of which there are three, is composed of a judge, two assessors, and a notary. These take cognizance of all criminal matters, and disputes of greater importance. An appeal lies from the *Haken-Richter* to the *Mann-Richter*. Both these are appointed by the college of land-raths, and must be of the rank of nobles, and continue in office for three years only. When they are changed, the adjuncts are generally made assessors, one of the assessors is appointed *Haken-Richter*, and the former *Haken-Richter* is preferred to the office of *Mann-Richter*. As these courts are held only at certain times, the plaintiffs are obliged to make application previously to the *General Government* or supreme council, where the governor, who is nominated by the crown, presides.

THE chief tribunal in the *General Government* of *Riga* or *Livonia*, is the *Hof Gericht*, or supreme court of judicature, which is appointed by the czarina. There are also twelve land-raths, or provincial counsellors; but only one of them has a seat in the *Hof-Gericht*. Each of these land-raths resides in his turn, at *Riga*, for a month, in order to preside in the college of the nobility, and takes cognizance of the same affairs, as the chief of the nobles does in *Esthonia*. The land-raths indeed elect the college; but their choice must be approved by the *Russian* court. The inferior courts are the *Land-Gericht*, and *Ordnungs-Gericht*, the members of which have their respective assessors; and they are on the same footing as the *Mann-Richter* and *Haken-Richter* in *Esthonia*. But from all these courts there lies an appeal to the college of judicature, established at *Petersburg* for the provinces of *Esthonia* and *Livonia*, and from that again to the senate, which is the supreme tribunal for the whole *Russian* empire.

Their ancient history very obscure.

THE ancient history of these duchies is very dark and obscure. Paganism prevailed in them till the 12th century,

when the christian religion was first introduced into *Livonia* by the following accident. In the year 1158, some *Bremer* merchants, bound to *Wisby* in *Gothland*, being driven by stress of weather upon the coast of *Livonia*, landed at the mouth of the river *Duna*, near the *Baltic*. The inhabitants, who called themselves *Liven*, at first opposed their landing; but becoming more tractable by degrees, they at last traded with each other. After this the *Bremehers* came hither in greater numbers, to traffic with the natives, with whose consent they formed a little settlement about two leagues up the river. These new colonists soon increasing, brought with them from *Germany*, about the year 1186, one *Meinhard*, an *Augustine* monk, of the convent of *Segeberg* in *Wagria*, who having learned the language of the country, persuaded some of the *Livonians* to be baptized, and was soon after ordained bishop of *Kerkholm*, one of their towns, which was made an episcopal see. From this æra a great many *German* families settled in *Livonia*; and about the same time, viz. in 1196, *Cayute VI.* king of *Denmark*, made an expedition into *Esthonia*, and, after conquering that province, introduced christianity, built churches, and sent priests to officiate in them. With a view towards effecting the reduction of *Livonia*, bishop *Albert* instituted an order of knighthood, called the knights of Christ, and pope *Innocent III.* gave them the same statutes with the knights templars, and a cross and sword to be worn upon their coat by way of badge, at the same time enjoining them obedience to the bishop of *Riga*. In the year 1206, bishop *Albert* gave this order a grant of a third part of *Livonia*, with all the privileges of sovereignty; which was confirmed in 1210, by pope *Innocent III.* who exempted the knights from tythes, and other imposts. These knights were, by order of *Winno*, their first grand master, stiled *Fratres Enssiferi*, or sword-bearing knights. In 1231 they were united with the knights of the Teutonic order; and as their habit, when thus incorporated, was a white mantle with a black cross, they called themselves *Brothers of the Cross*; which humble title they, however, changed in 1382, into that of *Lords of the Cross*. In 1346, these knights purchased *Esthonia* of *Waldemar III.* king of *Denmark*, for 18,000 *Lothige* marks of silver (A). In 1521, the grand-master of the Teutonic order in *Prussia*, sold his chief jurisdiction in *Livonia*, to *Walter Plettenberg*, the general of the knights of the cross, who, together with

(A) A *Lothige* mark is nine ounces twelve penny-weights Troy weight.

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the states of *Livonia*, were discharged from their oath of obedience to the Teutonic grand-master; and in a little time after the emperor *Charles V.* admitted them among the princes of the empire. By this privilege the *Livonians* had a right of appealing from their high court of judicature to the aulic council at *Spire*. About this time the reformation began to extend over the whole country.

TOWARDS the middle of the sixteenth century, the czar *Iwan Basilowitz* formed the design of subduing this country: upon which the city of *Reval*, and the duchy of *Esthonia*, put themselves under the protection of *Sweden*: and upon these grounds was founded the claim of the crown of *Sweden* to *Livonia*, as well as the superior privileges which *Esthonia* enjoyed beyond *Livonia*. *Gothard Ketlern*, grand-master of the order of the cross, surrendered *Livonia* to the king of *Poland*, as great duke of *Lithuania*; upon which it was annexed to the crown; solemnly resigned his command; and in 1561 was created the first duke of *Courland*, but was to hold this duchy as a fief of *Poland*. The *Poles* also got possession of *Riga* and *Lettonia*: immediately after which a dreadful war broke out betwixt *Russia*, *Sweden*, and *Poland*, and laid waste this country in particular, for a whole century, till, by the famous treaty of *Oliva*, in 1660, *Livonia* was given up by *Poland* to *Sweden*, and the *Duna* was agreed on as the boundary betwixt the *Swedish* and *Polish* dominions. This country was again miserably ravaged in the great northern war, which broke out in the beginning of the present century; till at last, by the treaty of *Nystadt*, concluded in the year 1721, *Sweden* agreed to cede *Livonia* for ever to *Russia*. Notwithstanding this, the *Swedes* attempted to recover it in 1741; but instead of succeeding, lost part of *Finland*, which they were obliged to give up to *Russia* by the treaty of *Abo*, concluded in 1743.

Their present division and principal places.

SINCE this country has been under the dominion of *Russia*, it has been divided into

1. The general government of *Riga*;
2. The general government of *Reval*; and,
3. The government of the city of *Narva*.

IX. The general Government of R I G A

CONTAINS *Lettonia*, to which the name of *Livonia* is also given in a restricted sense, and consists of the circles of *Riga*, *Wenden*, *Pernau*, *Dorpat*, and the province of *Oesel*.

THE principal places in this government are, *Riga*, the capital not only of this circle and government, but also of the whole province. It stands upon the

river,

rives *Duna*, and is said to have taken its name from a rivulet formerly called *Rige*, now *Rising*, which is almost dried up. This city, though populous, well fortified, and famed for its opulence and commerce, is not large. *Charles XII.* king of *Sweden*, in 1660, not only declared it the capital of the country, but ranked it next in degree to *Stockholm*, and honoured all the members of its council, and their successors, with the title of noble, whilst they sit in the council. The streets are narrow, but the houses are handsome, and built chiefly with stone, much in the same manner as those of the *Hanse* towns upon the *Baltic*. Its cathedral and churches, particularly those of the *Lutherans*, and its *gymnasium* or academy, are magnificent structures, and well endowed. Here are an ancient castle, a strong citadel, and two well-furnished arsenals, one stored with arms at the expence of the crown, the other at that of the city. Its fortifications, have been much improved by its present possessors; and those next the sea have been enlarged with additional works. This city has an excellent harbour, carries on a good trade with *England*, *Holland*, and the *Hanse* towns, in summer; and in the winter-season it trafficks with the *Russian* provinces by means of sledges. Its privileges, which are very considerable, were confirmed by the empress *Anne*. The supreme court of judicature for *Livonia*, and the high consistory, are held in this city, which is also the residence of the governor and general superintendant. *Riga* was built in the year 1200, and shortly after encompassed with a wall. It has suffered greatly both by fires and sieges. Of the latter, the most considerable are those it sustained from the *Russians* in 1656; from the *Saxons* and *Poles* in 1700; and a second time from the *Russians* in 1710, when it was obliged to submit to *Peter the Great*.

Dunamunde, formerly a convent of *Cistercian* monks, founded by *Albert*, bishop of *Livonia*, in the year 1201, is now a noble fortification, at the mouth of the *Duna*, where the ships which sail out of the *Baltic* into that river, pay toll or custom. It was taken by the *Swedes* in 1609 and 1618; and in 1700 by the *Saxons*, who gave it the name of *Augustsburg*. In 1701 it surrendered a third time to the *Swedes*, who by that means became masters of a fine train of artillery belonging to the *Saxons*; and in 1710 it was taken by the *Russians*.

Wenden, in the circle of that name, though once the seat of the grand-master of the Teutonic order, and a place of great importance, having had several diets held in it, is now reduced to a small mean town. When it was besieged

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besieged and taken by the *Russians* in 1577, many of the inhabitants, dreading the savage cruelty of the *Russians*, blew themselves up with the castle.

Dorpat, or *Dorpt*, a town upon the river *Embeck*, which is called by the *Esthonians*, *Emma Soggi*, or the *Mother-river*, stands in the circle of the same name, and is also called *Odumpe*. It was built in the year 1030, by *Jurii Jaroslaw Wladimirwitz*, great duke of *Russia*, who gave it the name of *Juriew*; but the *Russians* continued in possession of it only to the year 1191. *Volgum*, great master of the knights of the cross, took *Dorpat* by storm in 1210; after which it was rebuilt by those knights, and made an episcopal see. It was formerly a member of the *Hanseatic* confederacy, a place of considerable trade, and a rich and beautiful town; but its wealth and beauty have, from time to time, fallen a prey to the frequent ravages of war. The last siege it sustained was in 1704, when it was taken by the *Russians*, and treated with great inhumanity. But its ruin was completed in 1708, when these savage conquerors carried away all its inhabitants as prisoners of war, and blew up its castle and fortifications. Those unhappy captives being afterwards allowed to return to their native place, rebuilt it, with wooden houses, as well as their wretched circumstances would permit; and since the peace of *Nystadt*, the number of its inhabitants has been so much increased, that it is rather more populous now than it was under the *Swedish* dominion; though it still makes a very melancholy appearance, almost all its ancient buildings still lying in ruins. *Gustavus Adolphus*, king of *Sweden*, founded an university at *Dorpat*, in the year 1632; but it was removed in 1699 to *Pernau*, where it soon decayed; and the building originally intended for it is now converted into a magazine.

THE province of *Oesel* includes the islands of *Oesel*, *Moen*, and *Runoe*. *Oesellies* at the entrance of the gulf of *Riga*, is about sixty miles long, and from nine to twelve broad, and formerly belonged to the *Teutonic* order, who resigned it to the *Danes*. The *Danes*, at the peace of *Bremesebro*, ceded it to the *Swedes*; and these last, by the treaty of *Nystadt*, gave it up to *Russia*. *Moen* and *Runoe* are little islands of no sort of consequence.

X. The general Government of REVAL

INCLUDES the province of *Esthonia*. Its chief places are, *Reval*, which lies upon the *Baltic*, and once made no inconsiderable figure among the *Hanse* towns. Though not large, it is opulent, well fortified, and still has a flourishing trade.

trade. Both the town and castle were founded by *Waldemar II.* king of *Denmark*, in the year 1218; and received, as well as the whole duchy of *Esthonia*, most of its privileges from the *Danish* monarch. The houses of this city, which are of brick, are, in general, well built; but the streets are narrow and irregular. Its harbour is convenient and spacious, and a part of the *Russian* fleet usually lies in it. *Reval* has its own arsenal, and maintains a number of matrosses and soldiers. Its tolls or customs, which are considerable, are divided between the magistracy and the crown. It was totally destroyed by fire in the year 1433; and in 1710 surrendered to *Peter the Great*, who not only confirmed its ancient privileges, but restored several others which the crown of *Sweden* had taken away.

NEAR *Reval* lie the remains of the rich convent of *Marienthal*, which was demolished at the reformation. The building of this convent, which was begun in 1400, or 1407, took up twenty-nine years.

ABOUT thirty miles further, upon the same coast, lies *Rogerwick*, where *Peter I.* purposed to have made an excellent harbour; but it was not finished in his time. In 1746, the empress *Elizabeth* took a view of this place, and ordered the work begun by her father to be continued.

THE little triangular island of *Dagbo*, in the *Baltic*, is tolerably fertile. Each side of it is about twelve miles long.

THE city of *Narva*, upon the banks of a rapid river of the same name, which runs from the *Peipus* lake into the gulf of *Finland*, was built in the year 1224, in the reign of *Waldemar II.* king of *Denmark*. It is not large, but its houses are handsome; and its trade, particularly in flax, is very considerable. *Narva* has frequently felt the calamities of war. When closely pressed by the *Russians* in 1700, it was relieved by *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*; who, with an army greatly inferior to that of the *Russians*, entirely defeated the latter, and raised the siege. In 1704, it was again besieged by the *Russians*, and carried by assault; and since that time it has been a part of the *Russian* dominions, but with the full enjoyment of all its former rights and privileges; the *Russians* only reserving the right of appeal to the senate at *Petersburg*.

XI. INGRIA, which now constitutes the Government of PETERSBURG;

LIES between the gulf of *Finland*, *Carelia*, and *Russia*, properly so called; and is watered by the *Luga*, the *Sissa*, the *Cowassa*, and the *Newa*, or *Neva*: which last is a broad river, rapid

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rapid river, has its source in the lake *Ladoga*, and runs through the city of *Petersburg*, where it divides into several channels, and after a course of about forty miles, discharges itself into the gulf of *Finland*. This country is fertile, both in corn and pasture, and abounds in all kinds of game, particularly elks. The *Russians* had been in possession of this province so early as the thirteenth century; but were afterwards obliged to give it up to *Sweden*. They recovered it again in 1702; and it was confirmed to them, with their other conquests, by the treaty of *Nyßadt* in 1721, and that of *Abo* in 1743.

and principal places.

THE most remarkable places in this government are, *Iwangorod*, or *John's-castle*, a strong fort, built by the great duke *Iwan Basilowitz*, in the year 1492, on the river *Narva*, close by the city of the same name.

Kronstadt, a good town, and admirable fortification, upon the island of *Retusari*, which is about four miles long, and one mile broad, and is called by the *Russians*, on account of its form, *Kotlinnoi-Ostrow*, or the *Kettle-island*. *Kronstadt* lies in the gulf of *Finland*, about eight leagues, by water, from *Petersburg*, and near two leagues from the coast of *Ingria*. It was built by *Peter I.* who also erected near it the strong fort of *Kronschloss*, in 1703, in the winter-season. That great prince embellished *Kronstadt* with a fine palace of stone; but it is now uninhabited, and, with several other handsome stone edifices, which make a grand appearance on the *Ingria* side, is falling to decay. The inhabitants of *Kronstadt* are a mixture of all nations, consisting of soldiers, sailors, and burghers; and amount to about twenty thousand souls. The town is defended by its own wall, on which several great guns are planted, and also by the citadel and fort of *Kronschloss*, which are at a very small distance from it, on the *Ingrian* shore. *Kronstadt* has three harbours, which are all large, safe, and commodious; but the *first* water in them is very prejudicial to ships. The harbour for merchantmen lies westward, and is very convenient; but that for ships of war, in which the greatest part of the *Russian* fleet is laid up, lies towards the east. The powder-magazine is built in the water in this harbour. The middle harbour is for other ships and yachts belonging to the crown. *Peter the Great* intended to fit up this place for the conveniency of repairing his large men of war, by making a stone canal, of an extraordinary breadth and depth, with several docks in it. But this great work was not compleated till the present reign. The canal alone is two wersts and fifty fathoms long; and from the outward sluice of the dock to the sea, is three

three hundred and fifty-eight *Russian*, or four hundred and seventeen *English* fathoms. The water in it is raised to the depth of twenty-four feet, by means of two large sluices. On the surface of the water, the canal, when full, is one hundred feet, and at the bottom from fifty-four to sixty-seven feet in breadth. The outward and inward walls of the canal, and the mole, are hewn out of a rock. At the end of the canal is a deep-bason, lined with stone, which intersects the former at right angles, and is intended for a reservoir of the water of the canal, when the docks are to be cleared of it. This great and useful work is not to be paralleled. When the canal was first opened in 1752, it received the appellation of *Peter the First and the Great*; and at the mouth of it were erected two pyramids. On the north-side of the island of *Retusari*, the water is so shallow, as to be navigable only for small boats.

Kronschloss is a strong castle, built on a sand-bank in the sea, at the distance of a cannon-shot from the harbour of *Kronstadt*, towards *Ingria*. It was erected, as we have already observed, by *Peter I.* for the security of his conquests; and such improvements have been added to it since, that, like *Kronstadt*, it is justly called the bulwark of *Petersburg*. It is built in the form of a round tower, with three galleries, one above another, and is well provided with cannon on every side. All ships that sail to *Petersburg* are obliged to pass between this castle and *Kronstadt*, within reach of the cannon from both sides.

Oranienbaum, a fine palace on the continent, near the gulf of *Finland*, and directly facing *Kronstadt*, was built by prince *Menshikow*, and afterwards converted into an hospital for seamen: but it is now the summer-residence of the great duke. Nothing can be more delightful than the garden belonging to this seat.

Peterhof is an imperial palace on the coast of *Ingria*, where the present empress usually resides in summer. From the time of *Peter I.* no expence has been spared in adding to the natural beauties of this place, all the embellishments of art. The building itself cannot, indeed, boast of any great regularity; but its charming situation, the elegance of its gardens, adorned with fountains which eject prodigious columns of water to an amazing height, its grottos, double cascades, delightful groves, and many other beauties too numerous to recite, render it little inferior to the celebrated *Versailles*. The palace stands on a hill, about sixty feet high, and commands a most extensive prospect, diversified with noble views of the city of *Petersburg*, *Kronstadt*, and the sea. Among

the summer-houses belonging to this palace, is a very fine one, famed for its curious paintings, and distinguished by the name of *Mon Plaisir*, My Delight.

Strclin-Hof, or *Strelna-Musa*, is an imperial seat, built in the water, by Peter I. who intended to make it a superb palace, with a garden, a labyrinth, and other embellishments; but his plan has not yet been compleated.

• *Elizabeth-Hoff*, *Annen-Hoff*, and *Catharine-Hoff*; are also imperial residences on the river *Neva*. The last, which was the favourite seat of the empress *Catharine*, consists, properly, of two edifices, and stands in a wood, in one of the finest spots near *Petersburg*; but its low situation exposes it to frequent inundations.

St. Petersburg, situate in 59 degrees 57 minutes north latitude, is one of the capitals of the *Russian* empire, and an imperial residence. It lies partly on the continent in *Ingria* and *Finland*, among thick woods, and partly on several islands, formed by the channels of the *Neva*, which divides itself into two main branches, called the *Great* and *Little Neva*, and many smaller streams, and by the rivers *Fontanka* and *Moika*, besides several canals. The low and swampy soil in which it stands, has been considerably raised with trunks of trees, earth, and stone: its situation is nevertheless pleasant, and the air wholesome. The city is about six *English* miles in length, and nearly the same in breadth, and has neither wall nor gates. The number of its houses is computed at eight thousand, about six hundred of which are of stone; but the rest are built with timber, and, for the most part, in an irregular manner, after the *Russian* taste. There are about twenty *Russian* churches in *Petersburg*; and, which we may justly look upon as so many temples erected to toleration, and so many noble examples set to other nations, four *Lutheran* churches for the *Germans*, several *Calvinistical* for the *Swedes*, *Finlanders*, and *French* protestants, and others for the *English*, *Dutch*, and *Roman* catholics. The beginning and increase of this now flourishing metropolis were very extraordinary; for till the year 1703, the only buildings on the spot, where it now stands, were two small fishing huts; and *Peter the Great* having in that year taken of *Nyenschanze* upon the river *Neva*, and made himself master of this country, its convenient situation for the *Baltic* trade determined him to build a town and fortress here; a design which he immediately began to put in execution, calling the town by his own name. It was at first intended only for a place of arms, to which all kinds of military stores might be conveniently brought from the interior parts of

of the empire, in order to facilitate the carrying on of the war with *Sweden*. Both the public edifices and private houses were then built only with wood; the dock and the town had no other fortifications than a rampart of earth, nor were the streets paved; so that if the czar had been deprived of the place at that time, his loss would not have been great. But, shortly after, the victory at *Pultawa*, and the reduction of *Livonia*, inspiring him with hopes that he should be able to keep his conquests; influenced also by his fondness for maritime affairs, by a desire of perpetuating his name, an aversion to *Moscow*, where he had received much ill treatment in his youth, and, some add, the pleasure of mortifying the *Russians*, who were extremely attached to the city of *Moscow*, he began to think seriously of rendering *Petersburg* the capital of his empire; and accordingly ordered the castle to be built with stone, the admiralty to be walled-in with the same materials, all the buildings to be erected in a handsomer and more durable manner than before, and gardens to be laid out.

IN 1714 he removed the council to *Petersburg*, and handsome edifices were erected in a strait line, for the public offices, which were also translated thither in 1718. The principal families were likewise ordered to make this their place of residence, and to build houses here according to their abilities. This occasioned an irregularity in the buildings; for the situation of the town was not precisely fixed till the year 1721. The nobility and burghers had been directed to build their houses on the island of *Petersburg*; and not a few buildings, both public and private, were accordingly erected there. But afterwards the emperor resolved to have the whole town stand upon the island of *Wassili-Ostrow*. The streets were marked out, canals were dug, the island was to be defended by fifty-seven bastions, and the nobility had their houses to begin again; when the death of the czar put a stop to the execution of this design; and the new buildings then erected, have since been suffered to go to ruin.

THE *Russian* nobility expressed great reluctance to settle at *Petersburg*; nor is it to be wondered at, as they can neither live so cheap, nor so commodiously there, as they did at *Moscow*. The soil about *Petersburg* is not very fertile, so that provisions are brought to that city from a great distance, and must be paid for in ready money; which was no small inconvenience to the nobility, who were accustomed to subsist chiefly on the produce of their estates, and seldom absorbed in money. Besides, *Moscow* seemed to them much more

for the imperial seat; being in the center of the empire, from whence justice might be more easily administered, and the national revenues be received and disbursed with greater conveniency and dispatch. They likewise thought that *Petersburg* stood too near the frontiers of *Sweden*. However, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, this city became large and splendid in the time of its founder, and has been so improved since, by his successors, that it is now ranked among the most elegant places in *Europe*.

THE river *Neva* is about 800 paces broad near *Petersburg*, but not every where proportionably deep; so that large merchant-ships are cleared at *Kronstadt*; but the men of war built at *Petersburg* are conveyed to *Kronstadt* by means of certain machines called *camels*. There is but one bridge over the *Neva*, which is built with large flat-bottomed boats, and joins the dock-yard to *Basili-Ostrow*. The *praams*, or lighters, which support the bridge, are laid across the river in spring, so as to make a safe and convenient passage. But they are taken away in autumn before the frost begins. The only communication between the other islands, even in summer, is either in boats or barks, which cross the water at stated times: but there are bridges over the *Moika*, the *Fon-tanka*, and the canals.

Petersburg-Island, called, by way of distinction, the island of *Old Petersburg*, is formed by the *Great* and *Little Neva*, and the *Newka*, and is upwards of two leagues in circuit. It is well peopled, but most of the houses upon it are very indifferent. Here is still to be seen the little wooden house built by order of *Peter the Great*, for his residence at the time that he arrived upon the spot where the city now stands: and, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of this remarkable circumstance, it is enclosed within a stone-wall, and has been covered with a new roof. On this island is likewise a horn-work belonging to the fort, which stands upon a little island in the middle of the *Neva*, and of the city, and is included under the general denomination of *Petersburg-island*. This fort, which is of an hexagonal form, and built with stone, according to the modern improvements in fortification, is planted with a great number of cannon. Under it are vaults or dungeons, commonly used as prisons. In the midst of it is an elegant church, where the remains of *Peter the Great*, his consort *Catherine*, and many others of that illustrious family, are deposited, in lately mausoleums. In the fine lofty tower belonging to the church, the spire of which is covered with gilt copper, a fine set of bells with chimes, made in *Holland*, which play

play every twelve hours. Upon one of the bastions of this fort, opposite to the imperial palace, a flag is always hung out; according to the custom in *Holland*; which, on state-holidays, is exchanged for a finer, with the *Russian* eagle upon it: and on such festivals the bastions and curtains of the fort are finely illuminated with lamps. On the same bastion also, when the *Neva* is not frozen, a great gun is fired at the rising and setting of the sun, as a signal for the sailors. As this fort stands in the center of the town, it is not only a defence, but a great ornament to it. It serves likewise for a secure prison, and on an emergency may prove a convenient asylum to the sovereign.

Petersburg-Island is separated by the *Carowka* from another, called the *Apothecaries-Island*, which is about five or six miles in circumference, and contains about two hundred houses, besides the large physic-garden, where all kinds of *European* and *Asiatic* plants, roots, and trees, are cultivated in green-houses and other proper places. The other part of this island consists of a pleasant wood.

FROM the island of *Old Petersburg* you cross the *Little Neva* to that of *Wassili-Ostrow*, or *Basil's Island*, which is the largest of all these islands. It is surrounded by the *Great* and *Little Neva*, and lies towards *Kronstadt*. The greatest part of it is covered with woods, and the rest with buildings. It has twelve streets, very long and broad, running in a direct line; upon which account they are called *the lines*, and distinguished by numbers. These are intersected at right angles by six cross streets, but are not paved. The vistas through these streets are very broad and beautiful at both extremities. The largest extends the whole length of the island, as far as the galley-harbour; but the smallest is not so long. Several large canals are cut through this island, particularly at the places where the buildings stand: but most of them being now gone to decay, those parts are little better than morasses. Adjoining to the hemp-warehouse, and opposite to *Petersburg-Island*, are the exchange, the custom-house, the pack-house, and the merchants key. Contiguous to these are several large stone-buildings, belonging to the imperial academy of sciences, which *Peter I.* founded in 1724, and endowed with an annual revenue of 24,912 rubels. That monarch also designed to erect an academy of the polite arts: but as an estimate of the expences attending such an institution has not yet been made, the present empress *Elizabeth* has, in the mean time, augmented the former endowment to 53,298 rubels.

THE academy is divided into two classes, viz. the academy properly so called, and the university. The members of the former are employed solely in finding out new inventions, or in improving the discoveries of others. They are properly stiled *Academicians*; but are commonly called *Professors*. They are under no obligation to instruct youth, unless particular pupils are recommended to them, or they do it voluntarily for their own advantage. This academy is again subdivided into four classes; namely, 1. The astronomical and geographical class. 2. The physical class, whose province is to make improvements in botany, anatomy, and chymistry. 3. The physico-mathematical class, who study mechanicks, civil and military architecture, and experimental philosophy. 4. The higher mathematical class, who solve questions and problems proposed by the other classes, and likewise such as are received from foreign countries. Besides the ten Ordinary, the academy has ten Extraordinary members, who are allowed a pension, which is not to exceed 200 rubels, for the trouble they are sometimes put to in elucidating difficult and important questions sent them by the academy. Every academician has an adjunct or assistant, who is under his care, and succeeds him in his place. The academy is governed by a president, but in such manner, that every thing is transacted under the auspices and direction of her imperial majesty. The president at this time is count *Kirila Grigoriewitsch Rasumowski*, hettman of the *Cosaks*. By the statutes of the academy three solemn meetings are to be held every year, and at each of these public assemblies a *Latin* and a *Russian* dissertation are to be read.

THE university has its particular professors, who read lectures in the sciences, both in the *Russian* and *Latin* languages. No person is disqualified for being a professor on account of his religion; but he must not inculcate in his pupils any thing contrary to the doctrine of the *Greek* church. The students are instructed in poetry, *Greek* and *Latin*, arithmetic, drawing, geometry, and other branches of the mathematics, civil and ecclesiastical history, genealogy and heraldry, philosophy and antiquity: but every pupil is not instructed in all these sciences, nor are youth of mean circumstances admitted into the university. In the year 1750 the number of students amounted to thirty, who were sent from different convents, and lived in one house, under the inspection of a professor. The college designed for the academy, which stands somewhat lower, was consumed by fire.

fire in 1747, and has not yet been rebuilt. In the buildings belonging to the academy are, 1. The imperial library, which, as appears by the catalogue published in the year 1742, in three volumes *octavo*, contains 2699 *folios*, 3410 *quartos*, and 2078 *octavos* and *duodecimos*, amounting in all to 14,187 volumes, besides 282 *Russian* manuscripts. 2. The *Museum*, containing natural and artificial curiosities, with a collection of physical, mathematical, and other instruments." 3. The printing-house. 4. The bookseller's shop. 5. The apartment for book-binding. 6. Another for letter-founding. 7. The engraving apartment. 8. The academy for painting. 9. The room where mathematical instruments are made. The famous copper-globe of *Gottorp*, which stood upon the tower of the academy, was almost consumed by fire, along with the tower, in 1747; but it has since been very skilfully repaired and beautified, at a vast expence, and rendered more accurate than before. After ascending a few steps, one enters this globe through a little door. Within it is a table with benches round it, on which a dozen persons may sit conveniently, and be turned round with the celestial globe, the outside of which is the terrestrial. Its diameter is eleven feet. It was brought hither from *Gottorp* in the year 1714, and now stands by itself in a stone-edifice.

THE *gymnasium* and *seminarium* belong also to the university.

THE next remarkable place, in order, is the *theatrum pyrotechnicum*, or fire-work theatre, built on piles in the river *Neva*, opposite to the imperial winter-palace. Here is a long stone-building, appropriated to the state-colleges and offices.

JUST beyond these stands the magnificent and spacious edifice, which was formerly prince *Menshikow's* palace, but is now the academy of the corps of cadets of noble families, and has received considerable additions, though it still wants a left wing. In 1731 the empress *Anne*, by advice of the field-marshal count *Munich*, issued a proclamation, by virtue of which all the young nobility, and officers sons, of *Russia* and *Livonia*, were invited to *Petersburg*, where they were to be educated *gratis*, according to their rank, &c. In consequence of this ordinance, in the beginning of the year 1732, they made their appearance at *Petersburg*, and the above-mentioned palace was assigned for their dwelling. At that time the number of *Russian* cadets on this foundation was to be 240, and that of the *Germans* 120; which number was then indeed complete, beside some supernumeraries:

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but it is now no longer so, particularly with respect to the *German* cadets, as, of late years, they have been obliged to engage, that they will never quit the *Russian* dominions, nor enter into foreign service. The *Germans* and *Russians*, intermixed together, lodge, three, four, five, seven, eight, or ten, in one apartment, under the inspection of a monitor, who is either a subaltern, or one of the senior cadets. At dinner they have three, and at supper two dishes served up; a captain and a lieutenant being always present. They form three companies, each of which ought to consist of 120 persons. Their present director, or governor in chief, is prince *Jussapow*: next to him is the *commandeur*, who is a lieutenant-colonel, and under him is the major. Every company has a captain, a lieutenant-captain, a first and second lieutenant, ensign, serjeant-major, two serjeants, a capitaine d'armée, a quarter-master, a vice-ensign, four corporals, and eight exempts. The subaltern officers, and sometimes even the field-officers, are selected from among the cadets. They were formerly employed, during the whole summer, in the exercise of arms; but at present they are exercised only in *June*, and part of *July*; and that not after the *Prussian* manner, as heretofore, but according to the *Russian* discipline on foot. They are divided into grenadiers and musqueteers, though there are not many of the former. Every four hours, twelve men and three grenadiers, with a serjeant, corporal, and exempt, mount guard. Every two years they have two suits of cloaths; one for every day, the other to wear when they are on duty. Their uniform is green, with straw-coloured waistcoats; and the coats they wear upon duty are bordered with a narrow gold lace. They are also allowed two laced hats; the one for duty, the other for every day; three half upper shirts, trimmed with lawn at the bosoms, three pair of ruffled sleeves, three cravats, three under-shirts, two pair of spatterdashes once in two years; and three pair of shoes every year. Their hours for instruction are from seven to eleven in the morning, and from two to six in the afternoon: they are divided into classes, and are taught the *Russian*, *German*, *French* and *Latin* languages, with the following sciences, viz. mathematics, history, geography, ethics, politics, logic, civil law, and likewise dancing, fencing, riding, drawing, and other genteel exercises. According to the original plan, their education was to be entrusted to three professors of law, mathematics, history, and the *Russian* language; four adjuncts or assistants, and twenty-four masters; but some of these places are now vacant. There are also a riding-master and his assistant,

sistant, an equerry, and four grooms, with a stud of seventy or eighty horses, maintained on this foundation. The *Russian* cadets have their particular church, with two priests, two lecturers, one deacon, and two sextons; and the *Germans* have a preacher, a chanter, and a sexton, with a church set apart for them, which is also frequented by many other *Lutherans* from the city. Divine service is performed in both churches morning and evening, and the *Russian* popes or priests generally preach a sermon. None are admitted into this corps under twelve years of age, and every cadet, according to the statutes, is to continue there five or six years. But several of them do not stay so long, and others continue longer in the academy. Some of these youths, who are intended for civil employments, are termed students, and are not instructed in any military exercises. The others, at their dismissal, are distributed among the regiments; the cadets as ensigns, the corporals as second lieutenants, the serjeants as serjeants-major, and the ensigns as first lieutenants. The corps is under the controul of the council of state, and the senate; and the annual expence of this foundation amounts to 65,000 rubels. The salary of the governor in chief is 1000 rubels, that of the colonel 1500, that of the major 700 rubels, and the rest in proportion. The professors and masters have apartments *gratis* in the house, to which belongs a very fine garden.

NEAR this academy is the bridge of boats over the *Neva*; and not far from thence is an academy for 360 sea-cadets. The galley-harbour lies a little lower down, towards *Kronstadt*. In sailing up the *Neva* from *Kronstadt*, one sees on the *Wassli-Ostrow*, which lies to the left, a very long row of near fifty elegant stone palaces, built by the *Russian* nobility, in the *Italian* taste, extending along the bank of the river, almost as far as the cadet-academy; but most of them are now empty, and falling to decay.

ON the right-hand is the *Admiralty-side*, or *Admiralty-island*, which is surrounded by the rivers *Neva* and *Fontanka*; and from this island the bridge of boats is laid in the summer to *Wassli-Ostrow*, or *Basil's-island*. There is also a watch-tower at the mouth of the *Neva*, between these two islands. This is the most magnificent part of the city. A parchment-manufactory, the admiralty-victualling-office, the galley-dock where all the galleys are built, and the vast storehouses of timber for ship-building, lie on this island. Here are also a great number of handsome stone-houses, and elegant palaces along the river-side, reaching almost to the bridge of boats. The *English* factory have their place of

worship in this part, and behind it is *New Holland*, with the rope-walk. The admiralty, or dock-yard, is fortified with a wall and five bastions, planted with several guns; and all ships salute it upon their entrance into the harbour. There are always some men of war upon the stocks in this yard. The admiralty-tower, as well as that of the great church in the castle, is gilt at the top.

- Not far from this is the imperial winter-palace, a large square building of three stories high; but the architecture is not extraordinary. Behind it is a spacious area, in which stands a noble equestrian statue of gilt brass, erected in honour of *Peter I.* Contiguous to this, upon the banks of the *Neva*, are several other palaces, among which is the old imperial winter-palace, many elegant stone-buildings, the new playhouse which is built with timber, and the delightful imperial summer-palace, which is also of wood, but one story high, and looks only like a pleasure-house. Behind this palace are several stone-buildings, for the officers, &c. belonging to the court. It has a very fine orangery, and a beautiful large garden, adorned with an admirable grotto, fountains, and other water-works, as well as a great number of valuable marble and alabaster statues brought from *Italy*; but not all equally well executed. Two of these statues, which stand near the grotto, and represent Faith and Religion, are greatly admired by the connoisseurs, for the appearance of the faces through thin transparent veils, which seem to cover them. This garden is also famous for a pleasant grove of oaks, which is not to be paralleled in all the *Russian* empire. The dock affords a double vista, one to the *Russian* church of the *Ascension*; the other is terminated by the convent of *St. Alexander Newski*. The magnificent buildings on both sides of the river *Fontanka* make also a very fine appearance from thence. The streets behind the admiralty, and through the fields behind the imperial summer-palace, are very grand and magnificent; but these are equalled, if not excelled, by the *Great* and *Little Morskoi*, and the *Million-street*, which are embellished with the most superb buildings. At the end of the *Million-street*, near the garden of the summer-palace, the emperor has a curious dispensary. In this part are likewise the imperial stables, and the dwellings of the officers belonging to them; the church of the *Swedish Finns*; the *German Lutheran* church, dedicated to *St. Peter*, which is an elegant structure, and the chief of the protestant ecclesiastical buildings; the church of the *German* and *French Calvinists*; the shops which, to the number of one hundred, lie in a strait line, and form a

vista, where all sorts of goods are sold, no merchants being permitted to have shops in their houses; and lastly, two market-places full of shops, near which are the menagery, the park, and the elephant-yard, where several of these animals are kept.

THE *Muscovite* side, which is properly the city, lies on the continent; and a part of it is very well built. In this quarter are the following remarkable places: the private dock; the court-victualling-office; the foundery on the *Neva*, in which great numbers of cannon and mortars are cast; the fire-work elaboratory; the aqueduct which supplies the fountains in the emperor's garden; the *German Lutheran* church, dedicated to St. *Anne*; three *Russian* churches; the pheasant-house; the *Italian* garden; the *Muscovite* *Jemskoi*; the barracks for the horse-guards, together with the stables for their horses; and the convent of St. *Alexander Newski*, which lies about five wersts from the castle, on the river *Neva*; and was built, in honour of that pious prince, in the form of an eagle, but is not yet completed. It contains above two hundred apartments. In the middle of the building stands a very large and beautiful church, which represents the eagle's body; the two towers form its neck and head; the spire, the imperial crown; and a small church on each side, the two wings. In this convent are deposited the pretended remains of that saint, for which the present empress *Elizabeth* ordered a silver shrine to be made, which lies on a superb monument, covered with silver plates of a considerable thickness.

LASTLY, on the *Wiburg-side*, as it is called, are the following places of note, viz. St. *Samson's* church, with the *Russian* and *German* burial-places, the sugar-house, the land and sea-hospital, the hospital-church, the beer-brewers quarter, the *Dutch* beer-brewhouse, a rope-walk, the suburb called *Sloboda* (A) *Kosatschia*, a nursery of young oaks, called

(A) Several *slobodes* contain handsome buildings, and are larger than many towns; but they are not fortified. The inhabitants of them are traders, and have a particular magistrate, and a toll-place, or custom-house. — *Jamskue-slobody* are places where carriers generally live. — The *slobodes* in *Siberia* are inhabited by peasants, and may be accounted part of a circle, or *sloboda wiezd*, as they include several parishes and villages; and in some of them there are *ostrogs*. *Sloboda*, in the province of *Tobolsk*, signifies a town surrounded with wooden walls; and there are few other fortifications in *Siberia*, except those of the city of *Tobolsk*. Indeed the only enemies that *Siberians* have to deal with are the *Bashkirians*, the *Kalmucks*, and

Great and Little Ockla, a Russian church, and the ruins of the fort called *Nienfchanz*, which was taken and destroyed by *Peter I.* in 1703.

IN this city are four dispensaries (B); and several manufactures for looking-glasses, gold and silver works, tapestry, &c. Its extensive commerce likewise renders *Petersburg* a place of great importance, for a vast number of ships from different maritime countries frequent this port; where they purchase the various commodities of *Russia*, and find a vent for all the goods they import, and for which there is a demand in this empire.

THE inhabitants of this large city, besides *Russians*, consist of all nations; so that a person hears a great variety of languages, and sees a great diversity of fashions and customs at *Petersburg*. The burghers or citizens, properly so called, do not exceed two hundred; but the place contains upwards of an hundred thousand souls. The splendor of the court is copied by the inhabitants in general; though all kinds of furniture and apparel, especially if made by foreign artificers, are very dear, and houses in a good situation sometimes bear a very high price in this city. Provisions, however, excepting wine, lemons, and oranges, and some other foreign articles, are very cheap here, though frequently brought, especially in winter, from the distance of several

the *Kasafshia-Horda*; and their wars may be looked upon as robberies rather than military expeditions, for they attack the villages on horseback, for the convenience of carrying away the plunder immediately; so that the main point is to prevent them from breaking in. But little is to be feared from their weapons, which, for the most part, are only bows and arrows.

(B) All of which, as well as that at *Moscow*, belong to her imperial majesty, at whose expence they are supplied with drugs, which are distributed gratis to her fleet and army. A doctor of physic, styled the *Archiatre*, or physician in chief,

has the direction of them, with a considerable salary from the crown; and all the apothecaries are employed under him, and have pay proportionable. All other physicians (except the body-physician) and surgeons in the service, are under his jurisdiction, and, at all distances in the empire, are accountable to him. One of these dispensaries is for the household, another for the admiralty, a third for the castle, whence the army is supplied, and the fourth for the hospitals, where the sick and invalids are taken very good care of. Persons not in the service pay for medicines as they receive them, the profit of which accrues to her majesty (1).

(1) *Conseils, State and Regulation of the Church of Russia.*

hundred miles. The morals of the people, as is generally the case in all large cities, are very corrupt and depraved. The suspicious vigilance of the *Russian* government renders it necessary for a stranger to be very circumspect in his behaviour and words; though all possible liberty of conscience is granted to foreigners in religious matters, provided they do not say any thing against the *Greek* religion. The police of this city is good, and strictly executed.

In summer, those who do not chuse to go about this extensive city on foot, either use their own carriages, which are almost absolutely necessary here, or else hire curricles or boats. As soon as the winter-season commences, near three thousand *Russians* repair to *Petersburg* with sledges, with which they stand in every street, and are so very cheap and convenient, that few people are observed to walk even about the town. A sledge and a horse may be hired for ten copeiks (C) (about five pence sterling) an hour, and in that space of time this carriage will go about seven or eight miles, the horse galloping all the way. The driver, who is called *Ishvoshik*, is distinguished by a number upon his back. Most housekeepers have their own sledges and horses, and persons of rank have likewise their postillion. When a person sets out from hence, in order to leave the country, he must be furnished with a pass, and advertise his name and intention of travelling in the public papers.

A SOUTH-WEST wind in autumn frequently lays great part of *Petersburg* under water.

At about thirty wersts from *Petersburg* stands *Sarskoe-Salo*, an imperial palace, pleasantly situated, and embellished with a fine garden and park: and near *Posad*, a mean little town at the entrance of the *Ladoga* canal, is another imperial palace, situated upon a small island in the *Neva*.

UPON another small island in the middle of the *Neva*, just where it runs out of the lake *Ladoga*, is the strong fortress of *Schlusselfburg*, which commands the shores on either side. It was formerly called *Oreshok*, or *Oreckowitz*; and in the *Swedish* language *Notteburg*, from the form of the island whereon it stands, which resembles a nut. But *Peter I.* having subdued it in the year 1702, changed the name of this fort to *Schlusselfburg*; that monarch esteeming it the key (*Schlusfel*) of his conquests. Its walls are two fathoms and a half thick, and built in the old manner. In one angle of this fort is a small, but very strong castle. The *Russians* have improved

(C) The *copeik*, of which one hundred make a *ruble*, is equal to $\frac{3}{40}$ of a penny sterling.

this

this fort both within and without, and added to it several new works. It has undergone many sieges. When Peter the Great took it in 1702, he ordered two medals to be struck in commemoration of his success. On one of them is the following inscription :

Notteburgum, nunc Schlusselfurgum, post annos XC ab hoste recuperatum. Actum d. 12 Octob. f. v. MDCCII.

“ Notteburg, now Schlusselfurg, recovered from the enemy
“ after ninety years possession, on the 12th of October
“ 1702.”

The late acquisitions of the *Russians* in *CARELIA*, which form the present

XII. Government of WIBURG,

The government
of Wi-
burg.
Its divisions,

INCLUDE a considerable portion of the great duchy of *Finland*, and consist of, 1. Part of *Finlandish Carelia*; 2. Part of *Kexholm*; and, 3. Part of *Sawolax*.

Carelia has often been a bone of contention between *Sweden* and *Russia*. In the year 1293 it fell under the *Swedish* dominion; but in 1338 part of it was given up to *Russia*. By the peace of *Nystadt*, concluded in 1721, a still greater part of this country was resigned to the *Russians*; the western part only being left in possession of the *Swedes*. After this, *Sweden* was obliged, by the treaty of *Abo*, to relinquish the fort of *Frederickshamn* and *Wilmannsstrand*, with part of the parish of *Pythis*, which lies on the other side of the eastern branch of the river *Kymmene*.

Kexholm anciently belonged to the *Russians*, and was wrested from them by the *Swedes* in 1293 and 1580; but soon after recovered. The czar *Wasilei Iwanowitz Shuiski* promised it to king *Charles IX.* of *Sweden*, in consideration of the assistance he gave him; but did not keep his word. *Gustavus Adolphus* revenged this affront, and compelled the czar *Michael Feoderowitz* to resign this country to him, at the peace of *Stolbow*. In 1721, the southern, and best part of it, together with the fortress of *Kexholm*, was restored to *Russia* by the treaty of *Nystadt*.

THE portion of *Sawolax*, which *Russia* now holds, consisting of the town of *Nystot*, and a district of two miles round it, was ceded by the treaty of *Abo* in 1743.

and principal
places.

THE principal places in those parts of these districts, which are possessed by the *Russians*, are *Wiburg*, *Wilmannsstrand*, and *Frederickshamn*, in *Carelia*; *Kexholm*, or *Carlerogorod*,

gorod, i. e. the fortress of *Carelia*, a strong place, built upon two small islands (the town on one, and the church on the other) at the influx of the river *Waxen* into the lake *Ladoga*, in the country of *Kexholm*; and in that of *Sawolax*, the town of *Nyſtot*, called, in the *Finnish* language, *Sawotinna*, situate on the lake *Saima*. Its castle, which stands on a rock in a river near the town, and from which the latter derives its name, is extremely well fortified both by art and nature. In the year 1495, it baffled the attempts of *Russia*; but in 1714 was obliged to submit. It was restored to the *Swedes* at the peace of *Nyſtadt*; but was receded to the *Russians* by the treaty of *Abo*.

Wiburg, by the *Finlanders* called *Somerlinde*, was formerly the capital of all *Carelia*, a bishop's see, and the bulwark of *Sweden* against *Russia*. It is situated on the gulph of *Finland*, and carries on a considerable trade. *Peter the Great* having taken this town by capitulation in the year 1710, improved its fortifications; which have been ever since kept in such good condition, that *Wiburg* may now be looked upon as the bulwark of *Russia* against *Sweden*.

Wilmannstrand stands on the lake *Saima*, and is called in the *Finnish* language *Lappi Wesi*, i. e. *Lapp* water. It had formerly the name of *Lap-ſtrand*, was a considerable mart for tar, and the residence of a *Swedish* governor. On the 23d of *August* 1741, an obstinate battle was fought about a mile from this town, between 3000 *Swedes* and 16,000 *Russians*; but at last the former were obliged to yield to the superiority of numbers. After the victory, the *Russians* burnt *Wilmannstrand*, then fortified with a moat and wall, which have since been rebuilt.

Frederickshamn lies also on the gulph of *Finland*, on the spot where the town of *Wekelax*, which was burnt by the *Russians* in 1712, formerly stood. This place had a considerable trade, and was fortified by a castle built in 1722. But in the last war between the *Swedes* and *Russians*, it was burnt to the ground, and ceded to the latter. The limits betwixt the *Swedish* and *Russian* *Carelia*, were fixed near this place by the treaty of *Nyſtadt*.

S E C T. II.

Description of ASIATIC RUSSIA.

THE *Russian* dominions in *Asia* make a considerable part of Great & Asiatic *Tartary*, and may be properly divided, in general, into the west and south parts of *Russian* *Tartary*.
 General division of Asiatic
 Mod. Hist. Vol. XXXV. E which *Russia*.

which contain the governments of *Astracan*, *Orenburg*, and *Cazan*; and the northern and eastern parts of *Great Tartary*, in which is the government of *Siberia* (A).

Rivers. THE principal rivers in the *Asiatic* part of the *Russian* empire, are,

The Wolga. First, THOSE which run into the *Caspian* sea. These are,
1. The *WOLGA*, which has been already described in our account of *European Russia*.

The Yaik. 2. The *YAIK*, formerly called *Rhymnus*, rises among the *Uralian* mountains, in latitude 54° , and longitude 87° , and after running a course of about 1000 wersts, empties itself by two channels into the *Caspian* sea, in latitude 47° , $30'$. and longitude 74° . It abounds with excellent fish, and has an extremely rapid current, but is very shallow in some places. The chief rivers which run into it, are the *Upper* and *Lower Kysyl*, and the *Sacmara*. Its banks, near the influx of this last river, are rocky; and near that of *Kysyl*, they are very high and mountainous. Opposite to the *Upper Kysyl* is a high mountain, from which loadstones are dug. But the farther one goes from this river, the more extensive are the plains; and the country is more level near the mouth of it, than about its source: though it is, for the most part, barren and sandy.

The Yem. 3. The *YEM*, or *Jemba*, as the *Russians* call it, is rapid, but very shallow, being hardly five feet deep at its mouth. Its waters are clear, and its banks fertile; but there are neither towns or villages upon the borders of it. The *Tartars* of the *Kasatsha Horda* dwell in tents and little huts on the west-side of this river, which empties itself into the *Caspian* sea.

(A) Under the name of *Tartary*, a part only of this vast tract is properly included; but custom has extended it to the whole country. This extensive region has, no less improperly, been called *Mungalia*; for it is uncertain whether the people who live more northerly or easterly, had ever any connections with these *Tartars* and *Mungaliens*. The *Yakuthians*, and the more remote nations, differ extremely from the *Tartars*, properly so called, in their customs

and manner of living. The country of the *Siberians* and *Ostiaks* came to be looked upon as a part of *Tartary*, because those nations had been conquered by the *Tartars*, or rather by the *Mungaliens*, who sent several colonies among them; or because it formerly belonged to the kingdom of *Great Tartary*, which was founded by *Jenghis* or *Zingis-Kan* (1). This distinction should be particularly observed with regard to *Russian Tartary*.

(1) *Bjshing. Geog. vol. I. p. 469.*

4. The GIHUN, which is also called by the several names *The Gi- of Amu, Amol, Amu-Daria, Midergius, Sheherbas, Nabar* (A) hun, or simply *Roud Kanern*, that is, the great stream, was the *Oxus* and *Baätus* of the ancients, and formerly discharged itself by two channels or mouths into the *Caspian* sea: but these are now become dry, and the stream has been diverted. Part into the sea or lake of *Aral*. In the reign of *Cyrus* it was the boundary of the *Persian* monarchy, and is by some authors supposed to be the *Araxes* of the ancients. Its source is in the mountains of *Paropamisus*.

5. The SIHUN, which has always emptied itself into the *Tb. Sihun* lake of *Aral*, was formerly called *Alphasb, Saert, Acsaert, Sir, Daria, Sirdergias, Faxartes, and Siris*. The *Macedonians* mistook it for the *Tanais*.

Secondly, THOSE which discharge themselves into the *Ice-Sea*, which are;

1. THE large and famous river OB or OBY, which issues *The Oby* from the *Altin* lake (called by the *Russians* *Teleskoi-Ojero*) in latitude 52° , and longitude $103^{\circ}, 30'$. Its name signifies *Great*; and accordingly in *Russia* it is often stiled the *Great River*. The *Calmuks* and *Tartars* call it *Umar*. Its stream is very large and smooth, its current being usually slow; and it is, in general, between 2 and 300 fathoms broad; though in some places it is much wider. It affords plenty of fish, and is navigable almost to the lake in which it springs. After a long winding course through a vast tract of land, in which it forms several islands, it empties itself in latitude 67° , and longitude 86° , into a bay, which, extending near 400 miles further, joins the *Ice Sea* in latitude $73, 30$, and longitude 90 . The springs from which this river rises, are not very copious: but it receives in its course, the waters of a great number of considerable streams, conveyed to it by the large rivers *Catuna* (B), *Tsharish* and *Alei*, *Tshumysb*, *Tsheus* and *Sagarca*, *Tom* and *Tshulim* (C), *Ket*, *Tym* and *Wak* (D), *Jugan* and *Irtis*, *Kasim* and *Soswa*, besides several others of less note. Of those now mentioned, the *Tom* and the *Irtis* are the most considerable.

(A) נָבָר or *Nabar*, in the *Hebrew* tongue signifies a river.

(B) From the influx of this river, down to its mouth, it is called the *Oby*: but from the *Catuna*, up to its head, it is named the *Bi*.

(C) Which last is also called

Jiusi, and is formed by the conflux of two streams called the *White* and *Black Rivers*.

(D) Famous for the passage of ships, which sail through these rivers, and the *Yelogui*, into the *Yenisea*.

THE *Tom* is navigable as far as the town of *Kutnesk*. Its source is near the river *Abaken*, in latitude 53° , and its influx into the *Oby*, is in latitude 58° . It receives several rivulets in its course; but the *Condoma*, which runs into it, opposite to the town of *Kutnesk*, is a large river.

THE *Irtis*, or *Irtish*, rises in the country of the *Calmuks*, in latitude 46° , $30'$. and 103° . longitude, runs through the lake of *Saissan*, and after a long course, falls into the *Oby*, in 61° . of latitude, and 86° . of longitude. This river is full of islands, which are more visible in summer, when the water is low, than during the floods in spring. Some of these islands disappear from time to time, and new ones seem to supply their place. The depth of the *Irtis* is so remarkably variable, that ships can no longer pass where they formerly used to do; and on the other hand, those parts which were once shallow, have now a sufficient depth of water for vessels of burthen. Its water is light and clear, and abounds with fine fish, particularly sturgeon, the fat of which is reckoned a great delicacy by the inhabitants of this country. The *Irtis* receives, on each side, several rivers; the principal of which, after it has passed the fortrefs of *Ustkamenogorsk*, are, the *Ulba*, *Skulba*, *Uba*, *Zarguban*, *Tshernuia*, *Shelesenca*, *Tavgutshai*, *Om*, *Camysblowia*, *Tara*, *Shish*, *Tui*, *Ishim*, *Tobol*, and *Kendo*. Of these, the three last are the largest. The *Tobol*, in particular, which rises from several springs in latitude 52° , $30'$. and longitude 81° ; and falls into the *Irtis* in 58° . of latitude, and 86° . of longitude, is increased by the additional waters of the smaller, but by no means inconsiderable rivers *Ui*, *Ijet*, *Tura*, and *Tawda* (A); which also, in their turns, receive several lesser streams. The banks of the *Tobol* are so low, that the neighbouring country is subject to frequent inundations.

The Jenisei.

2. The *JENISEI*, or *JENISEA*, is little inferior to the *Oby*. The *Tartars* and *Moguls* call it *Keen*; but the

(A) The *Ijet* has its source in a lake, runs through the territory of *Cathrinenburg*, and after receiving the rivers *Sisert*, *Sinava*, *Tetsha*, *Mias*, and several small streams, discharges itself into the *Tobol* in latitude 57° . The *Tura* rises in the mountains of *Wercoturia*, in latitude 59° ; and, after receiving the waters of the *Salda*, *Tagil*, *Niza* (which is formed by the

Niewa and *Resh*, and enlarged by the *Irbir*) and the *Pysbma*, falls into the *Tobol*, in latitude 57° , $30'$. The *Tawda* rises about the latitude of 63° , and longitude 80° , and is formed by the conflux of the *Soswa* and the *Lofwa*, and somewhat beyond the 59^{th} degree of latitude, and about the same degree of longitude, runs into the *Tobol*.

Ostiahs

*Ostia*s give it the name of *Guck* or *Keses*, that is, the *Great River*. It is formed by the conflux of the two rivers *Ulu-Kem* and *Bri-Kem*, in latitude $51^{\circ}. 30'$. and 111° . of longitude. From thence it runs almost due north; and in latitude 70° . and $103^{\circ}. 30'$. longitude, forms a kind of bay, which contains several islands. This bay runs about $3^{\circ}. 30'$. in length northward, in which latitude (that is to say, in seventy three degrees and a half) and the 100th degree of longitude, it at last joins the *Ice-Sea*. At the town of *Jeniseisk*, in autumn, when this river is lowest, the breadth of it at the surface of the water is 570; and in the spring, when it is highest, about 795 fathoms. The bottom of the *Jenisei* is stony and sandy, and the banks, especially on the east-side, are very mountainous and rocky. The fish in this river are good, and its stream for the most part is rapid; but this rapidity lessens gradually towards the mouth, so that at last it has hardly the appearance of a current. In that part of its course where it approaches the rivers *Dubtses* and *Turukan*, it forms several islands between the towns of *Jeniseisk* and *Krasnoiarsk*; and, below the *Dubtses*, it has some cataracts; but is navigable from its mouth as far as the *Abakan*, and even higher up. Within a small distance from its source, the *Jenisei* receives the rivers *Kemtshuk*, *Abakan*, *Tuba*, *Mana*, *Kan*, *Kasi*, *Syn*, *Dubtses*, *Baeta*, *Yelogui*, *Turuca*, and three rivers of the name of *Tungusca* (A), besides others that fall into it near its mouth.

3. THE great river *LENA* waters the eastern part of *Siberia*, and runs on the north-side of the lake of *Baikal*, in latitude $52^{\circ}. 30'$. and longitude $124^{\circ}. 30'$. After traversing a large tract of land, in latitude 73° . it divides itself into five branches; three of which run westward, and two eastward; and by these channels it discharges itself into the *Ice-Sea*. Its three western mouths lie in 153 degrees of longitude: but the eastern extends no farther than 143° . The current is every where very slow, and its bed is entirely free from

(A) The northermost of these is called simply *Tungusca*, and acquires this name after it is joined by the river *Ilien*: It is called *Angara* from the influx of that river to its source, which lies in the lake of *Baikal*. Its bottom is stony, and full of rocks, which cause four waterfalls in this river: notwithstanding

ing which it is navigated during the summer both with and against the stream; but with no small difficulty and hazard. The middle *Tungusca* is distinguished by the appellation of *Podeamenia*, from its rising beyond the mountains; and the third is called the *Lower*.

rocks. The bottom is sandy, and the banks are in some places rocky and mountainous.

THE chief rivers that fall into the *Lena*, are, the *Manfurca*, *Culenga*, *Orlenga*, *Ilga*, *Kirmga*, *Tshebshui*, *Tshaia*, *Isbora*, *Witim*, *Olecma*, *Aldan*, *Wilui*, the two *Potamas*, and the two *Tabas* (A).

- Thirdly, The rivers which discharge themselves into the eastern ocean. These are,

The Amur. 1. THE AMUR, a great and famous river, formerly called *Karan-muran*; but now, by the Chinese and *Manchurians*, *Sagalin-Ula*. It is also called *Yamur*, *Onon*, *Helong-Kiang*, and *Skilka*. The *Amur* is formed by the conflux of the rivers *Skilk* and *Argun*, abounds with fish, and is navigable a great way from its mouth. The length of its course is near two thousand *English* miles.

The Uda. 2. THE UD, or UDA, is the only considerable river that runs into the sea of *Kamtschatka*.

The Pen-shina. 3. THE PENSINA, from which the gulph of *Pensinska* takes its name.

The Anadir. 4. THE ANADIR, a considerable river, which runs into the eastern ocean.

Lakes. THE principal lakes in this part of *Russia* are, the *Aral*, the *Baikal*, and the *Altin* lakes.

Aral. 1. THE *Lake*, or as it is often called, the *Sea of Aral*, is one of the largest lakes in all *Asia*, and lies within a little distance from the *Caspian* sea. Its length from north to south is said to be near 150 miles, and its breadth from east to west about 70. Its water, which is very salt, is for that reason conveyed by the neighbouring *Karacalpacks*, the *Kasatsha-Horda*, and the *Turkomanians*, by small narrow canals, into sandy pits, where the heat of the sun, by exhaling the water, leaves them a sufficient quantity of salt for their ne-

(A) Of all these rivers, *Witim*, *Olecma*, *Aldan*, and *Wilui*, have the longest course. The *Witim* is said to derive its source from a great number of lakes, which have a communication with each other by natural channels. Among other rivers, it receives two streams called *Mama*, famed for a transparent fossil called *Marienglas* or *Muscovy-Glass*, dug along its banks. The course of the *Wilui*, before it joins the *Lena*, is in 16°, 30'.

The river *Aldan* receives, on the right or east side, the *Utsrun* and *Maia*, and on the opposite side the *Judoma*. There is a passage for vessels from the *Lena* and *Aldan*, through the *Maia* and *Judoma*, almost to the source of the latter; from which, after a journey of about ninety miles by land, a traveller may go by water down the *Urack*, into the sea of *Kamtschatka*, a great bay in the eastern ocean.

cessary

cessary uses. The same kinds of fish are found in this lake as in the *Caspian* sea, and, like that, the *Aral* has no visible outlet.

2. THE *Baikal* lake, by the neighbouring people called *Baikal*. *Swiatie-More*, or the *Holy Lake*, is from west to east 500 wersts in length, but from north to south it is but 20 or 30 in a direct line, and in some places only 15. It is environed on all sides by high mountains. In that part of it which lies near the river *Barguzin*, it throws up an inflammable sulphureous liquid, called *Maltha*, which the people of the adjacent country burn in their lamps. There are likewise several sulphureous springs near this lake. Its water, at a distance, appears of a green sea-colour: it is very fresh, and so clear that one may see objects several fathoms deep in it. It does not begin to freeze till near the latter end of *December*, and thaws again about the beginning of *May*, from which time till *September* a ship is seldom known to be wrecked upon it: but by the high winds which blow in the last of these months, many vessels are lost on this lake. The inhabitants who live near the *Baikal*, imagine, when such storms happen, that by complimenting the lake with the name of a *Sea*, they render it propitious, and are preserved from all the dangers it seems to threaten. This lake affords great plenty of large sturgeon and pike, with several black seals, but none of the spotted kind. It contains several islands; and the borders of it are frequented by black fables and civet cats.

3. THE *Altin* lake, which the *Russians* call *Telefskoi-Ozero*, *Altin*. from the *Telefsi*, a *Tartarian* nation who inhabit the borders of it, and who give it the name of *Altin-Kul*, as the *Calmuks* do that of *Altinnor*, is near ninety miles long, and 50 broad. The bottom of this lake is steep and rocky. The north part of it is sometimes frozen so hard, as to be passable on foot; but the south part is never covered with ice. The water in the *Altin* lake, as well as that in the rivers which run through the adjacent parts, contrary to what happens in other lakes, &c. rises only in the middle of summer, when the great heats melt the snow on the mountains, which had remained indissoluble during the spring.

The west and south part of *Russian Tartary*,

WHICH, from time immemorial, has made a part of the *Russian* dominions, and belongs to *Tartary* (A), properly so called, is inhabited by the following various nations.

The west
and south
part of
Russian
Tartary,
inhabited
by

(A) The right way of spelling which is undoubtedly should be called *Tatars*:—*Tatary*; and the inhabitants but we conform to custom.

Circas-
sians.

1. THE *Circassians*, who inhabit the country lying to the north-west of the *Caspian* sea, between *Georgia* and the entrance of the river *Volga*. *Circassia* is near 300 miles in length, and about the same in breadth. It is partly subject to *Russia*, and partly to the *Crim Kan*; though some of its inhabitants still preserve their independency. The *Circassians*, and especially the women, are reputed the most beautiful of all the oriental nations. Prince *Cantemir*, in his history of the *Ottoman* empire, observes, that they may be justly termed the *French Tartars*; because they continually invent new fashions both as to their dress and arms; and that the other *Tartars* never fail to imitate these modes, and generally send their children among them for education. In point of religion they seem to be half mahometans, for they use circumcision, and other mahometan rites; but have no *Mullas* (priests) or *Mosques*, nor express any veneration for the *Koran*. They are chiefly employed in hunting, feeding of cattle, and agriculture. That part of their country which borders on the *Caspian* sea, is very barren; but towards *Daghestan* and *Georgia* the soil is extremely fertile. The *Circassian* clothes are far from being handsome; but as they are hardy and spirited, they fetch a good price.

Grebinian
and Yaik
Cossaks.

2. THE *Grebinian* and *Yaik Cossaks*, the latter of which dwell near the river *Yaik*. These tribes have been already mentioned in our account of the government of *Kiew*.

GreatNo-
gayans.

3. THE *Great Nogayans*. These are mahometan *Tartars*, and live near the *Caspian* sea, between the rivers *Volga* and *Yaik*. They subsist by hunting and feeding of cattle, and some of them are employed in agriculture. Great numbers of the *Nogayans* have been converted to the *Greek* religion.

Torgau-
tians,

4. THE *Torgautians*, or rather the *Torgut-Calmuks*, who inhabit the country between the *Volga* and the *Yaik*, are *Calmuks* and *Pagans*. *Torgut* signifies the illustrious tribe, or the great, noble, celebrated *Horde*; and the *Torgutes* are supposed by the learned to be the *Thyssagetes* or *Thyrsgagetes* mentioned by *Herodotus*, above 2000 years ago.

Therem-
issians
and Tshu-
washtians.
Wotia-
kians,

5. THE *Theremissians* and *Tshuwashians*, of whom we have spoken in our account of the government of *Nischnei-Novogorod*.

6. THE *Wotiakians*, who belong to the government of *Casan*, live in a very savage and sordid manner. They believe indeed in a Supreme Being, whom they call *Yumar*, and think that he resides in the sun; but they neither worship, nor pay him any regard. Upon any emergency, they apply

apply for counsel and assistance, to a person whom they call *Dona*. They speak both the *Russian* and *Tartarian* languages, and subsist chiefly by hunting.

7. THE *Tartars* of the government of *Casan* (A) profess the mahometan religion, and are more civilized than the *Tartars*. *Tcheremisians* and *Wotiakians*.

8. THE *Bashkirian* and *Ufian Tartars*, who likewise inhabit the government of *Casan*. The former live in the country towards the east, between the river *Kama*, the mountains of *Ural* and the *Volga*; but the latter inhabit the north part of that government. They live together and intermarry, without mixing with other nations. These *Tartars* are strong and well-made. Their faces are broad, their complexion brown, their hair black, and their beards long. Their dress is somewhat like that of the *Russians*. They are exceeding good horsemen, and remarkable for their courage and dexterity in managing their bows and arrows. With respect to religion, they are rather heathens than mahometans; circumcision, and some few other ceremonies, being all that they practise of the latter. Some of them indeed have embraced the *Greek* religion. Their habitations are in towns or villages, and their occupations hunting, feeding of cattle, and agriculture. They generally thresh their corn in the field before they bring it home. They pay their tribute in the produce of the country, which is corn, wax, honey, cattle, and furs. Though they have a great number of hogs, they never eat pork. They make use of horses and dromedaries for travelling, carrying burdens, and other such purposes. They take as many wives as they can maintain, and give horses in exchange for them; sometimes six or seven horses for a wife. Both the *Bashkirian* and *Ufian Tartars* have often, and particularly towards the latter end of the year 1735, endeavoured to shake off the *Russian* yoke; but they were soon reduced to obedience. Since that, upon their requesting a new form of government, a *Russian* *harshine* or judge, and a *soinik* or prefect have been set over each district, and a kind of overseer is appointed in every village; so that all opportunities of future revolt seem to be taken from them, especially as several fortresses have been built in their country by way of check

(A) The word *Casan*, in the *Turkish* and *Tartarian* languages, signifies a cauldron large enough to contain victuals for many persons: and this name the *Crim*

and *Budziak Murfes*, give to the families of their subjects or vassals; about ten men being reckoned to a *Casan*.

upon

upon them. This part of the *Russian* dominions in *Asia* is, as we observed before, divided into

XIII. *The Government of ASTRACAN.*

The government of Astracan.

THIS province, which is a part of the ancient *Kapjak*, conquered by *Jingis-Kan*, and afterwards by *Tamerlane*, and the country of those *Tartars*, who, in the thirteenth century, took *Moscow*, and laid its sovereigns under a most humiliating tribute, contains what was formerly the *Tartarian* kingdom of *Astracan*, and was subdued by the czar *Iwan Basilowitz*, in the year 1554. It includes the country on the north, and partly on the west side of the *Caspian* sea, from whence it extends along mount *Caucasus*, to the 50th degree of latitude. The summer-heat here is so intense, that, according to the observations made by *M. Lerch* at *Astracan*, the thermometer sometimes rises to upwards of an hundred, and even to an hundred and three degrees and a half, according to *Fahrenheit's* scale: though *Boerhaave* says ^a, that a heat above the 90th degree of *Fahrenheit's* thermometer would be more than human creatures could bear; and that all animals, of which he had any knowledge, soon expired in such a degree of heat. The *Steppe*, or wide desert plain of *Astracan*, according to the accounts of travellers, is a dreary waste, without water or verdure; and towards the coast of the *Caspian* sea it is said to be very sandy. In the neighbourhood of *Astracan* are small lakes and ponds, so impregnated with salt, that sometimes it incrusts the surface of the water like ice. This saline incrustation is so thick, that one may walk upon it with safety; and salt is likewise found at the bottom of these pools, in the form of chrystal salts. Captain *Perry* (who was employed by *Peter I.* to cut a canal from the *Wolga* to the *Don*, which was one of that prince's great designs, in order to open a communication between *Astracan* and the *Black* sea, and so on to the *Mediterranean*, but which dropt with him, and has never been completed) found in this country vast tracts of land, on the west-side of the *Wolga*, which the *Cuban Tartars* infest, quite uninhabited, though naturally so fertile as to produce grafs of a great height, many sorts of leguminous plants, cherry, almond, and other fruit-trees, the best *arbuses*, or *water-melons*, in the whole *Russian* empire, and great numbers of wild sheep, whose flesh is delicate. The vines also, which have been planted about *Astracan*, produce grapes of so fine a flavour, that nothing is wanting but

^a In his *Elementen Chym.* p. 192.

skilful persons to make excellent wine. *Peter the Great* endeavoured to procure such, particularly from *Spain* and *Portugal*; but the rebellion which happened in *Astracan*, in the year 1703, and in which all strangers then in that city were murdered, deterred foreigners from going thither^b.

THE places of greatest note in this government are, *Astracan*, which is the capital, the residence of the governor, and a bishop's see, situate near the *Caspian* sea, on an island formed by the *Volga*. It is about four miles in circumference, encompassed with a good stone-wall, and opposite to it is a fort. The cathedral is the latest built, and the most elegant of all the *Russian* churches in this city. The *Lutherans* have a church here, as have also the *Armenians*, who, to the number of forty families, live here for the conveniency of trade, for which *Astracan* has been always famous; and above thirty different nations resort hither for the same purpose. One of its suburbs is intirely inhabited by *Indians*. A garrison of three thousand men is always kept in this city. Its principal places.

Tshernouar, a small town in the *Steppe* or desert, on the bank of the *Volga*. It is defended by eight wooden towers and strong barricadoes, against the incursions of the *Cosaks*. As these fortifications were built in the reign of the great duke *Michael*, the town is likewise called *Michailo-Novogrod*.

THIS, with the town of *Krasnouar*, a small place upon the *Volga*, inclosed with a kind of wooden wall, keeps a watchful eye upon the roving *Calmuks*, who often bring their cattle to graze near these places.

Zarizin, a small town upon the *Volga*, surrounded with wooden redoubts and towers. Its garrison watches the motions of the *Tartars* and *Cosaks*, against whose incursions a strong line, called the *Zarizin-line*, has been drawn from the *Volga* to the *Don*. Along this line are built the forts of *Metsbonaia*, *Gratshi*, *Ozokor*, and *Donskaia*.

Yaik, or *Yaitzskoi-Gorodok*, a large town upon the river *Yaik*. It has a considerable trade, an excellent fishery, and is famous for its *Caviere*.

Kisharskaia, a fortress near the river *Terek*, on the west side of the *Caspian* sea. On the same river are likewise *Shedren*, *Tsherwlenoi*, and some other places of no great importance.

THE *Russians* have extended their conquests on this side of the *Caspian* sea a great way southward, both under the emperor *Peter I.* in 1722, and still farther in the reign of the empress *Anne*. For the *Persians*, by the treaty of peace con-

^b PERRY, p. 95.

conversion of the nations to which they belong. The *Russians* first made themselves masters of this important place on the third of October 1552.

ABOUT seventy wersts from *Casan*, and not far from the river *Kama*, are the ruins of the ancient city of *Bulgar*, formerly, the capital of *Bulgaria*, which still makes a part of the czar's titles.

Simbirsk and *Tshebakar*, provincial towns on the river *Wolga*. *Solikamskaia*, on the river *Ussolka*, noted for its salt, which, like all the rest that is boiled in *Permia*, is reckoned the best in *Russia*. *Pysbkora*, on the little river *Pysbkora*, which falls into the *Kama*, remarkable for its copper-works, as the country round it is for its mines of that metal; and the villages of *Leniva* and *Novo-Ussolie*, in the barony of *Straganow*, famous for their salt-works, which are sixty-seven in number, and very considerable.

XVI. SIBERIA, or the northern and eastern parts of Great Tartary, which were lately added to the Russian dominions.

Siberia. THE name *Sibiria*, or *Siberia*, was originally applied, and still properly belongs, only to the south part of the province of *Tobolsk*; but, in a more extensive sense, it now includes all the northern part of *Asia*, which borders on *Russia* to the west, on the *Ice-sea* to the north, on the eastern ocean towards the east, and on *Great Tartary* to the south.

Its extent. Its length from east to west is near four thousand miles, and its breadth from north to south upwards of twelve hundred, which is the smallest width of the *Russian* empire.

Name. *Siberia* seems to derive its name from an old city called *Sibir*; which, according to a received tradition, stood on the right-side of the river *Irtis*, about eighteen wersts from *Tobolsk*, and was the residence of the ancient sovereigns of *Siberia* (C).

Ancient inhabitants. THIS very country was formerly the abode of those *Huns* who ravaged the western world, and sacked even *Rome*, under their commander *Attila*; and they themselves came originally from the north of *China*. Such have been the vast migrations of the human race! The *Uzbek Tartars* succeeded the *Huns*, and the *Russians* succeeded those *Tartars*. Men have butchered one another for the worst of countries, with the same fury as they have contended for the best.

(C) There are still some ruins spot, but no other remains of a city.

THE air of *Siberia* is, in general, extremely piercing; *Climate.* the cold there being, as we learn from authentic observations, more severe than in any other part of the *Russian* dominions. The *Siberian* rivers are frozen very early, and it is late in the spring before the ice is thawed. The snow often falls in *September*, and is frequently seen on the ground in *May*. If the corn does not ripen in *August*, there is little hopes of a harvest in this country; and in the province of *Jeniseisk* it is sometimes covered with snow before the peasants can reap it. The earth is never thawed to any considerable depth in *Siberia* (A). To defend the inhabitants against this extreme severity of the climate, providence seems the more liberally to have dealt out to them, wood for fuel, and furs for cloathing. Even ice itself is, in some measure, converted by them into a fence against the cold; for in the northern parts, particularly at *Jakutzk*, it is usual to hew a transparent piece of ice, of the size of the hole which serves the peasants for a window; and having fixed it on the out-side, they sprinkle a little water at the edges, which immediately freezes and cements the ice in the hole. This ice window keeps out the wind and cold, without much diminishing the light. Those who have glass-windows besides, place them on the inside, that the room may not be chilled by the moist effluvia of the ice (B); but the common people do not mind this inconvenience. As the winter-days in the north parts of *Siberia* last but a few hours, and the storms and flakes of snow darken the air so much, that the inhabitants, even at noon, cannot see to do any thing without artificial lights, they sleep away the greatest part of that season (C).

THESE

(A) M. *Gmelin*, having, on the 18th of *June* O. S. caused the earth to be dug near *Jakutzk*, where the ground was high, found the depth thawed to be scarce four feet from the surface; and in low places it did not exceed three feet. Near fort *Argunsk*, which is but little beyond the 50th degree of north latitude, the inhabitants acquainted him, that in several places the soil was not thawed to above the depth of an ell and a half, and that this internal frost made it very difficult to

come at any springs. He likewise observed, that the quicksilver sunk to an hundred and twenty degrees of *Fahrenheit's* scale at *Jeniseisk*, which is a degree of cold never felt hitherto in any other country on the globe.

(B) Beer is seldom known to freeze in the cellars of those houses whose windows, or holes for admitting light, are thus stopped with a piece of ice.

(C) In those parts where the river *Jenisei* falls into the *Ice-sea*, the northern lights appear from

THESE severe winters are rapidly succeeded by summers, in which the heat is so intense, that the *Tungusians*, who live in the province of *Jakutsk*, go almost naked. Here is scarcely any night during that season; and towards the *Frozen-ocean*, the sun appears continually above the horizon. The vegetables and fruits of the earth are here extremely quick in their growth. Thunder is seldom heard near the *Ice-sea*, on the coast of which the thunder-claps are said to be so faint, as hardly to strike the ear; but the lightning is very visible in that climate. On the contrary, the south part of *Siberia* is subject to very dreadful tempests.

Soil and
produce.

THE whole tract of land beyond the 60th degree of north latitude, is a barren waste; for the north part of *Siberia* yields neither corn nor fruits; tho' barley is known frequently to come to perfection in *Jakutsk*. For this reason, the inhabitants of the northern parts are obliged to live on fish and flesh; but the *Russians* are supplied with corn from the southern parts of *Siberia*, where the soil is surprisingly fertile. The countries beyond the lake of *Baikal*, especially towards the east, as far as the river *Argun*, are remarkably fruitful and pleasant; but such is the indolence of the inhabitants, that several fine tracts of land, which would make ample returns to the peasant for cultivating them, lie neglected. The pastures are excellent in this country, which abounds in fine horned-cattle, horses, goats, &c. on which the *Tartars* chiefly depend for subsistence. However, there are several *Steppes*, or barren wastes, and unimprovable tracts in these parts; and not a single fruit tree is to be seen. There is great variety of vegetables, and in several places, particularly near *Krasnaia Sloboda*, the ground is in a manner over-run with asparagus of an extraordinary height and delicious flavour. The bulbs of the *Turkish bundes*, and other sorts of lillies, are much used by the *Tartars* instead of bread. This want of fruit and corn is richly compensated by the great quantities of wild and tame beasts and fowls, and the infinite variety of fine fish which the country affords, among which are the sturgeon and sterlet. Provisions are so cheap, that, in many places, a *Pud*, or thirty-six pounds of meal, may be had for five or eight, and a pud of the finest beef for twenty or thirty *copecks*.

from the beginning of *October* till *Christmas*; and the corruptions of one kind of them are said to be very terrifying. M.

Gmelin thinks this the place where the *Aurora Borealis* is to be seen in its greatest perfection.

In that part of *Siberia* which lies near the *Ice-Sea*, as well as in several other places, no trees, but shrubs and bushes grow; but the greater part of this country produces large woods of pine, larch, and other trees: besides which, a considerable quantity of wood is thrown ashore by the waves of the *Ice-Sea*; but from whence it comes is not yet quite clear.

BESIDES the wild fowl, such as moor-hens, partridges, *Wild* woodcocks, and snipes, with which *Siberia* abounds, there is *beasts.* a prodigious number of wild quadrupeds, some of which are eatable, and others valuable for their skins or furs. The *Argati*, which are also called *Stepnie Baranni*, or wild sheep, the *Dsholaïshan*, the *Gardinadatsh*, the *Kytap* and *Kulem*, resemble roe-bucks, more than sheep, and are a particular species of animals between these two. They are found near the *Irtis*, and from thence eastward as far as *Kamshatka*. In the province of *Irkutsk*, and beyond the lake *Baikal*, is a sort of deer called the *Isubr*; but the people who live near the *Irtis* call this creature *Maral*, and the *Tartars* about the *Jenisei* give it the name of *Syn*. This species is also distinguished by the several appellations of *Maimie*, *Meyimie*, *Bûba*, *Kumaka*, and *Kumakâ*. There are also two kinds of wild goats, one in the province of *Irkutsk*, which are called *Dshers*, and perfectly resemble the roe-buck, except that they have horns like the shamois, which they never shed; the other, called *Saiga*, frequents the source of the *Irtis*, and is found in no other part of *Siberia*. The *Saiga* is not unlike the shamois, except that its horns are quite straight, and have no branches. These horns are almost transparent, and much used to make handles for knives, daggers, &c. The animal called *Saïga* beyond *Krasnoiarsk*, and throughout the whole province of *Irkutsk*, and the government of *Yakutz*, is the musk or civet-cat. The *Kosi* or roebuck, the *Socaty* or elk, rein-deer, hares, the *Kabari* or wild boars, and bears, are common over all *Siberia*. The *Tshigitai* or wild mules, in the province of *Irkutsk*, are like a bay horse, but their tail resembles that of a cow, and their ears are of an enormous length. They are, however, remarkably swift.

THE animals most valued for their skins are the black fox, the sable, the hyæna, the esmine, the squirrel, the beaver, and the lynx. The skin of a real black fox is more esteemed than even that of a sable. In the country near the *Frozen Ocean* are also blue and white foxes. The finest sables come from *Nertschinsk* and *Yakutzk*, the inhabitants of which places catch them in the mountains of *Siamowoi*.

Krebes. It is usual in those parts for ten or twelve men to join in a society, and share the fables they take. One of the members is chosen as chief, to whom all the rest must pay obedience, on pain of being well beaten or expelled from the society. Before they set out, they never fail to make a vow of giving part of their capture to the church. Several *Tartars* likewise apply themselves to the hunting of fables, and pursue them very dexterously through all their shifts: for when the fable finds no means of escaping its pursuers, it climbs up the highest tree within sight; but the hunters immediately set fire to the tree, and, spreading out a net, catch the fable as it leaps down to avoid the flames. By the great value set on fables, the breed of those animals is very much lessened; and, what is no small detriment to the crown, great numbers have been caught and sold clandestinely, notwithstanding the severest prohibitions. The tributary nations were formerly obliged to pay their taxes in the skins of foxes and fables only. But now the skins of squirrels, bears, rein-deer, &c. and sometimes money, are received by way of tribute; and this not only from those who live near the *Lena*, but also in the governments of *Ilinfk*, *Irkutsk*, *Selenginsk*, and *Nertsinks*. When the *Tartars* first became tributary to the *Russians*, they brought their furs indiscriminately as they caught them, and among them were often fables of extraordinary value; and formerly, if any trader brought with him an iron-kettle, they gave him, in exchange for it, as many fables as it would hold. But they are now better acquainted with their value. They sell their fables to smugglers at a very high price, and pay only a rubel instead of a skin to the revenue-office, which now receives more ready money than fables, by way of tribute. The subjects plead the scarcity of furs, and, as we have already observed, not without some appearance of truth.

THE hyæna is a very subtle animal, watching other creatures with singular address, in order to execute by craft, what it could not do by force; and is equally artful in avoiding the snares and contrivances of men. It keeps a sharp eye upon fawns, young elks, rein-deer, civet-cats, roe-bucks, hares, squirrels, foxes, and young partridges; and either watches them on a tree, from whence it springs upon them, and fastens on their neck with its teeth, or surprises them in their lares or dens. The hyæna is of great detriment to the hunters, by frequently devouring the animals caught in their traps. This creature is extremely voracious, and runs from

from south to north, and from north to south in quest of its prey; but the opinion that it squeezes itself between two trees, to force out its excrements, and make room for more food, wants confirmation. It is called in *Siberia* *Rossomak*. The *Germans* call it *Vielfras*, which signifies a glutton.

WITH regard to squirrels, the blackest, which are indeed the smallest, are caught in the mountains of *Stannowoi Krebet*. Those of *Berejow* are larger; but their furr is of an ashy-colour. The silver-coloured squirrels of *Tjelut* are remarkable throughout all *Siberia*, for their bigness; and indeed some prefer them to the black sort. The flying squirrels bear scarce any resemblance to the common species, except in their manner of climbing up trees. They look more like a rat; and have a strong tegument, from the hind to the fore-leg, on both sides, which is above an inch broad, and can be contracted or dilated as the animal pleases. This mechanism enables it to fly a little way. The tail, which is of a dark yellow, is not so long as that of a squirrel.

THE whitish beavers are tame and familiar; but so many of them have been destroyed in *Siberia*, that they are now very scarce. The greatest number of them is now found near the source of the river *Jenisei*, and on the banks of the *Oby*; but the largest are those of *Kamtschatka*.

Siberia has still other, and more valuable treasures than those we have yet mentioned. The silver mines of *Argun* are extremely rich; the silver they produce yields some gold, and both of these are found among the copper-ore of *Kolivan*. This country is also particularly rich in copper and iron ore. The former lies even upon the surface of the earth; and considerable mines of it are found in the mountains of *Pielow*, *Kolivan*, *Ploskai*, *Woskerjensk*, *Kuswi*, *Alepaik*, and several others, and in the government of *Krasnoyarsk*. Iron is still more plentiful in all these places, and very good: but that of *Kamenski* is reckoned the best. Several hundred thousand puds of these metals are annually exported from the smelting-houses, which belong partly to the crown, and partly to private persons. Most of them lie in the government of *Catharinenburg*. The *Tartars* also extract a great quantity of iron from the ore.

THE topazes of *Siberia* have so fine a lustre, that none but good judges can distinguish them from the oriental ones. In open sandy places, near the river *Argun*, as well as on the banks of other rivers and lakes, are found single small pieces of agate. Here are also cornelians and green jasper

with red veins; the latter is chiefly met with in the deserts of *Gobiskoi*.

• *Marienglas*

THE famous *marienglas*, or *lapis specularis*, great quantities of which are dug up in *Siberia*, is by some called *Muscovy* or *Russian-glass*; and by others, though with less propriety, *isnglass*. It is a particular species of transparent stone, lying in *strata*, like so many sheets of paper. The *matrix*, or stone in which it is found, is partly a light yellow *quartz* or *marcassia*, and partly a brown indurated fluid; and this stone contains in it all the species of the *marienglas*. The clearest and most transparent is accounted the best, and that of a greenish tinge is looked upon as the worst sort. Next to the colour, its size is most regarded. Some pieces have been found near two ells square: but these are not very common. Hence it is that they bear an extraordinary value, a rubel or two a pound being readily paid for a piece of an ell square. As for the more common sort, a pud of that of a quarter of an ell square is sold for nine or ten rubels: and the worst sort of all, which is stitched together, is sold for a rubel and a half or two rubels a pud. To render the *marienglas* fit for use, it is split with a thin two-edged knife; but care is taken that the *laminæ* be not too thin. It is used for windows and lanterns all over *Siberia*, and indeed in every part of the *Russian* empire, and looks very beautiful; its lustre and clearness surpassing that of the finest glass, to which it is particularly preferable for windows and lanterns of ships, as it will stand the explosion of cannon. It is found in the greatest plenty near the river *Witim*.

Magnets.

Siberia affords magnets of an extraordinary size, and even whole mountains of loadstones. Pit-coal is also dug up in the northern parts of this country. The *Kammennoie Maslo*, a yellowish kind of alum, unctuous and smooth to the touch, like *tophus*, is found in the mountains of *Krasnoiarisk*, *Ural*, *Altaiisk*, *Jenisea*, *Baikal*, *Bargusik*, *Lena*, and several other in *Siberia*.

Salt lakes and springs.

IN this country are not only a great number of fresh-water lakes, but likewise several whose waters are salt; and what is very singular in both of these is, the alterations to which they are liable, a fresh-water lake becoming sometimes changed into a saline, and a saline into a fresh one. Some lakes also dry up, and others appear where none were ever seen before. The salt-lake of *Mussha* in the province of *Tobolsk* is the most remarkable of all; for it contains a salt as white as snow, consisting en-

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firely of cubic-crystals. One also finds in *Siberia* saline springs, salt-water brooks, and a hill of salt. The salt-springs in the province of *Irkutsk*, which lie about two hundred wersts from *Oleminskoi Ostrog*, near the banks of the *Kapitenda*, are so strongly impregnated with saline particles, that a pure white salt is gradually accumulated to the height of several feet above the spring. In the same province is the salt-hill, which is thirty fathoms high, and two hundred and ten in length from east to west. This hill, as far as two thirds of its height from the base, is a congeries of a very hard transparent salt, which consists of large cubic-crystals, without the least apparent mixture of any heterogeneous substance. From what has been said, it may be concluded that there are a great many salt-works in this country.

Siberia affords many other things which deserve notice. *Natural curiosities.* That useful root called *rhubarb* grows in vast quantities near the city of *Seleginsk*. The curious *mamont's* bones and horns, as they are called, which are found along the banks of the *Oby*, *Jenesei*, *Lena*, and *Irtis*, are unquestionably the teeth and bones of elephants, and are made into combs and other utensils like ivory. Some of these teeth, or horns, as they are called in *Siberia*, are four *arshines* (A), or *Russian* ells in length, and six inches in diameter; and the largest fort weigh six or seven *puds* (B). Their colour is like that of ivory, excepting some few of them which are yellowish, brown, or of a blueish black, owing probably to their long continuance in the earth. Those that are found near the mouths of the rivers which run into the *Frozen Ocean*, or on the banks of the fresh-water lakes, which lie at no very great distance from the *Ice Sea*, where the ground is perpetually frozen, are generally very fresh: whereas those that are dug up in the southern parts of *Siberia* are often soft and decayed. But whether these elephants teeth and bones were conveyed to these northern regions by the general deluge, or by any other inundation, and were by degrees covered with earth, is a point which might lead us into long and very fruitless disquisitions. We shall therefore only observe, that such bones have likewise been found in *Russia*, and even in several parts of *Germany*. A kind of bones of a still larger size than these have also been dug up in *Siberia*, and seem

(A) The *arshine*, or *Russian* ell, is equal to 28 inches and 10th *English* measure. tains forty *Russian* pounds, which are equal to thirty-six *English* pounds of sixteen

(B) The *pud*, or *pad*, con- ounces.

to have belonged to an animal of the ox-kind. The horn of the whale, called *narwhal*, has been found in the earth near the rivers *Indigirka* and *Anadir*, and the teeth of another species of whales, called *walrofs*, about *Anadirskoi*. The latter are larger than the common sort, which are brought from *Greenland*, *Archangel*, and *Kola*.

WE must not here forget the *Siberian* volcano near *Kamtchatka*, where violent earthquakes are not uncommon. Shocks of them, though smaller, have likewise been felt in other parts of this country, particularly in *Irkutzk*, and about the lake *Baikal*.

Mountains.

THE chain of *Siberian* mountains reaches from that of *Werchoturie* towards the south, as far as the neighbourhood of the city of *Oriemburg*, in a continued ridge, under the name of the *Uralian* mountains; but from thence it alters its direction westward. These mountains are a kind of boundary between *Russia Proper* and *Siberia*. Another chain of hills divides *Siberia* from the country of the *Calmuks* and *Mongolians*. These mountains, between the rivers *Irtis* and *Oby*, are called the *Ataic* or *Golden Mountains*; which name they afterwards lose, particularly between the river *Jenisei* and the *Baikal* lake, where they are called the *Sayanian Mountains*. From this chain some branches advance towards the south, into the country of the *Calmuks* and *Mongolians*; and some towards the north, which partly encompass the rivers *Oby* and *Tom*, and especially the *Jenisei*. The whole country, which extends to the north and east, towards the *Frozen* and the *Eastern Oceans*, begins here to grow mountainous and rocky: but the longest chain of mountains in *Siberia*, is that which lies between the rivers that run into the *Eastern Ocean* and the *Ice Sea*. This ridge begins in the country of the *Mongolians*, and extends to the north-east extremity of *Siberia*. Another ridge of hills, called *Wercoianskoi*, in which are the sources of those rivers which empty themselves into the *Ice Sea*, lies on the south side of the river *Aldan*. Other less remarkable mountains are those between the *Jenisei* and the *Lena*, from which the river *Tungusta*, that runs beyond them, derives its name.

Inhabitants.

THE inhabitants of *Siberia* consist of three sorts of people; namely, the *Aborigines* or ancient inhabitants, *Tartars*, and *Russians*.

OF the two first, some have no other religion but that of nature; others are pagans or mahometans; and some of them have been converted to christianity, or rather only baptised

baptised by the *Russian* missionaries. The *Aborigines*, or *First inhabitants of Siberia*, consist of,

I. THE *Wogulitzians*, or *Wogulians*, who live in the province of *Tobolsk*, and may more properly be classed here, than among the *Tartars*. These, by living among the *Russians* in a constant intercourse of trade, before the latter had conquered this country, are more civilised than the other *Siberian* nations. They have some notion of a God, the creator and preserver of all things. They also believe a resurrection of the dead, and a future state of rewards and punishments; which important truths they probably received from the *Russians*: but they absolutely deny the existence of the devil, saying, that if there was such a being, he could do them no hurt, and that they never knew any instance of it. Their whole religious worship consists in the following ceremony. Once a year, towards the end of summer, every father or head of a family in all their villages meet, and in some adjacent wood offer the head of every species of animals they are acquainted with, and hang the skins upon the trees; after which they make several reverential bows before them, but without uttering a word by way of prayer. This done, they regale themselves with great festivity, on the flesh of the animals whose heads have been thus offered. The only reason they assign for performing this ceremony is, the practice of their ancestors. When they bury their dead, they throw money into the grave with the deceased. They generally take as many wives as they can maintain. Their dress and method of building are, for the most part, copied from the *Russians*; though they furnish the inside of their houses rather in the *Tartarian* manner. As they have not a sufficient quantity of arable land, they chiefly subsist by grazing and hunting. They are entirely subject to the *Russian* government; and many of them have embraced the christian religion, as professed by the *Greek* or *Russian* church.

II. THE *Samoyedes*, who live in the province of *Jeniseiskoi*, Samoyed of whom we have already spoken in our account of the government of *Archangel*.

III. THE *Yuraki*, a numerous tribe of *Samoyedes*, who inhabit the sea-coast, and farther up the continent between the rivers *Jenisei* and *Oby*. Most of these still live without any form of government: and though some of them pay tribute to the *Russian* empress, the generality have not yet submitted to the yoke.

Ostiaks.

IV. THE *Ostiaks*, or *Ashaks*, who call themselves *Comi*, or *Komni-jung*, and whom the *Tartars* call *Kshuk*, are divided into the *Ostiaks* of *Narim*, *Jenisei*, *Oby*, *Surgut*, *Irtis*, &c. The ancestors of this people are supposed to have emigrated hither from *Veliki Permian*, when christianity was first introduced into *Russia*, to enjoy their idolatrous worship without molestation; at least their language is said to have a great analogy with the *Permian*, which is very different from that of the neighbouring *Samojeaes* and *Wogulstians*. They are of a middling stature, and generally well-shaped, but excessively filthy in their way of living. They give their children the name of the first animal they meet, and as they grow up instruct them in hunting and fishing. They never leave off fishing in summer, till they have caught enough to last them the whole winter, during which they go out with their dogs to hunt hyænas, lynxes, fables, ermines, and bears; which enables them to pay their tribute, and to carry on a trade with strangers. In these excursions they also catch a great number of birds and rein-deer for food. They are excessively fond of *shaar*, or *Chinese* tobacco. Their dwellings are little low huts made with shrubs and bushes, and covered with the bark of birch-trees; and in the middle is the hearth for fire. They neither mind grazing nor agriculture, nor keep any animals but dogs, for hunting and drawing their sledges. They worship three deities called *Stariks*, besides a great number of frightful idols, several of which were destroyed in the years 1712, 1713, and 1714, when many of these heathens were converted to christianity. They call the devil *Shaitan*; and bury with their deceased friends, arms and household furniture. When they take an oath of fidelity to the *Russian* government, they use the following ceremony: Having laid down a bearskin and an axe, they hold over it a piece of bread on a knife, and express themselves in these words: "In case I do not, to my life's end, prove true and faithful to the supreme government of the country; or if I knowingly and willingly break through my allegiance, or be wanting in the duty I owe to the said supreme government; may the bear tear me to pieces in the wood! may the bread I eat stick in my throat and choke me! may the knife stab me, and the axe cut off my head!" The like ceremony is used among them in the deposition of a witness.

Barabinzians.

V. THE *Barabinzians*, who inhabit the country on both sides of the river *Irtis*, and seem to derive their name from the *Barabaian* desert, whose lakes supply them abundantly with

with fish on which and on feeding of cattle they chiefly subsist. They have plenty of game and wild fowl of every kind, particularly ducks and puffins. Most of them are heathens: but mahometanism gains ground daily among them. Some of them pay tribute to the empress of *Russia*, and others to the *Kan Taisha*.

VI. THE *Tungusians*, or rather *Tingisians*, a populous nation dispersed throughout the provinces of *Jeniseisk* and *Irutskians*. The *Chinese* call them *Solun*, and the *Ostiaks* give them the name of *Kellem* or *Vellem*, that is, *The party-coloured*: but they term themselves *Oewonki*. The *Tungusians* must not be confounded either with the *Tangutes*, or with the eastern *Mongolians*, whom the *Calmuks* call by the nickname of *Tungus*, *Swine*. As some of the *Tungusians*, when they became subject to the *Russian* empire, were observed to travel in sledges, drawn by horses, others by rein-deer, and others again by dogs, they were divided accordingly into the following tribes.

1. THE *Konnie Tungusi*, who live in *Dauria*, and near the town of *Nertschinsk*, and are so called from the horses they use in travelling with their sledges. Grazing and feeding of cattle are the chief support of this tribe, who, in dress and several other respects, greatly resemble the *Mongolians*. They wear their hair like the *Calmuks* and *Mongolians*, and are armed after the same manner, excepting that they have no sabres. They pay no attention to agriculture; but content themselves with a kind of meal made of the roots of yellow lilies, which they use instead of flour. They are good horsemen, strong made, and behave with great courage in war.

2. THE *Olenie-Tungusi*, who are so called from their rein-deer, and live about the rivers *Lena*, *Nishnaia*, and *Tunguska*. They subsist by hunting and fishing, and also breed some cattle. They make their cloaths of the skins of rein-deer, and wear caps of fox-skin. Their usual oath is *olimni*, which signifies, that they call God to witness the truth of what they say. When they are accused, they clear themselves by an oath of purgation in this manner: Having first killed and burnt a dog, the defendant, after drinking some of its blood, wishes with an imprecation, that he may shrivel up and be burnt like that animal, if the charge against him be true.

3. THE *Sabatbie Tungusi*, who live chiefly in the province of *Irutsk*, and are so called, not only because they use dogs to draw their sledges, but also because they eat the flesh of those animals. They are likewise termed *Lamuts*, from

from the country about *Oczak*, which is also called *Lama*. The skins of rein-deer are their winter-cloathing.

4. THE *Podkamenie-Tungusi*, who inhabit the country that lies between the rivers *Jenisei* and *Lena*, or about *Ilinisk*. These people are poor, and live much in the same manner as their neighbours the *Ostjaks* and *Samoyedes*.

THESE several nations resemble one another so strongly in their manners and customs, as well as in their figures, that no doubt can be made of their being descended from the same stock. Their complexion is not so yellow as that of the *Calmuks*, nor have they such large eyes and flat noses. Their stature is generally low, and, from a custom of plucking off the hair, very few of them have any beard. They mark the cheeks, forehead, and chin of their children, when young, with black or blue figures, by mixing the colour with their spittle, and dipping in it a needle and thread, with which they stitch the child's face; continually drawing the thread thus coloured, under the skin, notwithstanding the incessant cries of the tortured infant. If the face swells, they smear it over with fat, by way of remedy. Anciently, conquerors in war, or in single combat, were honoured with this distinction; but then the figures were not confined to the face only, but were made all over the body. Such marks, in those days, commanded universal respect; which probably first brought them into vogue, and induced this people to look upon them as highly ornamental. The religion of these nations is pretty much alike; and they stile their idols *Shewuki*. They obstinately adhere to their superstitions, and render all attempts to convert them fruitless. They allow polygamy, but seldom have more than two wives. Most of them live in small tents or huts, which they remove from place to place. They are active and sprightly, naturally inclined to justice and equity, and are even inspired with a desire of fame. They are all under the protection of the *Russian* government, excepting some few that belong to *China*. They are divided into tribes or families, over a certain number of which presides a *saissan*, or chief, who has a deputy stiled *iaisha*. Both these officers are appointed by, and receive a pension from the empress of *Russia*. The furs of the *Tungusians* are reckoned the very best.

Buratiens.

VII. THE *Buratts*, or *Buratiens*, whom the *Russians* call *Bratski*, differ from the *Tungusians* only in their language, which resembles that of the *Mongolians*. They formerly lived on the south-side of the lake *Baikal*; but removed gradually to the north of the province of *Irkutsk*, towards the close of the last century. About the year 1644, a handful

of *Cosaks*, sent from *Krasniarsk*, prevailed with them; by fair words, to become subjects of *Russia*. They were formerly one people with the *Jakutians*. They are of a good shape and stature, and subsist by feeding cattle and sheep, and hunting. A *Buratt* has been, more than once, known to possess a thousand sheep, besides a great number of bullocks and horses. The men cut off their hair close to the head; but their dress differs little from that of the common people in *Russia*. The greatest ornament of the females consists in their hair, which the young ones plait into three or four locks, but the elderly women only into two. They live in hexangular huts, built with logs of wood laid one upon another to the height of three or four feet; and upon these poles are fixed, which terminate almost in a point, leaving only an opening at the top for the smoke. The entrance of these cottages always faces the east; and on each side of them stands a birch-tree. From one of these trees to the other a pole is laid, on which hang narrow slips of furs, the skins of ermines and weasels, and the fleeces of sheep; and every night and morning the *Buratt* makes several bows and prostrations before these trophies, touching his forehead with two of his fingers, according to the oriental custom. They have a sort of priests, or soothsayers, whom they call *Bo*, and who dress themselves in a frightful manner. Several of the poorer *Buratts* have been persuaded to be baptised, especially those who live near *Balaganskoi Ostrog*; and these, contrary to the custom of the rest of their nation, apply themselves to husbandry and trades, so that many of them are very expert mechanics, particularly at inlaying iron with pewter or silver. They ride either on horses, oxen, or cows, taking the first that comes in their way; and seldom continue above a month or two in the same place: for as soon as they find that their herds and flocks have eat up the pasture, they immediately remove to another spot.

VIII. THE *Jakutians*, who, in their features, are very *Jakutians*. like the *Calmuks*, and in their way of living resemble the other pagan nations we have been speaking of, excepting that they wear long hair and short garments. They give themselves little trouble about bread, living on several sorts of roots, garlic, onions, milk, the flesh of horses and cows, and of all kinds of wild beasts that they chance to meet with: but mice, mountain-rats, and wild fowl, are their favourite dishes. They have both summer and winter-cottages; and the cattle lie under the same roof with their owners. They use mortars of frozen cow or ox dung, in which they bruise not only dried fish, roots, and berries, but

but the more wealthy among them pound pepper and salt. They have a great number of idols, which look like so many puppets, and are all made of rags; for they hold wooden images in great contempt. They rub the mouths of these wretched figures with the fat or blood of animals. It is said, that the *Yakutians* formerly either burnt their dead, or exposed them to the air on trees, or left them unburied in the huts where they expired. But at present they generally bury their deceased friends; which custom they have probably learnt from the *Russians*. Several of these people are now baptised.

Yukagirians.

IX. THE *Yukagirians*, a tribe of the *Yakutians*, who live mostly among the mountains, and near the *Ice Sea*.

Tshukshians and Olutshians.

X. THE *Tshukshians*, who live in the north-west part of *Siberia*, wear the tooth of a *walrus* in each cheek, which are inserted in the flesh during their infancy; and the *Olutshians*, a savage, fierce nation, who, according to all accounts, are so far from submitting to the *Russians*, that they commit all possible hostilities against them. This obliges the *Russian* traders to go from *Ootsk* to *Kamtschatka* by water.

**Shelati-
ans, &c.**

XI. THE *Shelati-ans*, *Kurilians*, and *Coriekians*, who also live in these parts, are but little known.

Kamtschadations.

XII. THE *Kamtschadations*, or inhabitants of the peninsula of *Kamtschatka*, supposed to have been originally a *Japanese* colony, are more tractable and civilised than their northern neighbours. They pay the *Russians* a tribute in furs.

**Siberian
Tartars.**

THE second principal class of the inhabitants of this country are the *Tartars*, who are the most civilised of all the foreign nations in *Siberia*; and those *Tartars* who are mahometans are still more so than the pagan *Tartars*. The latter have their *kamen*, or priests and forcerers, who impose vilely upon the people by their juggling tricks. They affect to seem as if they were possessed; and have their magic drum, by which their deluded followers believe they can procure lost things, heal the sick, and foretel future events. Their common dress is a leather coat, with several pieces of iron hanging to it, leather stockings, with a variety of ornaments, and a cap well adapted for terrifying the ignorant. The houses and huts of the *Tartars* are distinguished by a broad low seat, and a hearth with a chimney.

*Their several
tribes, viz.*

THE *Siberian Tartars* consist of several populous nations and less numerous tribes, and live under the protection of *Russia*. They derive their names from the countries, towns, and rivers, near which they dwell.

THOSE

THOSE in the province of *Tobolsk* are divided into the following tribes.

1. SUCH as inhabit the city of *Tobolsk*, of whom we shall speak farther in our account of that place; only observing here, that they are more cleanly than the *Tartars* of *Casun*, but so poor that they seldom have more than one wife, nor drink any other liquor than water.

2. THE *Tartars* who live about *Tiby-Aul*, or *Siniarskoi Prud*, as the *Russians* call it, near the river *Siniar*. These pay no tribute whatever to the crown; but are obliged to perform *Cosak* service, and are called *Moshtshiaraki*. They have fixed habitations, and reside always in the same place.

3. THE *Tartars* in the government of *Turinsk* are more savage than any of the others. They were baptised in the year 1720, by *Philophei*, archbishop of *Tobolsk*; and great numbers of them, who refused to comply, were driven by force into the river, which the *Russians* concluded would answer the purpose very well.

4. THE *Mirow Tartars*. These, in general, are independent, exempt from tribute, and live decently.

5. THE *Tartars* who dwell near *Ishmisk*, a town upon the river *Irtis*. These have commonly one village for the summer, and another for the winter: a custom which, however, is not peculiar to them.

6. THOSE who live near the city of *Tara* are called *Yefashnie Tatarsi*, that is, *Tartars* who pay a tribute to the crown.

7. THE *Theleuti Tartars* live about the river *Tshumush*. These were formerly much more numerous, great multitudes of them having removed farther up into *Siberia*, to avoid the ravages of the *Calmuks*; but they now begin to return to their old habitations.

8. THE *Tartars* who live in the province of *Jenisea*, with several of the *Theleuti* and *Kashtim Tartars*, who inhabit the parts about the river *Kaltirak* in the neighbourhood of *Ilünskoi Pogost* (A), were baptised by the above-mentioned prelate, but they are far from being christians. They do not even wear the cross that is given them at baptism, which is here accounted the essential part of christianity; but publicly declare that they were compelled to be baptised against

(A) *Pogost* signifies properly a church with the buildings belonging to it: but, in a more extensive sense, it denotes the

whole territory of a parish belonging to a church. The villages dependent on the church have also the same name.

their inclination. However, they are very ready to make the sign of the cross, are generally married by a *Russian* priest, and sometimes look into a *Russian* church.

**Theleuti
Tartars.**

9. THE *Theleuti Tartars*, who live near *Kusnetsk*, are not mahomerans, nor have they any settled form of religion. They, indeed, believe the existence of a God; but almost the only worship they pay him is, that every morning at the rising of the sun, they turn towards the east, and say this laconic prayer, "Do not strike me dead." Near their villages are open places or areas, called *Taulga*, where, once a year, or oftener, they kill a horse, eat its flesh, then stuff the skin, and set it up with its head towards the east. The *Taulga* is also built facing the east, and is only a square spot inclosed with stakes of birch-trees. However, it is looked upon as a consecrated place; and there the stuffed skin is left as an offering to the deity, which is accounted an act of religious worship. They eat no pork, but drink brandy as often as they can get it. They are so immoderately fond of tobacco, that they swallow the very smoke of it. Some of these *Tartars* bury their dead, and others burn them.

**Abintzi
Tartars.**

10. THE *Abintzi Tartars*, who also live near *Kusnetsk*, are said to be of the same religion with the *Theleuti*. Their huts are chiefly built with earth, and their employment is agriculture.

**Beltiri
Tartars.**

11. THE *Beltiri* are the only *Tartars* in the *Kusnetsk* government, who, besides paying a tribute to *Russia*, are likewise taxed by the *Calmuks*, and are obliged to pay the latter in iron and *Russian* leather. In this country are also the *Kabal* and *Saga Tartars*.

**Tuliberti
and Kif-
timi Tar-
tars.
Tkulim-
zians.**

12. FARTHER up in the continent, near the river *Jon*, live the *Tuliberti* and *Kiflimi Tartars*.

13. THE *Tshulimzians*, who are also baptised, though they have but a very imperfect notion of a God. They eat dead horses, and offer up the skins to the devil. When they bury their dead, every person present leaps through a fire which is kindled on the spot, that the deceased may not follow him; for they imagine that the dead are very much afraid of fire. When archbishop *Philophei* went to these parts, to baptise the people, he ordered the dragoons who attended him, to force such as expressed any reluctance into the river *Tshulum*; and upon their coming out of the water, crosses were hung about their necks, and then they were called *Baptised Tartars*. They have not the least knowledge of the essential part of christianity: but idly think that it consists in carrying the cross about them, and making the sign of it; in abstaining from eating the flesh of horses and

squirrels; in going to church; in having their children baptised; in restricting themselves to one wife, and in observing the fasts of the *Greek church*.

14. THE *Tartars* who live near *Krasnoiarfk* have very *Krasno-* much the air of *Europeans*. They are generally thin, but *Tark Tar-* brisk and sprightly. They are civil, sociable, and honest, *tars*. and do not want a capacity for business. Some caution must indeed be used in trading with this people; but robberies and thefts are never heard of among them. They have generally two or three, and sometimes four wives. They are not over-cleanly, or scrupulously neat in their apparel. They have a good breed of horses and horned cattle, and are tolerably well acquainted with agriculture. They have hitherto been so tenacious of paganism, that neither the *Mahometans*, *Russians*, nor *Mongols*, have ever been able to make any impression on them, in favour of another religion.

15. THE *Arinzi* were formerly a principal tribe of *Tar-* *Arinzi* *tars*; but their number is now become inconsiderable. *Tartars*.

16. THE *Kotowzi* and *Kamatshinzi* inhabit the country *Kotowzi* between *Abakansk* and *Ransk*. The *Tartars* who live near *and Ka-* *Kansk*, are not very rich, and few of them have more than *matshinzi* two wives. Both sexes among them wear no other gar- *Tartars*. ment than a coat, except the few that have been baptised, who wear shirts and shifts. But as they never wash them, they look very dirty and slovenly. Their only occupation is hunting of fables: and as they have not yet applied themselves to agriculture, like many of the other *Tartars*, they use the bulb of the *Turkish Bundes*, and other lillies, instead of bread.

17. THE *Affani Tartars*, formerly a very numerous tribe, *Affani* are now almost entirely extinct. The few of them that re- *Tartars*. main, live near the rivers *Usselka* and *Ona*.

18. THE *Soieti*, who are a sort of roving *Pagan Tartars*, *Soieti* live near *Tunkinsk Ostrog*, in the province of *Irkutsk*, and *Tartars*. speak the same language as the *Tartars* of *Krasnoiarfk*.

THE third principal class of the inhabitants of *Siberia*, are *Russian* *Russians*, of whom great numbers have settled there since *inhabi-* he conquest of that country; but most of them have fled *tants of* hither, from time to time, from other provinces. Since *Siberia*. their establishment, they have founded a great many towns, *ostrogs* (A), and villages; which, according to their custom, are

(A) *Ostrog*, in the *Russian* there are numbers in *Siberia*. language, signifies a place in- Instead of a wall, they are sur- closed with palisades; of which rounded with long piles driven perpendicular

are built and fortified with timber. Most of the villages take their names from the peasants who first built them, and but few from the rivulets on which they stand. The *Siberian* dialect in the villages, is very different from the common language of *Russia*, and is intermixed with many barbarous words never used in that country. Idleness, drunkenness, and debauchery, are so universal throughout all *Siberia*, that in many parts of it one meets with few persons who are free from the venereal disease.

General
mistake
regard
to state
prisoners
sent thi-
ther.

THE notion believed and propagated by foreigners, that the criminals exiled by the *Russian* court to *Siberia*, whose number is very considerable, are obliged daily or weekly to catch and deliver in a certain number of fables, is a vulgar error; for that is an employment to which they are little accustomed. Of the unhappy exiles, who are sent thither as state-prisoners, some are strongly guarded in fortified houses, and maintained at the expence of the crown; others enjoy their liberty, but under certain restrictions; and others again are sent thither into slavery, to work in the mines, fortifications, &c. Several decayed merchants who are banished to *Siberia*, as debtors to the crown, meet with more favourable opportunities of getting money, and gradually retrieving their affairs, than if they had continued in *Russia*; and these opportunities they are suffered to embrace as often as they occur. To such industrious persons, *Siberia* must be looked upon rather as a desirable and advantageous country, than as a wretched place of banishment.

Trade of
Siberia.

THE many navigable rivers that water *Siberia* greatly facilitate its commerce, which is very considerable. By means of its trade with *China*, foreign *European* commodities are often sold in the towns of *Siberia*, nearly as cheap as at *Petersburg* and *Moscow*: nor is there a city in *Russia* from which merchants do not travel to *Siberia*, with foreign goods. These traders vend their merchandise partly among the inhabitants of the *Siberian* towns, but chiefly to the *Chinese* merchants, who frequent the great yearly fairs in *Siberia*; and purchase some of their commodities in return. Such a trader performs a long and tedious journey before he sees his

perpendicularly into the ground, or with wooden breast-works, like ramparts, made of logs and beams of timber laid upon each other. These *ostrogs* have only the principal buildings inclosed within them, as the *avairwode*

or governor's house, the public offices, a magazine of provisions, an armory, a furr-warehouse, a church, &c. But most of the *ostrogs* stand near a town or village.

He sets out in the spring; arrives at *Makur*, where a fair is held in the summer; and is at *Irkutsk*, by the annual fair, in the beginning of the ensuing year. In the former place he barter some of his goods for such as will turn to better account in the latter; which he does chiefly with a view to the *Chinese* trade. If any goods remain upon his hands, which he thinks he cannot dispose of to advantage in *Irkutsk*, he endeavours to procure a market for them at *Tobolsk*, where he arrives by winter. He leaves this place in the spring, and trading through all *Siberia*, comes about the end of the summer to *Irkutsk*: or if he be hindered by the ice, he fails not to be there by the beginning of winter, and then trades with the *Chinese*. After this, he bends his course to *Kiakta*; and the following spring reaches *Yakutzk*. From thence he goes by water six or seven hundred wersts farther, and then proceeds in sledges directly to *Kiakta*, in order to dispose of his *Yakutzkian* commodities. In the spring following he sets out for *Irkutsk*, and in autumn arrives at *Tobolsk*. After that, he takes care to be present at the *Irbitz* fair in winter, and in the ensuing summer at that of *Makar*. After thus travelling from place to place for four years and a half, he at last returns to *Moscow*; and in that time, if he understands his business, and things have turned out well, he will have gained at least three hundred per cent. The *Russian* is the only coin used in *Siberia*: but most of the traffick is carried on by bartering goods for goods.

ALL *Siberia* is at present subject to the *Russian* govern- *Siberia*
ment, under which it was reduced towards the latter end of *subjected*
the sixteenth century, in the following manner: in the *to the*
reign of the czar *Iwan Basilowitz II.* and his successor the *Russian*
Fedor Iwanowitz, one *Jermak Timiofevitz*, a *Don Cofak*, at the *govern-*
head of some thousands of his countrymen, committed dread-
ful ravages in the districts about the rivers *Oka* and *Volga*,
sacking and plundering the towns, and destroying all be-
fore him; till being at last driven to the greatest extremities
by the troops sent against him, and his retreat to the country
of the *Cofaks* effectually cut off; after losing the greatest
part of his army, he crossed the rivers *Kama* and *Tshufowaia*,
and by the assistance of a certain *Strobinow*, or *Stroganow*, who
was sovereign of a vast tract of land near the *Tshufowaia*, em-
parked with eight hundred *Cofaks*, who still remained under
him, and other auxiliaries, on the river *Tura*, laid siege to the
town of *Onzigitin*, now called *Tiumen*, and took it, as he
afterwards did the city of *Tobolsk*, out of which he drove the
Kuzium-Kan. *Jermak* being thus master of the only two
towns

towns then in *Siberia*, and sensible he should not be able to keep in awe the prodigious numbers of mahometan *Tartars* who inhabited this country ; sent to *Moscow*, *Altanai Sultan*, son of the *Kusumi-Kan*, whom he had taken prisoner, with a tender of his conquest to the *Russian* court, on condition of his obtaining a free pardon. His request was readily granted ; and a good body of troops were sent to take possession of the country. From that time, the *Russians* have been continually extending their dominions in *Siberia*. Soon after *Fermak*, being on an expedition with some ships on the river *Irtis*, was surprised in the night by the *Tartars*, and killed with most of his people. His memory is still held in great veneration in *Siberia* : and as an acknowledgment for the service performed by the *Cosaks* in this conquest, all the troops kept by the *Russians* in *Siberia*, are ordered always to be incorporated with them, and to bear their name. Hence the *Siberian* militia, to this day, are called *Cosaks*.

Its present government, and division into

Siberia now constitutes a very extensive government, consisting of three large provinces, each of which includes several subdivisions and towns, with their respective districts. Every town has its *Woiwode*, whose jurisdiction extends to the district belonging to it, without any *Uprawitel* or deputy under him. The *Statthalter*, or general governor of *Siberia*, resides at *Tobolsk* ; and the deputy statthalter, whose seat is in *Irkutsk*, and all the woiwodes are subordinate to him : but he has not the power of appointing a woiwode, they being always nominated by the chancery or office for the *Siberian* affairs at *Moscow*. In the government chancery at *Tobolsk*, are two secretaries, who are not changed, like the governor, but continue in office during life, if they behave well. For this reason they are more-respected than even the general governor ; and the *Siberians*, of all ranks, pay their court chiefly to them. They likewise preside over the principal officers of the garrison, and have an almost unlimited power over the city of *Tobolsk*. All ecclesiastical persons and affairs in *Siberia* are under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of *Tobolsk*.

THE three provinces into which *Siberia* is now divided, are,

I. *The province of TOBOLSK.*

The province of Tobolsk,

THE south part of which includes *Siberia Proper*, formerly called *Tura* : but the whole province strictly belongs to *Tartary*, properly so called ; as it once made a part of the kingdom of *Great Tartary*, and is peopled with *Tartarian* colonies.

THIS

THIS province is subdivided into the circles or districts of *Wercoturie, Cathrinenburg, Turinsk, Tsumen, Isetsk, Tobolsk, Surgut, Pelym, and Birejew.* ^{which is subdivided into the circles of Wercoturie,}

THE principal places in the circle of WERCOTURIE, the first one enters in going the usual road from Russia, from which it is separated by the *Wercoturian, Uralian, or Riphæan* mountains, are

THE town of *Wercoturie*, the first that the Russians built in *Siberia*, and the first one comes to in travelling the common road from *Solkamsk*. It lies on the river *Tura*, has a stone-castle, some pretty good buildings, four churches, two or three chapels, a convent of monks, a nunnery, and about two hundred and fifty dwelling houses, most of which are of wood. Its situation is pleasant: but the country round it produces little corn, the inhabitants finding their account more in gathering pine-nuts, of which vast quantities grow in these parts, than in agriculture, which is of course neglected. All goods brought to or carried out of *Siberia* are strictly examined here.

Neiwianskoi, a town on the river *Neiwa*, consisting of a wooden fort and about eight hundred houses, built in the year 1701, at the expence of the crown, on account of some considerable iron works which are there. It is plentifully supplied with all the necessaries of life; and among its inhabitants are great numbers of *Starowerzi*, or old believers, as they stile themselves: but the Greek church calls them *Schismatics*. Very curious and serviceable utensils of brass and copper are made here; and likewise at *Bynkowskoi*, another iron work and brass manufacture a little farther up on the same river.

Kushwinskoi, or *Blagodat Kushwinski Sawod* (A), is also an iron and a copper-work, on the small river *Kushwa*. The mountain called *Blagodat*, which yields the iron ore, yields likewise good magnets.

NEAR *Libianskoi Pogost*, on the river *Liala*, is a copper mine; but of so poor an ore, that a quintal of it does not yield above two pounds of pure metal.

Wuiskoi Sawod, where are copper and iron works, with about two hundred houses, is famous for a writing sand of a gold colour, which is made of *gold-talc*, as it is called: and on the east-side of the river *Tagil*, near *Werkno-Tagilskoi Sawod*, and *Shturalinskoi Sawod*, other iron works, is a rock of asbestos; but very few of the veins are an inch thick. On

(A) A *Sawod* is a smelting-house, or place where ores and metals are melted down and wrought.

being

being scraped, the filaments are almost as soft as the finest silk.

In the circle of CATHRINENBURG, called in *Russia*, *Ekaterinburgskoi Viedz*, are very rich mines, and several considerable iron and copper-works. At *Kameniskie Sawod*, one of these works, is made the best Siberian iron.

THE forts, or *kreposti*, as the *Russians* call them, *Miasksai* and *Tshiliabinskai*, on the river *Mias*; *Itkul'skai*, on the lake *Itkul*; *Tshebarkul'skai*, on the lake *Shebat*, near which fine black beavers are caught; *Viskai*, on the river *Vi*, in the midst of a fertile country; *Ukhy-Karagaiskai*, near a lake of the same name; and *Werkiaitzkai*, on the river *Yaik*; were built of late years on the south-side of this circle, as a defence against the incursions of the *Bashkirians* and the *Kasachia-Horda*.

ABOUT fifty werfts from the last mentioned of these forts, which was erected in the year 1735, is a whole mountain of load-stone, near the river *Yaik*, about three werfts in length from north to south; and on the west-side it is divided into eight slopes of different depths, resembling so many terrasses. The seventh, which is the highest terrace, contains the best magnets. None are found at the summit of the hill: but about eight fathoms below it, there is a heap of sixty or seventy *puds* of ponderous stones, which at a distance look like large pebbles. These stones are found to have a magnetic virtue, for they attract a knife at the distance of an inch or more. One of these large magnets consists of a congeries of smaller stones, which operate in different directions. That part of the mountain where the load-stones are found, consists chiefly of a fine steel ore, which lies in *strata* between the magnetic rocks. The principal place in this circle is

Cathrinenburg or *Ekaterinburg*, a regular town upon the river *Iffet*, which runs through the middle of it. It is built in the *German* manner, and was begun by *Peter I.* in the year 1723, and finished in 1726, by his consort the czarina *Catherine*, after whom it is named. *Cathrinenburg* consists of about 450 houses within its walls, all built at the expence of the government, and most of its inhabitants are officers belonging to the crown: the rest are artificers, and head miners who have the care of the works. The suburbs, which are without the walls, are inhabited partly by exiled criminals, or others who work voluntarily at the fortifications and mines for daily pay. The public buildings of the town are a wooden church, a stone edifice for the public offices, an exchange with shops, an arsenal, and a toll or custom-house. This last is dependent on the government of

of *Tobolsk*; and the merchandize brought to the annual fair at *Irbitz*, which is the only time it is suffered to pass through this town, is searched here. As this place lies in the neighbourhood of the *Bashkirians*, it is well fortified and garrisoned with two companies of soldiers, besides a party of engineers and matrosses for the artillery. *Cathrinenburg* may be accounted the centre of all the *Siberian* mine-works belonging to the crown; and on this account it is the residence of the director of the *Siberian* mines, who issues out his instructions to the sub-directors, and passes their accounts. The water of the river *Isset* is raised by a dam ninety-eight fathoms long, three high, and twenty broad, in order to supply a great number of mills and other engines belonging to the mines. All the forges and works about this town are kept in good condition, and the miners and artificers work with a diligence and spirit far beyond what is seen in other countries. Their wages are paid them regularly every four months, and all sorts of provisions are here very cheap. When any of the workmen fall sick, they are taken great care of in the hospital; to which patients are also brought from the neighbouring works. Adjoining to this hospital is a physic-garden for the use of the patients. This town, though belonging to the government of *Tobolsk*, is not subject to the *Siberian* government chancery, but has its particular jurisdiction; and the director general, when he sits in the chief mine-court, has two mine-officers for assistants. There is, besides, a court of justice in this district, and a police peculiar to itself. A *German* school has been founded in this town.

IN the circle of *TURINSK* lies the town of *Turinfsk*, formerly called *Yepantsbin*, which name it likewise still retains. It is situate upon the river *Tura*, and contains a wooden fort, a mother-church, with six subordinate ones, and about three hundred and fifty houses. Provisions are very good here; and so cheap, that a *pud* of excellent beef, equal to thirty-six pounds of our weight, may be bought for twenty or thirty *copeiks*, that is to say, for about a shilling or fifteen pence.

IN the circle of *TIUMEN* are, *Tiumen*, anciently called *On-Zigibin*, a town, consisting of about five hundred houses, on the south-side of the *Tura*, at its junction with the little river *Tiumsenka*, which runs through it. Over the *Tura* is a bridge eighty-three fathoms long, which leads to a suburb on the north-side of the river, inhabited by *Russians*, mahometan *Tartars*, and *Bukarians*.

Timen is defended by a stone fort, has several churches, some of which are of wood, and a convent of nuns with a church. In the suburb are a church, and a *metshed* or *mosque*.

Krasnaia Sloboda, or *Krasnoslobodskoi Ostrog*, upon the river *Nisa*. The governor of this place is of equal dignity with the woiwodes of the smaller towns in *Siberia*. Great plenty of asparagus, above two feet high, grows wild in these parts.

Irbitskaia Sloboda, on the river *Irbis*, is famous for its annual fair, which is kept in the month of *January*. On this occasion, traders resort to this place from almost every town in the *Russian* dominions; and among the foreign merchants who frequent this fair, are *Greeks*, some of every *Tartarian* nation, and *Bukarians*. All goods brought here for sale, except gold, silver, and bullion, pay a duty of ten per cent.

Isetzk.

THE place of most note in the district of *IsETSK*, which was erected into a province in the year 1737, is

Dalmatow, a stately convent, upon the river *Iset*, in a level, fertile, and pleasant country.

Okunewskoi Ostrog, situated on the river *Mias*; *Isetskoi Ostrog*, on the river *Iset*; *Butkinskaia Sloboda*, and *Tetshinskaiia Sloboda*, on the river *Tetsha*, are little better than poor villages; though each of the two last is defended by a wooden fort.

Tobolsk.

IN the circle of *TOBOLSK* lies the city of *Tobolsk*, the capital of all *Siberia*, and the residence of the governor-general. It is situate in latitude 58°. 12'. on the *Irtis*, near the influx of the *Tobol* into that river. This city is divided into the *Upper* and *Lower Town*, the former of which stands upon an eminence, on the east-side of the river *Irtis*, and the latter in a plain between that eminence and the river. Both towns taken together are of a very large circumference; but the houses are all built with wood. In the upper town, which is properly called the city, stands the fort, which was built with stone by the late governor *Gagarin*. In this fort are the government-court, the governor's house, the archbishop's palace, the exchange, and two of the principal churches, which are all stone-buildings. The *Upper-Town*, which stands on the east of the fort, and is surrounded with a rampart of earth, affords nothing remarkable but a market for provisions, and all kinds of small ware, three wooden churches, and the convent of *Roshestwenskoi*. This part of the city is out of the reach of inundations from the river, by its high situation, which, in return, is attended with this inconvenience, that the inhabitants are obliged to go down the hill for water. Besides, large masses of earth fall from the side of the hill, on which the

the town stands, towards the river almost every year, which frequently obliges the inhabitants to pull down and rebuild the houses near the declivity. The *Lower-Town* contains a market-place for all sorts of provisions, with several shops, seven churches, and a stone convent called *Snamenskoj*; and several small brooks run through it into the *Irtis*. This part of the city has consequently water at command, but it is exposed to inundations when the river overflows its banks, which indeed does not happen very often. *Tobolsk* is very populous; and almost the fourth part of its inhabitants are *Tartars*, partly descended from those that were settled there before the conquest of *Siberia*, and partly from the *Bukarians*. These *Tartars*, in general, behave very quietly, and carry on some commerce; but practise no mechanic trades. The rest of the inhabitants are *Russian* exiles, or people whose ancestors were such. As every thing is sold so extremely cheap at *Tobolsk*, that a common man may live there very well for ten rubels (A) a year; indolence and sloth prevail to such a degree, that it is difficult to get the least utensil made, though the town abounds with artificers, who want neither tools nor materials to carry on their respective trades. The inhabitants of *Tobolsk* are nicknamed *Jassowiki*, either from a fish called *Jassi*, that is, "red eyes," of which there is great plenty here, or for some other reason which we know not. Several of the *Swedish* officers, who were taken prisoners at the battle of *Pultawa*, and sent to *Tobolsk*, set up schools there in the year 1714, for teaching the children of *Swedes*, *Russians*, *Cossaks*, *Tartars*, &c. the *German*, *Latin*, and *French* languages, with geography, geometry, and drawing. Many of them also took in boarders; and these schools acquired such reputation, that children were sent to them from great distances, to be educated. Such was the exemplary behaviour of these military pedagogues, that their undertaking met with uncommon success. But when the peace of *Nyßadt* was concluded, the *Swedish* officers returned to their own country, and these beneficial seminaries of learning dropped. Some time after, the empress of *Russia* founded a *German* school at *Tobolsk*. The trade of this city is in a flourishing condition; and the traffic carried on by the *Calmuck* and *Bukarian* merchants, in *Indian* goods, with which they supply all *Siberia* and part of *Russia*, is very considerable. All the *Chinese* caravans are

(A) The commercial value of the *Rubel* varied according to the course of exchange; the par of which makes the *Rubel* worth just four shillings and sixpence sterling.

obliged to pass through this town; and all the furs furnished by *Siberia*, are brought into a warehouse in this city, from whence they are sent to the *Siberian* chancery at *Moscow*.

Abalack, a small town about twenty wersts from *Tobolsk*, is famous for a picture of the virgin *Mary*, to which great numbers of pilgrims resort at all times of the year; and several masses are said before it. This picture is carried annually to *Tobolsk*, in a procession of the clergy, and is kept there about a fortnight.

Sempalataia Krepost (A), or *Sempalat* fort, was built in the year 1714, on the bank of the *Irtis*, in a pleasant, fertile, but uncultivated country, the soil of which is so good, that it produces a very fine species of melons. This fort has its name from *Sempalat*, a ruinous town lying about sixteen wersts from it, on the same river, where some remains of old stone-buildings are still to be seen. The first *Russian* settlers here found seven of these houses, as the name of the place imports. The learned are of opinion, that some old inscriptions, which were found among these ruins, relate to the mythology of the *Calmuks*; and that this place was deserted by that nation in consequence of a maxim of their religion, that when any consecrated place is once profaned by war, it must be relinquished for ever.

The famous salt-lake Jamusha.

ABOUT six wersts from *Jamusbewa Krepost*, a fort on the river *Irtis*, lies the famous salt-lake called *Jamusha*, which gives name to the fort, and may be looked upon as a prodigy in nature. It is of a round form, and about nine wersts in circumference. Its banks are so full of salt, that the ground is in a manner crystalized with it. The water is saline to the highest degree; and the salt that it yields is excellent, surpassing all other salt in whiteness, and consisting entirely of cubic crystals. It is found here in such quantities, that several ships might be soon loaded with it; and the places where the salt has been taken away, are filled up with it again in five or six days. The provinces of *Tobolsk* and *Yenisei* are supplied with salt from this lake; which yields a sufficient quantity for fifty such provinces. This salt-trade has been monopolized by the crown. A pud of salt is sold on the spot for twelve copeiks; but at *Tobolsk*, *Tomsk*, and *Yeniseisk*, it costs about twenty.

Desart of Barraba.

THE tract of land called the *Desart of Barraba*, which is in this circle, lies between the rivers *Irtis* and *Oby*, and extends from the town of *Tara* to *Tshawskoi-Ostrog*. This place yields but little wood; but has an excellent soil for

(A) *Krepost* signifies a fort or fortified town.

tillage, and part of it might also be laid out in meadows and pastures. However, it is as yet uninhabited. *Barraba* is interspersed with a great number of lakes, which yield plenty of *Karawfschen*, a species of carp; and abounds with elks, deer, foxes, ermines, and squirrels.

BETWEEN the *Irtis* and the *Oby* are some rich copper-mines; and from the *Ploskaia-Gora*, or flat mountains, fine ore is carried to the copper-works at *Kolivan*. The copper-mines in the mountain *Pistowa* (so called from the *Pistia*, or white firs, that grow on it) yield a vast produce: and there is no need of digging deep to come at the ore, as it lies near the surface of the ground. Every hundred weight of this ore yields twelve pounds of pure copper. Not far from *Pistowa* are two other hills, near the surface of which ore is also found. The *Woskresenskian* mountains likewise abound with ore; but it lies mostly in *strata* or veins at a considerable depth. Most of these ores, besides being very rich in copper, yield a great deal of silver, which affords so much gold as makes rich returns for the trouble and expence of extracting it. It is thought that the whole country between the *Irtis* and the *Oby* abounds in rich ore of various metals; and that the ore generally lies near the surface of the earth.

THE circle of *SURGUT* has its name from *Surgut*, a pretty large town on the river *Oby*, surrounded with pallisadoes and towers. The *Ostiahs* who live in this country pay annual tribute to the *Woiwode* of *Surgut*. The adjacent country abounds with fables; black, white, and red-foxes, and fine grey furs; and has plenty of excellent fish, but produces no corn. The inhabitants of this town have the nick-name of *Griwue*, because most of them squint.

THE circle of *PELYM*, to which the famous field-marshal count *Munich* was banished, is large, but contains no remarkable place. The small town of *Pelym*, from which it is called, stands on a river of the same name. There are several lakes in this district, and some of a considerable extent.

THE circle of *BERESOW* is bounded on the north by the straits of *Waigatz*, and on the east by a large bay of the *Frozen-ocean*, which runs into the land towards the south; and at the sixty-fifth degree of latitude separates into two arms, one of which is called the *Obskaia-Guba* or *Oby-bay*, and the other *Tazowskaia-Guba*, or the bay of *Tazow*. The river *Oby* empties itself into the former, and the *Taz* into the latter. This district was under the *Russian* dominion long before the other parts of *Siberia* were conquered; for it was added to the empire by the czar *Gabriel*, so early as the year 1530.

THE most remarkable places in it are, *Liapinskoi*, from which the *Ostiaks*, who live in those parts, are called *Liapinians*.

Kuiskoi, on the river *Kuiskoi*, which gives name to the *Ostiaks* and *Samoyedes* who inhabit the adjacent country.

Obdorskoi-Ostrog, which lies near the mouth of the *Oby*, and to which the *Samoyedes* bring in their tribute; and

Berezow, a town on the river *Oby*, fortified with pallisades, where the court-favourite, prince *Menshikoff*, died in exile.

NEAR *Nadymiskoi-Ostrog*, which stood by the mouth of the river *Nadym*, where it falls into the bay of *Oby*, till it was destroyed by the *Juraki*, is a deep and spacious cavern in a mountain, where the *Nadymian-Ostiaks* shelter themselves. They make use of ladders to get into and out of this cave.

Novaia
Semlia.

THE island and streights of *Waigatz*, and *Novaia-Semlia* or *New-land*, which lies beyond them, and is erroneously written *Nova-Zembla*, are but little known. This country was first discovered in the year 1566, by *Stephen Barrow*, an *Englishman*. In 1596, *William Barentz* and *Jacob Heemskirk*, two *Hollanders*, wintered there with their crew. The sun disappeared on the third of *November*, and they never saw it again till the twenty-fourth of *January* following. The *Russians* have not yet ventured to sail round the coast of *Novaia-Semlia*; but as they go in small vessels between that country and the coast of *Asia*, and the *Dutch* navigators have discovered the northern coast of it, we may conclude that it is an island; and it is represented as such in the *Russian Atlas*. The *Samoyedes*, who live in this neighbourhood, on the coast of the *Ice-sea*, sometimes cross over to *Novaia-Semlia*, to hunt rein-deer, elks, and white bears. It is yet uncertain, whether this island be inhabited or not; for granting that men have been seen on it, that does not absolutely prove that they always dwell there.

II. The Province of YENISEI.

The province of
Yenisei.

THE south part of this province must have been included in the ancient kingdom of *Great Tartary*; but whether the north part ever belonged to it is doubtful. We have already spoken of the *Tungusians*, *Ostiaks*, and other *Tartarian* nations, who inhabit this province, which is now divided into the districts or circles of *Mangasea*, *Narym*, *Tomsk*, *Kustnetsk*, *Krasnoiark*, and *Yenisei*.

Divided
into the
circles of
Manga-
sea,

IN the circle of *MANGASEA*, which the *Russians* call *Mangaiskoi Viedz*, are four bays, into one of which the
Yenisei

Yenisei discharges itself; besides the large gulf of the *Frozen-ocean*, of which that of *Tazaw* is only a bay. Though the climate of the country near the mouth of the *Yenisei* be most excessively cold, yet it is well peopled; the all-bounteous Creator having liberally bestowed many advantages on this country, which is generally represented in very dismal colours. The white and blue foxes, and the white wolves and bears which are caught here, surpass those of all other parts in size. Their hair is also finer, and grows closer than ordinary; on which account these skins always bear a higher price than those that are brought from the *Oby* and the *Lena*. These profitable captures induce more *Russians* to settle on the banks of the *Yenisei*, than near any other river in *Siberia*. From *Mangasea* to the sea, and along the coast to the river *Piasiga*, and from the *Piasiga* to the *Cantanga*, on which is situate *Catanfkoi*, which lies also in this circle, in latitude 70 degrees 30 minutes, and along the banks of this last river, the country is full of *Russian* habitations. Some of the inhabitants remove to end their days in other places; and some chuse to live and die here. People who want employment flock to these parts in great numbers; and a young fellow, tho' he be ever so poor at his first setting out, soon makes his fortune in this country, if he is active, industrious, and frugal, by catching those animals, whose skins are so valuable, and with which it abounds. In summer, when only rein-deer are to be caught, the people of these parts employ themselves in fishing, in order to lay up provision for the winter. The *Russian* parish of *Kataskoi-Pogost*, which lies in the sixty-eighth degree and a half of north latitude, on the banks of the *Yenisei*, is much frequented by the hunters who live in the neighbouring houses, of which there are numbers in the adjacent country.

THE principal place in this circle is *Mangasea*, or *Mangazeia*, the most northern town in *Siberia*, upon the parallel of sixty-six degrees of north latitude. The time when *Mangasea* was first discovered and peopled by *Russian* colonies, cannot be well ascertained. According to an ancient tradition of the country, the old *Ostrog* of *Mangasea* was built by a colony from *Archangel*, before there was a *Russian* town known in *Siberia*. It takes its name from a tribe of *Samoyedes*, called *Mangasea*, who inhabited these parts, and, by promising to pay tribute to the *Russians*, gave occasion to the building of this town. Old *Mangasea*, which stood on the river *Taz*, felt gradually to decay; and in the year 1600 the present town was built, and the inhabitants of the old *Ostrog* were removed to this, which stands on the north bank

bank of the *Nikolskoi-Shar*, about a werst from the place where the river *Turukan* falls into that branch of the *Yenisei*. The houses in this place, which is inclosed within a small wooden fortification, with four pieces of cannon, are not contiguous, nor do they exceed one hundred. Most of the inhabitants of *Mangasea* have always been *Cosaks*; placed there in order to subdue, or at least check, the pagan nations of this country, particularly the *Tungusians* and *Samoyedes*. The *Mangaseans* are nick-named *Suietlobi*, from their shining foreheads; and *Parstwiki*, because they eat dried and putrified fish instead of bread. This town carries on a good trade in furs. In summer-time the sun is seen here continually above the horizon; and during that season, prodigious flights of birds, particularly water-fowls, and several kinds of wild geese, ducks, plovers, snipes, &c. frequent the neighbouring country. Since the year 1721, this town and its district have been annexed to the province of *Yenisei*; whereas, before that time, it depended immediately on *Tobolsk*, and prior to that was in the jurisdiction of *Tomsk*.

Narym, IN the circle of **NARYM**, the chief place, and that a very inconsiderable one, is the town of *Narym*, which stands on an island in the river *Oby*, and is fortified with pallisadoes and wooden towers. The neighbouring *Ostiaks* pay their tribute there.

Tomsk, THE principal places in the circle of **TOMSK** are, the town of *Tomsk*, situated on the river *Tom*, at the place where it is joined by a rivulet called *Ushaika*, which runs through the town. The foundation of *Tomsk* was laid in the reign of the czar *Feodor Iwanowitz*, who built an *Ostrog* upon this spot, about twenty years before the building of *Kuifnetsk*. Several nations of these parts having been reduced by force of arms, and others submitting voluntarily to the *Russians*, the *Ostrog* was by degrees converted into a fort; and the fort in time increased to a town, which now consists of above two thousand houses. It was once the second city in *Siberia*, being next in degree to *Tobolsk*, and continued such for years; but has since been included in the province of *Yenisei* (A). In the highest part of the town stands a small wooden castle, defended by fourteen pieces of cannon; and in it are a cathedral built with wood, the woiwode's house, the government-chancery, and an arsenal. The lower part of the town, which is the most populous, contains a mona-

(A) Some are of opinion, that the circle of *Tomsk* still belongs to the province of *Tobolsk*; but the *Russian Atlas*, which we follow, places it in that of *Yenisei*.

Aery, a nunnery, four parish-churches, an exchange for merchants, and a *Tartarian* slobode. This place is well situated for trade, and carries on a considerable one. It lies in the great road from *Yeniseisk*, and all the towns in the northern and eastern parts of *Siberia*; so that all caravans going to or from *China*, besides one or two from the country of the *Calmuks*, pass through it every year. Here are indeed tradesmen and artificers of all kinds; but they are extremely indolent and slothful; owing to the extraordinary cheapness of provisions in this town, and their brutal propensity to drunkenness and venery, there being scarcely a family in the place that is entirely free from the foul disease. The adjacent country is very fertile, and produces all sorts of grain.

Bogorodskoi, a town upon the *Oby*, is famous for its iron-works; but more for a picture of the virgin *Mary*, which is distinguished by the appellation of *Oedictria*, and is carried in solemn procession to *Tomsk* every year, on the twenty-first of *May*.

IN 1713, a fortification called *Tshauskoi-Ostrog*, defended by five pieces of cannon, was built upon the river *Tshaus*, in order to check the incursions of the *Kasatshaia-Horda*, who have never made their appearance since in those parts. Most of the inhabitants possess great herds of cattle.

IN the desert of *Barraba*, and on the borders of it, are three forts, called *Ubinskoi-Pass*, *Kainskoi-Pass*, and *Tartaskoi-Pass*. The first of these, lying near the lake *Ueba*, has a garrison of fifty men, is dependent on *Kainskoi-Pass*, stands on the river *Om*, and is defended by brass-guns, and a garrison of an hundred and fifty men. *Tartaskoi-Pass*, which likewise stands upon the river *Om*, is but a mean place, though its situation is good, and the country round it very fertile.

THE chief place in the circle of *KUTSNETSK* is *Kutshesk*, *Kutsh.* a large town on the river *Tom*, formerly inhabited by the *netak*, *Kirgisian Tartars*, who retreated by degrees to the borders of the country of the *Calmuks*, when the *Russians* settled in this place. This town has been built above an hundred years, and was peopled with colonies from the districts of *Tomsk*, *Wercoturie*, and *Weliki-Novograd*. Before that time the *Tartars*, who dwelt in the place where the city now stands, used to smelt iron from the ore, and subsisted partly by that employment, and partly by the iron which they wrought. Hence the town had its name; *Kusnetz*, in the *Russian* language, signifying a forge. In 1689, *Kutshetsk* was declared a city. The upper and middle parts of it stand upon a high

a high bank, and the lower part on a plain, between this eminence and the river *Tom*. In the upper part stands a small wooden citadel; in the middle is an *Ostrog*, inclosing the woiwode's house and the government-chancery; and in the lower part are most of the houses, which amount to about five hundred, and a church. No sort of trade is carried on in this place.

Bieliaskaia and *Bikatunskaja*, are two frontier forts erected in this district, to check the incursions of the *Calmuks*.

Krasnoi-
arsk

THE circle of KRASNOIARSK contains, among other less remarkable places, the town of *Krasnoiarsk*, situate at the junction of the river *Katsha* with the *Jenisei*. It was first built in the year 1728, as an *ostrog* or fort, to check the incursions of the neighbouring tribes; and afterwards, gradually, became a town. Its name is derived from the dark-red colour of the north-west bank of the *Katsha*. The original *ostrog* stands on the north-side of the town, and contains the great church, the government-chancery, the woiwode's house, the arsenal, &c. In the town itself, which is surrounded with palisadoes and towers, are a church, the town-house, and about three hundred and fifty dwelling-houses. The inhabitants are called *Buntowshike*, by way of contempt, on account of their frequent revolts. Most of them are *Slusbiwie*, or a sort of irregular infantry; though some of them are not without such wealth as the country affords, which consists in horses and cattle, that feed all the year round on the steppe or heaths. The adjacent country is so fertile, that provided it be only superficially plowed, without any manure, it will bear crops of corn five or six years running; and when the land is impoverished, there is plenty of other waste-ground, which may soon be rendered fit for sowing. Many antiquities were formerly found in these parts, particularly in the town of *Krasnoiarsk*. These remains of ancient times, several of which are still to be seen near *Abelansk* and *Sagansk*, were taken out of old graves and monuments. Even considerable quantities of gold and silver have formerly been found in them; and copper is now frequently dug up in such places. The great road from *Tomsk* to *Irkutsk* goes through *Krasnoiarsk*.

Wekrneikaraulnoi-Ostrog, *Sanianskoi-Ostrog*, and *Abakanskoi-Ostrog*, are forts built on the river *Jenisei*, in the years 1707, 1709, and 1725, to awe the *Kirgishians*, which end they have fully answered.

THE surprising dexterity of the *Tartars* in catching fables near *Kanskoi-Ostrog*, which stands on the bank of the river *Kan*, renders that place one of the best in *Siberia* for the fur-

trade;

trade; on which account the merchants, who travel to the frontiers of *China*, generally make some stay there. It is also one of the most lucrative places in the department of the woiwode of *Krasnoiarsk*; and the *Kanskoi*, or receiver of the tribute, pays a round sum for his office.

THE principal place in the circle of *YENISEI* is the city ^{and Yenisei.} of *Yeniseisk*, the capital of this province, situate on the river *Yenisei*, which is there about a werst and a half in breadth. This city, which is built along the bank of the river, is about six wersts in circumference. An ostrog was erected in this place in 1618, which at first depended on *Tobolsk*, and then was under the jurisdiction of *Tomsk*; but it was afterwards raised to a town, and in 1719 made the capital of the province. The old ostrog contains the great church, the woiwode's house, the chancery or state-offices, and an arsenal. In the city are three churches, a monastery, a nunnery, an exchange for merchants, a powder-magazine, a magazine for provisions (the two last inclosed with pallisades), and seven hundred private houses. The *Archimandrite*, who superintends the convent of *Troitz-Mangaséa*, which stands near the mouth of the river *Nishne Tunguska*, as well as the whole body of the *Yenisean* clergy, resides in the monastery at *Yeniseisk*. A considerable trade is carried on at this place, in which most of its inhabitants are more or less concerned. Here is great plenty of corn, flesh, and fowl; but the only fruit this country produces are two or three sorts of berries. Drunkenness, sloth, and debauchery, with all their concomitant diseases, prevail here as in the other towns of *Siberia*. The inhabitants of this place are looked upon as a crafty, deceitful people, which has procured them the nick-name of *Skowsniki*, which signifies sharp-sighted.

Markowo Goroditshe, *Ust-Tunguskoi*, and *Jesaulowo Sicla*, are handsome villages, or rather small towns, on the river *Yenisei*.

The forts called *Maskowskoi-Ostrog*, situated on the river *Ket*, and *Rubinskoi-Ostrog*, are very poor fortifications. *Tassouskoi-Ostrog*, another fort, which stands on the river *Ussolka*, is in somewhat better condition, having been rebuilt and improved in the year 1723. But the *Tartars* and *Tungusians* of the country it was intended to awe, are become so peaceable and submissive, that it has no longer occasion to use the few guns with which it is provided.

Udinskoi-Ostrog, a small place, was built in the year 1644 on the river *Uda*, and brings a considerable income to the *Yenisean* woiwode; all the neighbouring *Buratiens* paying their tribute of furs at this place.

The province of Irkutsk.

III. The Province of IRKUTSK,

Its government, and division into the circles of Ilimsk,

WHICH also belongs to *Tartary*, properly so called, at least as far as the circle of *Yakutsk*, which indeed cannot rightly be included in it. This province is governed by a deputy *Statthalter*, under whose jurisdiction are the woiwodes of *Ilimsk*, *Selengensk*, *Nertshinsk*, *Yakutsk*, and the officers who preside over *Obotsk* and *Kamtshatka*; though he is himself subject to the governor of *Tobolsk*, notwithstanding he has a large appointment: for his perquisites, exclusive of his salary, amount to 30,000 rubels a-year. The *Buratiens*, *Yakutians*, and other inhabitants of this province, having been already spoken of, we have now only to mention its seven circles, and their principal places.

THE circle of *ILIMSK* contains the town of the same name, situate upon the river *Ilim*, which, though a poor mean place, consisting of only eighty houses, and a pallisadoed fort, is nevertheless the residence of a woiwode. But it is remarkable for the quantities of fine black fables that are caught in its neighbourhood. Great numbers of *Tungusians* live near *Bratskoi-Ostrog*; which stands on the river *Angara*, and consists of about fifty dwelling-houses. About five wersts from it is a monastery called *Spaskoi*; and at the distance of about four wersts is a great distillery for spirits.

Endinksoi-Ostrog, on the bank of the *Angara*; *Lenskoi-Ostrog*, on the river *Lena*; and *Usti-Kutskoi-Ostrog*, also on the *Lena*, are very mean pallisadoed places. Not far from this last, and near the river *Kuta*, are several saline springs, which furnish the whole circle of *Ilimsk* with salt.

Kirenskoi-Ostrog, which was built on the bank of the *Lena* in 1665, is now in a mean condition. The country round it is very fertile, and, considering its latitude, which is in 57 deg. 47 min. has a surprising verdure, and produces various sorts of vegetables, which are remarkably large in their kind. The sturgeons and streleds caught in the rivers near this ostrog are reckoned the finest in all *Siberia*. Even in this frozen climate, near the influx of the river *Kirenga* into the *Lena*, is a convent famed for its opulence and endowments. Many of the inhabitants of these parts bordering on the *Lena*, are disfigured with wens of an uncommon bigness, and even their cows and oxen are subject to the same disagreeable excrescences.

Irkutsk,

IN the circle of *IRKUTSK* are, *Irkutsk* the capital of this province, and the residence of its deputy, *Statthalter*, situate near the river *Angara*, in a fine plain not far from the lake *Baikal*. This city, one of the most considerable and populous

lous in all *Siberia*, takes its name from the river *Irkutsk*, which runs into the *Angara* near the place where it stands. It contains near a thousand good dwelling-houses, and is inclosed with pallisadoes, within which are fourteen small forts, a moat, and some *chevaux-de-frize*. It is also defended by a fort, without the town, near the *Angara*, and by sixteen pieces of cannon. There are two churches built with stone, and four with wood, within the city; and two other churches, one of which belongs to a nunnery, stand without it. The bishop of *Irkutsk* has a jurisdiction over all the clergy of the province. The inhabitants, who are chiefly traders, live in the *Siberian* manner, that is, in drunkenness, indolence, and debauchery; the consequences of which are very common among them. The neighbouring country is pleasant, and diversified with hills and vales; but as it lies uncultivated, great quantities of corn are brought hither from other places. Here is plenty of game, as elks, stags, wild-boars, and roebucks; with partridges, woodcocks, moor-hens, and snipes. The lake of *Baikal* is an inexhaustible magazine of fish. Foreign goods are sold here almost as cheap as at *Moscow* and *Petersburg*, for merchants resort hither from every town of any note in *Russia*, and barter their commodities for *Chinese* goods.

ABOUT six wersts from *Irkutsk* is a distillery for spirits, consisting of thirty-seven alembecs; a little farther is another of fifty-three; and beyond that is a third with sixty. All these belong to the empress, and supply the circles of *Irkutsk*, *Ilinsk*, and *Selengensk*, with distilled liquors.

Nikolskaia Sastawa, or *St. Nicholas's* custom-house, stands at the mouth of the river *Angara*. The duties payable on *Chinese* goods are received there, and the collector of those duties has so profitable a post, that he generally makes his fortune in one year. This country is frequented with prodigious flights of all kinds of wild-ducks.

ON an island formed by the river *Angara* are two salt-works, which supply the whole district of *Irkutsk* on this side of the lake *Baikal*, and part of that of *Ilinsk*, with salt.

THE country about *Olonki*, a slobode consisting of two large villages, very pleasantly situated, yields plenty of corn.

Balaganskoi-ostrog, upon the river *Angara*, was built before that of *Irkutsk*, and is a place of some note. It is defended only by two pieces of brass cannon. Near this ostrog are about sixty good houses, which are inhabited partly by *Slush-wies* or irregular troops, and partly by traders, who are all in very good circumstances.

Uruck, a village on a rivulet of the same name, consists of several houses so well built, as not easily to be matched by those of most towns in *Siberia*.

THE places of most note in the circle of *SELENGENSK* are, *Selenginsk*, a town upon the river *Selenga*, made an ostrog in the year 1666, about twenty years before the fort which now defends it, and to which the place chiefly owes its prosperity, was built. Its extent is small, containing only about an hundred and fifty houses and two churches, inclosed within a fortification, which is defended by five pieces of brass cannon, and as many iron-guns, with a regiment for its garrison. All the neighbouring country is very mountainous and barren; but at the distance of fifteen wersts lower, there is good arable land. The district about *Selenginsk* yields great plenty of rhubarb; and indeed all the rhubarb that is exported from *Russia* is the produce of these parts.

Strielki, a square fort erected upon a point of land between the rivers *Thioki* and *Selenga*, in a fertile and pleasant country; but not sufficiently garrisoned, considering its being a frontier place; nor is it fortified otherwise than with pallisades. The *Chinese* caravans pass through this place.

Troitzkaia-Krepost, a fort lately built on the little river *Kiakta*, on the frontiers of *Siberia*, consists of an ostrog with four bastions. All traders and merchants, who pass through this place, are obliged to pay duty for their goods, unless they quit the road, and go another way to avoid the fort.

Kiakta, or *Kiaktinskoi-Krepost*, and *Kiaktinskaia-Torgowaia-Sloboda*, are the limits between *Russia* and *China* towards the south, as they were settled by a treaty concluded in 1727. Before that time the river *Bura*, which lies about eight wersts farther towards the south, was looked upon as the boundary between the *Russian* and *Chinese* empires; and this was more agreeable to the natural divisions of the countries, as well as more advantageous to *Russia*, than the present limits, which are arbitrarily laid out across deserts, and over mountains, and ascertained by pillars set up along the frontiers. By this alteration, the *Russians* have also lost the fine iron-ore, which the mountains near the river *Bura*, and no other place in those parts, afforded. Two slobodes were also built on the banks of the little river *Kiakta* in 1727; one on the north-side of that river, inhabited by *Russians*, and the other on the south-side, occupied by *Chinese*. They lie about 120 fathoms asunder, and are surrounded with an ostrog; besides which, the *Russian* slobode is defended by six bastions, and a moat. Between these

these two slobodes a barrier is erected, and a guard placed, who, on both sides, are very careful that no encroachments be made on the frontiers. As these slobodes lie in a barren waste, all sorts of provisions are very dear there. The *Chinese* traders are more numerous than the *Russian* merchants in these frontier towns.

Kantiskoi-Ostrog lies to the west of *Kiakta*, in latitude 50° 15'. In the neighbourhood of this ostrog live the roving *Soidjians*, who are pagan *Tartars*.

On the other side of *Selenginsk*, near the lake of *Baikal*, lies *Udinsk*, a small town upon the river *Uda*, which is navigable, and runs into the *Selenga*, near this place, which is surrounded with fine fields and meadows, and great plenty of wood, and consists of somewhat above an hundred houses, defended by a fort and five brass cannon. The road to the south and east frontiers of *China* passes through this town, in which there is plenty of provisions, particularly garden-fruit and fish.

Ilünskoi Ostrog, or *Bolshaia Saimka*, on the river *Selenga*; *Kakanskoi Ostrog*, on the brook *Kakana*, which runs into a branch of the *Selenga*, and is situated in a good arable land, with excellent pastures; *Hanzinskoi Ostrog*; and *Bargazinskoi Ostrog*, on the little river *Barguzin*, which falls into the lake of *Baikal*, are places of less note in this circle; in which are also the monasteries of *Pesolk* and *Troits*; the former situated on the south-side of the lake of *Baikal*; and the latter an ancient and stately building, richly endowed.

The circle of NERTSHINSK contains

Nertshinsk, a frontier town towards *China*, built upon the river *Nertsha*, in the year 1658, in a country which is very mountainous, but yields excellent pasture for cattle. It has some public edifices, and one hundred and fifty houses, most of which are very indifferent. The fort, which first gave rise to the town, mounts thirty-two brass and one iron cannon. The inhabitants of this place are indolent, debauched, and drunkards. The *Chinese* caravans used formerly to pass through *Nertshinsk*; but they now take another road. However, the *Russian* envoys are well received and handsomely entertained by the *Chinese*, and the like compliments is paid to those of *China* by the *Russians*, in this town. A treaty of peace was concluded between the two empires, at this place, in 1689.

Argunsk, the farthest fort of the *Russians*, towards the east on the *Mongolian* frontiers, was first built in the year

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1682, on the east bank of the *Argun*, for the conveniency of levying the tribute payable by the *Tungusians*, who inhabit these parts; but was rebuilt in 1689 on the west-side of that river. It is well garrisoned, and carries on a considerable trade with the *Mongals*. The country round it is very fertile, and the air healthy; but so cold, that even in summer, the earth, in many places, is not thawed above two or three feet below the surface. The territory of *Argunsk* is frequently visited with slight shocks of an earthquake in the spring, and about the beginning of winter; and its inhabitants, besides the venereal disease, with which both young and old of both sexes are miserably afflicted, are very subject to epilepsies. The *Chinese* erect new pillars every year on the eastern bank of the *Argun*, to mark the limits of their frontiers.

Silver

Not far from *Argunsk*, are the *Argunskian*, or as they are sometimes called the *Nertsbinskian* silver mines. The smelting houses belonging to them, stand on the little river *Tufatki*. The ore does not lie deep; though it is found in masses or *strata*: nor does any great profit arise from these mines, which, however, answer the expence of working them. One pound of fine silver extracted from this ore, contains the value of two ducats and a half of fine gold, which has a beautiful colour, and is exceeding malleable. Twenty-six *puds* and some odd pounds of pure silver, and twenty-seven pounds of fine gold, both which were the produce of this mine, were delivered in at *Petersburg* for the use of the crown in 1740 and 1741. About six miles south-east of this place, is a mountain of beautiful green jasper; but so mixed with common stone, that it is rare to find any large piece, quite transparent and without flaws. In the neighbouring waste are several salt lakes, one of which is upwards of three wersts in circumference, and produces great quantities of good common salt, which floats on the surface of its water.

A mountain of green jasper.

In the circle of JAKUTZK are

The circle of Jakutzk.

The town of *Jakutzk*, consisting of between five and six hundred poor houses, and a wooden fort, situate near the river *Lena*. It is supplied with plenty of various kinds of fish; and the adjacent country is very fit for tillage: but the inhabitants prefer hunting.

Olecninskoi Ostrog, which also stands on the *Lena*, is one of the most ancient *ostrogs* in these parts; but consists only of a few mean houses, and has no more than forty-six families of peasants

peasants in its territory. The country between this place and *Witimsk* is a fertile plain, capable of supporting a great number of people, if they were industrious: but very little care is taken to cultivate it. The rye, barley, oats, and hemp, which grow here, are very good in their kind.

Witimskaja Sloboda, which consists of a few houses, a church, and a custom-house, is one of the oldest *Russian* settlements on the banks of the *Lena*, and almost as ancient as the town of *Yakutsk*. Though it lies in $59^{\circ} 28'$ north latitude, yet the harvest, when the weather proves favourable, is seldom later than the middle of *August* old stile.

FARTHER north, towards the *Ice-Sea*, is the river *Karaulac*, which runs into a bay of the *Frozen Ocean*. Near this river lieutenant *Lassenius*, who was sent upon discoveries by the late czarina *Ann Iwanowna*, wintered with his party in the year 1735, and never saw the sun above the horizon from the sixth of *November* to the eighteenth of *January*.

THE territory of *Ocotzk* lies on the coast of the sea of *The Kamtschatka*, and takes its name from the *Ocotzkoi Ostrog*, which stands on the little river *Ocota*, and is the residence of a *Ocotzk* governor, under whose jurisdiction are the *ostrogs* of *Tawiskoi*, *Udskoi*, and *Anadirskoi*, situated in the same district. From the harbour of *Ocotzk*, which is three wersts from the *Ostrog*, the *Russians* cross over into the peninsula of *Kamtschatka*. The soil about the *Ocotzkoi Ostrog* produces little or no grass; and provisions are brought thither from *Yakutsk*, both by land and water. This last conveyance is very tedious, and attended with some danger: nor is the land-carriage free from difficulties; for the distance is nine hundred and nineteen wersts, and the road lies over mountains, and through morasses and thick woods, of larch and birch trees, so that the journey takes up near six weeks. Besides, every thing must be carried this way on horses or rein-deer; which last are furnished by the neighbouring *Tungusians*.

THE north-east extremity of *Siberia* is still but very little known. The cape at the farthest north point of this country, called *Tshuketskoi* (in the *Russian* maps *Shalaginskoi Nos*) is in *Siberia*, and consequently belongs to *Russia*. Near the promontory, or north-east point of the continent, is an island called *Diomedes*; and near the east-point lies the island of *St. Laurence*.

THE peninsula of *KAMTSHATKA*, which the *Chinese* call *Jecco*, and the *Germans* *Jesso* or *Jedso*, joins to the extreme north-east part of *Siberia*, and runs upwards of seven hundred miles. *The peninsula of Kamtschatka; its inhabitants, &c.*

miles in a south-east direction, between the latitudes of 60 and 52 degrees, and from about the 172d to the 177th degree of longitude. On the north of it lies the continent; to the west and south, the bay of *Penshinsk* and the sea of *Kamtshatka*; and towards the east it is bounded by the eastern ocean. From the south-east point of this peninsula a chain of islands extends as far as *Japan*. This country was not at all known to the *Russians*, till about the middle of the last century, when some *Jakutskian* fishermen were driven by a storm to its south-east promontory; and towards the same time, viz. in 1643, the *Dutch* discovered part of its eastern coasts by sea. The next information of it was given to the office of trade at *Moscow*, in the year 1701, by *Wolodimir Atlassow*^a, a *Cosak* officer, who travelled all the way by land, from *Jakutsk* to *Kamtshatka*. According to his account, there is a double promontory, called by some *Nos-Tschalatskoi* and *Anadirskoi*, between the *Kolym* and *Anadyr*, two of the principal rivers in this country, which no vessel can pass; because the west-side of this cape is choaked up with large floats of ice in summer, and quite frozen in winter; whilst the sea on the east-side of *Nos-Anadyrskoi*, where the *Hollanders* navigated, is open and clear. The whole country is extremely barren and quite uncultivated; and yet its inhabitants, who consist of *Kurili*, *Lutorzi*, *Koraiiki*, *Trushki*, *Stugagiri*, and other savages, besides the *Kamtshadal* themselves, are at continual war with one another, as if they had things of value to contend for. Their usual arms are poles, clubs, slings, and bows and arrows, in the use of which they are tolerably dexterous; but they are excessively afraid of fire-arms. In winter, they go to war in snow-shuits, which, like those of all the people along the coast of the frozen sea, are upwards of four feet long; or in sledges drawn by rein-deer; and in summer they march to battle on foot, some clothed, and others naked. *Atlassow* says, they had several settlements and forts, particularly on the river *Jeluwka*, when the *Russians* entered their country; and that they endeavoured to resist their invaders: but that these last terrifying them with their fire-arms, drove them into their huts, then surrounded and set fire to them, and killed them one by one as they ran out to escape the flames, till at last they were forced to submit. The conquerors have since settled colonies among them, the principal of which are *Nischnei-Kamtshatzkoi-Ostrog*, near the mouth of the river *Kamt-*

^a STRAHLENBERG's Appendix.

Shatka, *Werknei-Kamtsbatzkoi-Ostrog*, *Bolskeretzkoi-Ostrog*, and *St. Peter* and *St. Paul's* harbour; and have built several forts, to secure their trade; and a tribute they have laid on them, both of which consist chiefly in furs. The *Russians* barter with them knives, blue-glass-beads, and other such trifles, for sable, fox, beaver, otter, bears, and wolves skins, of which there are great numbers in *Kamtsbatka*. Some of the *Kurili* informed *Atlassow*, that the people of the neighbouring islands, meaning the northern islands of *Japan*, came frequently over to their coast, and brought them china and lacquered ware, striped and coloured silks, cotton-stuffs, and garments of thin silk: and that others, in larger ships, which they called *Bussi*, went farther on, towards the beaver-rivers, from whence they fetched away train-oil, and blubber of seals and whales, of which very large ones often came near the shore at high-water, and being left behind, by the ebb, were killed by the inhabitants of those parts.

THE *Kamtsbadali* had no sort of government or magistracy before the *Russians* came among them; but the poor were subject to the rich: which we may suppose to be nearly the case now. They keep no cattle, or other beast, but dogs; which are generally very large, and have hair seven or eight inches long. Their huts are made of reeds or hides, sometimes big enough to contain 150 or 200 men; but they live mostly under ground. Their cloaths are made of skins, with the fur-side outwards, and their shoes or boots are soled with seal-skin. Polygamy is allowed among them, and they have no idea of any religious ceremonies; but place great confidence in their *Schamans*, who, like those of the *Ostiaks*, wear a frightful garb, beat a drum, make a hideous noise, and pretend to foretell future events. All the plants in *Kamtsbatka* are of the dwarf kind, except the pine, birch, and larch-trees, which are very common, and said to grow as high as in other countries. The inhabitants of these regions, especially towards the sea, live chiefly on fish; which they generally eat either raw, or frost-dried. In winter, they dig holes in the ground, and fill them with raw fish, covering them with the bark of birch, and over that with earth. When this food is thoroughly putrified, they take some of it out of the hole, put it into a wooden-trough, with water, throw in red hot pebbles, and keep stirring it till it boils; which raises such an abominable stench, as even a *Russian* can hardly bear. The *Kurili* inhabit the south part of this country, the *Lutorzi* the east, and the *Koraiiki* the north. Another tribe called *Czucktschi* live near the mouth of the river *Anadij*.

TRAVELLERS say there are several *volcanos* in the northern islands of *Japan*. There are also two in the northern parts of *Kamtshatka*, not far from the river of the same name, in the neighbourhood of which violent shocks of an earthquake are frequently felt, and a hideous roaring noise is almost continually heard. One of these, near the river *Jenisei*, towards the ice-sea, throws out a sort of ashes, which some take to be the *Flores salis ammoniaci*, or *Flores sulphuris nativi* (A).

Kamtshatka has, of late, been rendered famous by the attempts made from thence to discover whether *Siberia* be joined to *America* towards the north; or whether there be a north-east passage by sea between these two continents.

Peter the Great, ever desirous of knowledge, and of extending as well as civilizing his vast empire, gave orders that captain *Beering* and lieutenant *Spangenberg*, two Danes, and M. *Tshirikow*, a *Russian*, should sail from hence upon this expedition; but, unfortunately, died before they could go. His successor, the czarina *Catharine*, actually sent them out in the year 1725, and after spending near five years in the voyage, they returned, without success, in the spring of 1730.

IN 1732, the same officers were sent out a second time. *Spangenberg* steered his course to the south-east, arrived at the northern coast of *Japan*, and from thence sailed back to *Ocotzk*. They went as far as the sixty-seventh degree of north latitude, and found that the land extended no farther towards the north.

CAPTAIN *Beering*, accompanied by one M. *Steller*, sailed from the harbour of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and steered towards the south-east; but not meeting with any land after he had sailed about 250 leagues, he directed his course to the north-east, and, at last, discovered land towards the north-west. On the 20th of *July* 1741, he anchored near an

(A) The same is said of some of the ashes of *Vesuvius* and *Ætna* (1): and this is, perhaps, what *Abulfeda* means when he says, *In montibus Albotom* (near *Samarcand*) *spelunca est, cujus spiraculis oclusis vapor in ea densus exoritur, noctu ignem, interdum fumum referens: in hoc est Almusader* (Sal armoniac). *Nemo po-*

terit cavernam ingredi, nisi vestimentis crassis, corporique ostrictis co-operiatur; et confestim inde Almusader auferat. Vapor de loco in locum movetur, quem quod apparuerit, fodiendo consequuntur, si nullus fuerit fornix, qui dilatationi vaporis impedimento sit: accedentem non lædit.

(1) *Job. Rosenstengel, Instit. Pharmaceuticas, p. 195.*

island in $59^{\circ}.40'$ north latitude, to which he gave the name of *Elias island*. From thence he sailed betwixt the south and west points, nearer to the continent of *America*, of which he had sight. After this, he landed on an island, to which he gave the name of *Skumagin*, in the fifty-third degree of north latitude; and had some little traffic with the *Americans*, who lived upon it. In the fifty-first degree and some few minutes of north latitude, he discovered an island to the north-west-and-by-north, which he called *St. Martian*. Two days after, he saw several other islands to the north-north-west, to which he gave the name of *St. Stephen's islands*; and the next day he discovered another island to the west, which he called *St. Abraham's island*. In his return, he was ship-wrecked on an island near the coast of *Kamtschatka*, where he ended his days.

M. *Tshirikow*, who was accompanied by professor *de l'Isle de la Croycere*, set sail from *Kamtschatka*, continued his course till he came within fourteen degrees west of *California*, and sailed twelve degrees and a half to the north of that country, where no navigator had been before. On his return, he saw land for several days together to the north of his course; and when he sailed near the coast, he could distinguish the inhabitants, several of whom rowed towards him in small boats, like those used by the *Greenlanders* and *Esquimaux*. M. *Busching*^b conjectures, that this land is, perhaps, a continuation of that near the north pole, which joins to *America*; and thinks it highly probable, from these discoveries of the *Russians*, that *Asia* and *America*, about the sixty-sixth degree of north latitude, are separated from each other only by a very narrow channel.

^b Geograph.

C H A P. II.

Of the Climate, Soil, and Produce; Population, Government, Laws, Religion, Manners, and Customs; Language, Learning, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce of RUSSIA; and the Titles, Coronation, Court, Revenues, Forces, &c. of the CZAR.

S E C T. I.

Of the Climate, Soil, and Produce of Russia.

*Climate,
Soil.*

IN a country of such vast extent as the *Russian* empire, at one extremity of which it is noon, when it is almost midnight at the other (A), the climate and soil cannot but differ greatly.

IN the parts which lie beyond the 60th degree of latitude, the cold is excessively intense, the winter nine months long, the days extremely short during that season, the country full of mountains, rocks, and morasses, and very thinly inhabited. Corn never ripens in those regions, unless it be a little barley sowed near *Archangel*, and about *Jakutskoi*; nor are any garden-fruits, or even trees produced there: but strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, juniperberries, black and red currants, and several sorts of shrubs, grow naturally; game, wild-fowl, and fish abound, and horned cattle are bred in the neighbourhood of *Archangel*^b. With these the inhabitants not only subsist, but are clothed, and enabled to pay their tribute.

^b BUSCHING and STRAHLENBERG.

(A) At the winter-folstice, when the day is at the shortest, the sun rises and sets on the horizon of the principal cities in the <i>Russian</i> empire, according to the following table.				Sun rises.	Sun sets.
				h. m.	h. m.
		At <i>Moscow</i>		8 37	3 23
		At <i>Riga</i>		8 47	3 13
		At <i>Tobolsk</i>		8 56	3 4
		At <i>Petersburg</i>		9 15	2 45
		At <i>Archangel</i>		10 24	1 36
	Sun rises.	Sun sets.	At the summer folstice, when the day is at the greatest length, this order is reversed.		
	h. m.	h. m.			
At <i>Astracan</i>	7 48	4 12			
At <i>Kiev</i>	8 7	3 53			

FROM

FROM the 60th to the 57th degree of latitude, the air is somewhat milder and better, the country is less thinly inhabited, and yields, besides various kinds of wild fruits, horned-cattle, goats, sheep, horses, plenty of fish, and some corn, and garden-productions.

THE countries between the 57th and 54th degrees of latitude, where the air is wholesome and less inclement, produce all sorts of fruits, plenty of corn, and abound in venison, wild-fowl, cattle, and honey^c; in short, the inhabitants, who are much more numerous here than farther north, want nothing but wine; for which they make up with mead and brandy.

FROM the 54th degree of latitude to the most southern boundaries of the empire, the climate varies from temperate to very hot; the whole extent of the country is flat and even; it has few morasses; is watered by several rivers, which abound with fish; and has sufficient plenty of game, though it be not over-run with woods. In the deserts, or steppes as the *Russians* call them, in these parts, very little snow lies in winter; it being so exposed to the wind, that it cannot settle much; which is the reason why great quantities of wild fowl, and all sorts of game resort hither in that season, in quest of food. The provinces in these parts are the most inhabited of any in the *Russian* empire, and naturally so fertile, that very little culture would render them extremely rich and flourishing; but that the natives are deterred from, partly by the overflowings of the *Volga*, which lays the country on both sides of it under water in the spring, for many miles together, towards *Astracan*; and still more by the ravages and inroads of the neighbouring *Tartars*. Tobacco, wine, and silk, might be produced in most of these parts, as the two former are near *Astracan* and in the *Ukraine*. It is true, indeed, that the wine made at *Astracan*, though pressed from fine well-flavoured grapes, is not pleasing to the palate, nor will it keep; but *Strahlenberg* assures us, that the vines which grow farther southward, near the city *Terek*, and those on the rivers *Don* and *Dnieper*, near *Czerkaskoy*, *Belgorod*, and *Kiow*, yield a better wine than that which is produced in *Saxony*. We have already observed, that one of the plans of that great prince, *Peter* I. for improving his country, was to bring from other nations people skilled in the management of vines, and the making of wine.

THE common observation that eastern countries are much colder than the western, which lie in the same latitude, is

^c Idem.

The History of Russia.

greatly confirmed in *Russia*: for since the year 1718, the river *Neva* has frequently been covered with ice at *Peterf-burg*, so early as the twenty-fourth of *October*; but it generally thaws by the 26th of *April*, old stile, which it has hardly ever been known to exceed ^c. In the middle and northern parts of the *Russian* empire the days are extremely short in winter, which lasts there near three-quarters of the year, and the cold is so excessively severe, that spite of the snow has been known to freeze before it reached the ground, and water as it dropped ^d; birds have fallen down dead in the midst of their flight; travellers have been frozen to death upon their horses ^e, and come into inns, sitting upright, with bridle and whip in their hands, as if alive; and numbers have lost their nose, ears, feet, or hands, which have absolutely dropped off through the intense rigour of the weather, though their bodies have been well covered with furs (B). Summer succeeds the winter very suddenly, and, in general, with as great a degree of heat, as the other season had of cold: so that the *Russian* peasant sows his grain, sees it spring up, and reaps his crop, even though it be wheat, in less than three months. The nights are very short, and the twilight is remarkably luminous in this season; during which, infinite swarms of gnats, flies, and other insects, arise from the lakes and fens, and are excessively troublesome.

^d produce; viz. wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, buck-wheat, and a grain called *psyntha*, which tastes like rice, than is consumed in them ^f, and they accordingly supply therewith most of the other provinces, in exchange for their native commodities; besides which, great quantities of barley and rye have frequently been exported to *Holland*. Apples, pears, plumbs, cherries, strawberries, raspberries, gooseberries, and several other kinds of fruit, with all manner of pulse, pot-herbs, asparagus, onions, garlick, roots, cucumbers, melons, &c. grow in plenty, and come to perfection in different parts of the *Russian* dominions, even so far north as *Moscow*: so that

^c BUSEHING. ^d OLEARIUS, lib. iii. ^e REUTENFELS, de Reb. Moscovit. lib. iv. c. ii. ^f OLEARIUS, lib. iii. FLETCHER, of the *Russie* Commonwealth, c. iii.

(B) To approach a fire, or go suddenly into a warm room, would occasion almost immediate mortification of the part thus violently struck with cold. Instead of that, the *Russians* rub it with snow, and chafe it with their hands, till it begins to glow; after which, the danger is over.

baron

baron *Herberstein* and *Guagninus* are wrong in saying, that no sort of fruit is produced near this city that is worth sending up to table ; unless they mean to speak of the soil quite adjacent to *Moscow*, which is indeed a shallow, sandy gravel, unfit for vegetation. *Olearius* ^g assures us, that he saw there apples of uncommon beauty, so transparent, that if they were held against the sun, one might see through them, and eat almost all the kernels ; and this is confirmed by baron *Strahlenberg* ^h, who adds, not only that they have a sweetish tart, and very pleasant taste, and an agreeable smell, but that frequent trials to raise this fruit in other places have shewn, that it will not grow any where else so well as near *Moscow*. The *Russians* call it *Naliv*, which signifies poured full ; because when these apples are ripe, all the pulp turns to juice. Bitter almonds grow near the rivers *Don* and *Dnieper*, on small shrubs, about eighteen or twenty inches high. Helébore and hops grow wild, and in great plenty, in many parts of *Siberia* ; as do also leeks, in such abundance, that every master of a family among the *Ostiahs*, near the river *Oby*, fetches every morning, during the summer-season, a good boat's load, which is generally consumed by night ⁱ. The *Russians*, especially the lower class, are not less fond of garlick, which is the sole traffic of *Dmitrow*, *Rostow*, and several other large towns, where it is cultivated for sale. About *Casan*, *Astracan*, and in other warm provinces, it grows spontaneously and plentifully in the open fields ^k. The south part of *Kamtshatka* is remarkable for a plant about two feet and a half high, and of the thickness of one's finger. The inhabitants call it *Ahabatka*. When cleaned, peeled, and dried in the sun, it becomes as white as snow ; and, when pounded small, tastes like sugar ^l. The *Tribulus Aquaticus*, or *Water-nut*, which the *Russians* call *Aralnick*, grows in several parts of *Siberia* ; where are also great quantities of madder, as good, says *Strahlenberg*, as that which is cultivated in gardens in *Germany*.

THE cedar grows naturally in many parts of *Siberia*, but much smaller than on mount *Libanus* and in other parts of *South Asia*. In *Kamtshatka*, it seldom rises higher than a large juniper. Trials have been made to transplant these trees when young, as well as to raise them from seeds in the western parts of *Russia* ; but they will not thrive

^g Ubi supra. ^h Historico-Ceogr. Descript. of the north and east parts of Europe and Asia, c. xiii. ⁱ Idem ibid. ^k Idem ibid. ^l Idem ibid.

there (C). The larch-tree, which is very common in *Siberia*, and is an ever-green in other parts, sheds its leaves and prickles there in winter, and buds again sooner than any other tree. Its wood, by being laid about half a year in a moist dunghill, and afterwards put into water for some time, becomes absolutely petrified^m. On the bark of the birch-tree, which is black in the province of *Dauria* in *Siberia*, grows a *crecscence*, which the people of that country call *Red Bark*, and of which they make all manner of turned ware. It is a sort of speckled wood, of a fine grain, and has white veins. The vessels made of it are so very thin, that they are transparent, will bend, and are generally covered with a yellowish varnish: The *Siberians* are dexterous enough to turn one vessel within another when they use this wood, which is very dear. There are no oaks in *Siberia*, nor on the east-side of the *Volga*; but they are found in great plenty on the west-side of that river, and in the kingdom of *Casan*. It is remarkable that *Kamtshatka* produces some of the same species of plants that grow in *Lapland*, and others which have been thought peculiar to *Canada* in *North-America*ⁿ.

Olearius declares^o, that several *Muscovites* assured him in the strongest manner, that the famous vegetable *Lamb*, or *Baranetz*, as it is called in the *Russian* language, does really grow near *Samara*, between the *Volga* and the *Don*; that it is of the gourd kind, shaped exactly like a lamb, and fastened to the ground by a stalk which proceeds as it were from its navel: that as it grows, it changes its place, and, as it turns, makes the grass around it wither. The *Russians* call this browsing or feeding; and add, that when it is ripe, the stalk withers, and the fruit is covered with a hairy skin, which may be dressed and used instead of fur. Some of these skins were shewn to our author by persons who vowed they came from this fruit; but he owns he could hardly believe it. They were covered with a soft frizzling wool, not unlike that of a lamb newly weaned, or taken out of the sheep's belly. *Julius Scaliger*^p speaks of this fruit, and says it grows till the grass fails it, and then dies for want of that

^m STRAHL. ubi supra. ⁿ BUSCHING. : Lib. iii. ^o Exercit. 181.

(C) Botanists call the *Siberian* kernels, covered with a thin cedar, *Pinus foliis quinis, cono erecto, nucleo edili*. It bears great plenty of fruit, or cones, shaped like those of the *fir-tree*, but much bigger. In each of these cones are forty or fifty white kernels, covered with a thin blackish shell. Their taste is very agreeable; and the *Russians* extract from them an oil, which is used by their gentry instead of butter for pastry, in frying of fish in lent, and other salts.

purishment :

nourishment: to which he adds, as *Olearius* was likewise told, that no beast will feed on it except the wolf, and that it is used as a bait to catch that ravenous animal. *Strahlenberg*, who was at some pains to enquire after this extraordinary production, both among *Tartars* and *Russians*, during his captivity, could get no account of any such thing; and is therefore of opinion, that those who have believed it, were led into a mistake by the *Merluschka-Outschinka*, or *Jambskins*, of which there are three sorts, all of the skins of flinks, or unborn lambs, are imported into *Asia*, from *Bucharia*, *Persia*, and the country of the *Calmuks*. The wool of these skins lies flat, and is undulated, almost like the hair of some dogs.

We have already spoken of several of the animals with which this country abounds; but a few further particulars concerning some of them may, perhaps, not be foreign to our present subject, or displeasing to our readers. We shall collect them chiefly from *Strahlenberg* and *Olearius*.

THE *Argali*, a sort of wild goats in *Siberia*, of which mention was made before, cannot feed on flat ground, like other goats and sheep; but with their heads erect, at the bottom of mountains, by reason of the size and weight of their horns. It is doubtful, whether the *Siberian* be the true sort of beaver, though it has a tail like that of this last, and lives chiefly in water. The *Russians* tell the same stories of the industry of this creature, as are related of the beavers of other countries. The *Russians* call the civet-cat of *Siberia*, and its musk, *Cabardyn*, in order to distinguish it from the true musk of *Thibet* and *China*, which has a three-times stronger smell, and is, in proportion, dearer. The *Siberian* musk is of a whitish grey; the other is yellow. These animals, of which there are great numbers between *Crasnojarsk* and *Abakan*, live chiefly upon a white moss, in the thickest woods, in summer; and never appear but in winter, when they are so very wild, that it is extremely difficult to catch them. They do not run like other beasts, but skip and jump continually. When close pursued by hunters, or by a fox or wolf, they fly to the highest and strongest rocks, and from thence leap down upon any part that happens to project, though it be but two hands broad, and twenty feet deep, or more. The *Cabardyn* is shaped like our deer; is full as long, but not so high; and has much such hair, but harsher, and of a light grey. The females of these animals have no musk; nor is their flesh, which the *Tartars* and *Russians* in *Siberia* eat, as they do venison, so rank as that of the males, whose

¹ STRAHLENBERG, c. xlii.

musk is not lodged in the testicles, as some have supposed, but under the belly, between the flesh and skin, just where the yard pierces. Neither the musk of the cabardyn, nor that of the true civet-cat, is always of the same strength, either in hot countries or in cold; for it is always best in summer, in rutting-time, and in the full of the moon.^a *Olearius* says^b there are no deer in *Muscovy*; meaning, we suppose, the country properly so called; for *Strabon*^c enumerates nine different species of this animal in *Scythia*. It has been remarked of the hares in *Russia* and *Livonia*, that they change their colour in winter, and become white. *Olearius* imputes this to external cold, and says, he has known the same thing happen to hares, even in summer, when they have been kept some time in a cave. The sable hides itself, so as not easily to be discovered, at a certain time of the winter, when it rolls itself up like a ball, and sleeps for a while so sound, as to bear pulling about, without waking. These creatures live chiefly upon mice, cedar-kernels, red-berries, and fish; and it is observed of them, that their fur is most beautiful when they are put to the greatest exercise for subsistence; and that the finest sable skins have generally the worst tails, and the worst skins, on the contrary, the finest tails. There are sables as white as snow, but they are very seldom met with. Upon the islands in the north-east sea, beyond *Karishatka*, the skins of the sables are very indifferent; but they have tails seven or eight inches long, streaked red and black. The wool of the *Russian* and *Siberian* sheep is generally very harsh, and therefore used only for making common stuffs. Bears and wolves are not only very numerous, but do prodigious mischief in most parts of these countries.

SNAKES are deemed sacred among the *Calmuks*, who never kill any, but make them so familiar, that they will creep into bed to them; nor has it ever been heard among them, that they have done any hurt to man or beast. The reason why they have such a regard for this animal is, that they imagine the *God of the water* sometimes puts on the form of a snake, and comes ashore; and that if they should hurt or kill any of these creatures, that deity would be offended, if not killed.^d

IN *Lithuania* and *Russia*, bees are not kept in hives near houses, but in the woods, upon the highest and straightest firs, the branches of which are cut off almost up to the bees nest, near the top of the tree; and a scaffold, like the round-top of a mast, is made round the tree, that neither men nor

^a Idem ibid.^b Lib. iii.^c Ubi supr.^d STRAH-

LENBERG, ibid.

bears can easily climb up^d. Formerly the peasants of *Dorpat* made an agreement with the people of *Plescow*, to have their bees in the woods, under the jurisdiction of these last, for which every peasant was to pay yearly six *whites* (a *Livonian* coin); and when these woods were afterwards destroyed, *John Basilowitz* still insisted on payment of the sum stipulated, as a right due to him.

THERE are three sorts of eagles in *Siberia*; the largest of *Fowls*. which, about the size of our turkey-cock, is quite black, except the skin round the nostrils and legs, which is of a pale yellow. They live chiefly on high mountains, and in thick woods. The smallest sort, which the *Tartars* use, as they do falcons, for hawking, a diversion they are extremely fond of, is the *Aquila Mævia*. In the province of *Dauria*, and near the river *Amur*, there are great numbers of milk-white falcons, many of which are sent yearly to *China*. Partridges are found only in the southern parts of *Siberia*, about *Crasnojahr* and *Abaķan*; but almost all *Russia* abounds in ducks, and various kinds of wild-fowl, as we have already observed. There is a species of owls in *Siberia*, as white as snow, and as large as hen-turkeys^e. The *Russians* call them *Lun* and *Ulun*, and the *Calmuk* shold them sacred. What *Strahlenberg* describes as the *Siberian* stork, seems to us to be a bird of a different species.

THE beluja, of which frequent mention has been already *Fish*. made, is perhaps the largest eatable fish in the world. It is caught chiefly in the rivers that flow into the *Caspian* and *Baltic* seas. *Strahlenberg* says, he saw one of them fifty-six feet long, and near eighteen feet thick. It is shaped like a sturgeon, but has a shorter and thicker snout; its flesh is very white, tender, and well-tasted; it has few or no bones, and but little gristle, except in the head. The largest ones are cut in pieces, salted, and sent to *Moscow*, and other places. The smaller, that is to say, those which do not weigh above 15 puds, are sent whole, if caught in winter. The best fishing-glass is made of the inner-skin of the gut of this fish, and caviar of its roe. The beluja-rybiza, of which there is great plenty in the river *Volga*, is a white salmon, and one of the most delicate fishes in *Russia*. Its roe is red, and the grains of it are as big as small peas. The *Russian* sturgeon is sometimes seven feet long; its flesh is white, intermixed with yellow fat; and caviar, carluk, and weliga, are made out of this fish; but greatly inferior to what is prepared from the beluja. Considerable quantities of pickled

^d Idem ibid.

^e Idem ibid.

sturgeon are exported every year. The *Russians* themselves eat it when dried in the sun, in which state they call it *Provensnye-spinki*; and sometimes even raw, which they think a great delicacy. Another favourite dish of theirs, called *Vesiga*, is made of the sinewy substance which incloses the spinal marrow of the beluja and sturgeon. The *sevruga* is of the sturgeon kind, and as large, but not near so good as the sturgeon. Its flesh is white, and the roe black. The *schip* is another species of the same fish, caught only in the rivers *Taik* and *Wolga*. Its flesh is yellow, and reckoned very nice eating. Great quantities of snetocks, a small flat fish, much esteemed, are taken in the *Bielo-Osero*, and near *Kief-cow*, where they are dried in ovens, both salted and unsalted, and from thence sent to all parts of *Russia*. Craw-fish are not to be found in any of the rivers or brooks of *Siberia*; but there are some in the river *Argun*. It is confidently affirmed, that not an eel is to be seen in all the numerous waters of *Siberia*; and the same is said of the *Danube*, and all the rivers that run into it: nor are there, according to *Olearius*, any carps in *Muscovy* (A) or *Livonia*; though they abound at *Astracan*; where, however, they are not esteemed, their flesh being very coarse. The twisted horn of the sword-fish, such as we often see in the shops of druggists, are sometimes found near the mouth of the river *Lena*, and along the coast of *Kamtshatka*.

Mines,
minerals,
precious
stones, &c.

WE have spoken, in general, of the mines and minerals of *Russia*; some of which, particularly a silver-mine near the city of *Argun*, and the river *Serebrinka*, in *Siberia*, and another of copper, in the *Uralian* mountains, near the new city of *Catharinenberg*, would seem, by the accounts of travellers, to deserve more labour than has been yet bestowed upon them, if a greater number of carriages and hands could be spared. The iron-mines of *Russia*, and especially those in *Ugoria* and *Siberia*, the metal of which is best and toughest, have afforded constant employment to many artificers, ever since the beginning of this century, when they were first opened, and quantities of their wrought works are exported to various parts of *Europe*. *Strahlenberg* says, that

(A) *Olearius* means, we suppose, a species of carp, in the lakes of the desert of *Barraba* in *Siberia*; and *Fletcher* (1) speaks of carps, pikes, perch, tench already observed, there are roach, &c. as fish very common in *Russia*, and very good.

(1) *Of the Russian Commonwealth*, c. iii.

20,000 muskets and 10,000 pair of pistols are made annually near the city of *Tula*; and 12,000 muskets and 6000 pair of pistols, in the same space of time, at the *Sauvods* or fabrics of *Petroka*, *Ustrowka*, and *Alexei* in *Carelia*, besides anchors and other iron works, for the use of the admiralty, to which they belong; and that one cannon a-day is cast at *Petrowka*. The iron-works in *Siberia* are still more numerous than those in *Russia*.

JASPERISTS, and the brown-red sort of the hæmatites, or blood-stone, are found in the mountains of *Catharinenberg*, and in places near the river *Isset*, in *Siberia*; and near the city of *Argunskoi*, in the province of *Dauria* in the same country, there is a considerable mountain, which affords jasper, partly of a deep, and partly of a pale green colour, so hard, that no steel-tool will touch it; but it bears as high a polish as a looking-glass^f. *Peter I.* once thought of having some columns made of this stone. An ordinary sort of lapis lazuli is common enough at *Kongur*; but a very fine kind of it is said to be in *Dauria*. Very large cornelians, and of a high colour, are likewise found in *Siberia*; and abundance of red, white, and black agate, particularly near the rivers *Amur* and *Agun*. Near the *Isset* and *Tomber*, not far from the city of *Tomskoi*, are quantities of crystal, naturally formed into perfect hexangular cylinders, somewhat more than an inch long, and superior in lustre to any yet produced in *Bohemia*. We have already spoken of the load-stones of *Ugoria*, which are mixed with so much iron, that their magnetic virtue is not great. There is a kind of black pumice-stone in *Siberia*, between the cities of *Crasnoyahr* and *Abakan*. The amiantus or asbestos is of a light-grey, when dug; but becomes as white, and soft as cotton, when wrought. The natural grottos, or subterraneous passages, which the *Russians* call *Pitschorets*, in the alabaster mountains near *Todma*, and *Kongur* in *Ugoria*, are much talked of by travellers; and *Strahlenberg* gives us a drawing of these last. This alabaster is so soft and like chalk, that they who call them chalk-caverns, are, perhaps, not much mistaken.

In the kingdom of *Casan*, a pure solid sulphur is dug out of the rocks of *Talc* or *Marienglas*, in which it is enveloped. It is as clear as amber; and some lumps of it weigh upwards of fifty pounds. The finest parts of it are put to physical uses, and the others serve in the composition of gun-powder.

A LAKE near the river *Isset* in *Siberia* yields, like several other lakes in the *Russian* empire, great quantities of salt;

^f STKÄHLENBERG, c. xiii.

one-third of which, in this, is saltpetre; but for want of wood near enough at hand, the expence of boiling and separating the saltpetre from the salt, is greater than the price of that commodity will bear. Thirty thousand puds of saltpetre are deliverd annually into the imperial store-houses from *Astracan*. Between *Tula* and *Kaluga*, near a place call'd *Revolfski*, in *Russia*, there is an alum mine; and a lake in *Siberia*, though its water is clear and fresh, leaves an aluminous salt on its shores, especially in summer. *Asphalt*, a resinous inflammable matter, which we take to be what some *Russian* writers call *earth-oil*, is found in several parts of *Siberia*, and particularly near the river *Irtisch*.

THE author of the *Verändertes Rußland* is wrong in saying^f, that the *kamina massa*, or *stone-butter*, as we should translate it, exudes from rocks in the same condition as it is sold; for it is in fact a vitriolic water, which forces its way through mountains of slate and clay, and others which contain a ferruginous sandy ore, and is boiled, or rather evaporated in an oven, in well luted earthen pots, till its subsiding particles are brought to the consistence of a jelly, which is afterwards taken out, and dried in the air. The *Russians* make use of this drug to dye leather black; but it is too corrosive for linen^g.

SOME pieces of amber have been found between the rivers *Chatanga* and *Yenisei*, towards the frozen ocean; and others in the sandy desert, between *Mungalia* and *China*.

Russia has its mineral waters in several places. The emperor *Peter I.* in the latter part of his life, used to go every year to those called *Honsefskertschie Wody*, about 165 wersts from *Olonets*, and 50 from the *Petrowian Sawods*, and thought he received benefit from them. They are a strong chalybeate, and said to have no virtue at all in spring and autumn, but to be of great efficacy in summer and winter (A). Towards the frozen sea, there are baths naturally hot, as we observed before.

MANNA is found upon a certain grass, and in particular places of the large deserts in the country of the *Calmuks* and *Bukarians*, who call it *sherkest*, and bring great quantities of it to *Tobolsk*. It must be gathered before the sun shines upon it; for otherwise it melts away^h.

^f Page 181. ^g STRAHLENBERG, c. xiii.
TAVERNIER, & STRAHLENBERG.

^h OLEARIUS,

(A) The author of the *Verändertes Rußland* gives a particular account of these waters, p. 239.

S E C T. II.

Population, Government, Laws, Religion, Manners,
and Customs.

THOUGH *Russia* contains as great a number of sub-*Popula-*
jects as any one christian state, it is far from being *tion*,
peopled in proportion to its extent. Lord *Whitworth*, in his
account of *Russia*^d, as it was in the year 1710, when he was
there, makes the highest number of its inhabitants no more
than six millions five hundred and forty thousand, including
all the colonies of the *Muscovites*, from *Kiow* to *China* and
the *Ice-sea*; in which he was certainly misinformed. M.
Busching^e makes them amount to ten millions, exclusive of
the people of the conquered provinces. But M. *de Voltaire*^f,
by a calculation founded on an actual register of the males
who paid the poll-tax in 1747 (A), proves clearly, that there
cannot be less than twenty-four millions of souls in *Russia*,
besides the inhabitants of the conquered provinces of *Livonia*,
Esthonia, *Ingria*, *Carelia*, and part of *Finland*; the *Ukraine*,
the *Don-Cosaks*, the *Calmuks* and other *Tartars*, the *Samojedes*,
the *Laplanders*, the *Ostiaks*, and all the idolatrous nations of
Siberia, a country larger than *China*. These twenty-four
millions, continues he, make after the rate of eight persons
to every square mile; so that *Russia* is, in proportion, ex-
actly five times less peopled than *Spain*, though it contains
near four times as many inhabitants; and thirty times less
peopled than *France* or *Germany*.

^d Page 27. ^e Geogr. vol. i. p. 382.

^f Hist. de Russie
sous Pierre le Grand, tom. i. p. 52. & seq.

(A) Neither women, nor the nobility or clergy throughout the empire (which last amount to about two hundred thousand) nor foreigners of any country or profession, are liable to the poll-tax. Out of near six millions, six hundred and forty thousand males who paid the poll-tax in 1747, according to M. *de Voltaire*, about nine hundred thou-

sand, that is to say a seventh part, belonged to the ecclesiastics of *Russia* only, exclusive of the clergy of the conquered provinces, of the *Ukraine*, and of *Siberia*. But we must not from thence infer, that the clergy of this empire enjoy a seventh part of the revenues of the state, as they do, at least, in many other countries.

THAT some of the now most desolate parts of the *Russian* empire, particularly the deserts of the *Calmuks* on each side of the river *Irtis*, and others farther on towards *China*, were once much more inhabited than they are at present, and that by people who had some knowledge of the fine arts, before the small-pox, brought from *Arabia* by *Mahomet*, and the other from *America* by *Christopher Columbus*, two scourges, which have depopulated the world even more than war, began to ravage those northern climates, where they are now very deeply rooted, is unquestionable (B); but when, and how they

(B) The author of the *Vorländeres Russland* (1), *Hubner* in his *Lexicon* (2), the writer of *Des erlöschten Ritter platz* (3), and others, but more particularly *baron Strahlenberg* (4), give the strongest proof of this fact from numbers of medals, statues, monuments, and other remains of antiquity found even of late years, in *Siberia*, and the deserts bordering on that government. In the tombs, which are very many, discovered in those parts, says the last mentioned of our authors, are found all sorts of vessels, urns, wearing apparel, ornaments, and trinkets, scimitars, daggers, horse-trappings, knives, all sorts of little idols (images), medals of gold and silver, chess-boards and chess-men of gold, and large plates of gold, on which the dead bodies were laid, not unlike the *Bractei aurei* of some others of the ancients, with cloaths folded up, of the same sort as those the corps were dressed in. The sepulchres of the poorer sort have likewise the same kind of things in them, of copper and brass; arrows of copper, and iron, turrys, large

and small polished pieces of metal, or mirrors, with characters upon them; earthen urns of different sizes, some almost two feet high; and, in short, a great many other curiosities, of which he gives a more particular detail, with drawings of several of them. Before the czars of *Russia* were acquainted with this matter, the governors of the cities of *Tara*, *Tomsk*, *Crasnoyarsk*, *Batjamki*, *Isetzkoi*, and others, used to give their people leave to go in caravans to these tombs, to ransack them, on condition of having an allowance, generally about one-tenth, of whatsoever things of value they found there. To this is owing that most of these antiquities, which might otherwise have been very valuable, and would perhaps have afforded great insight into the history of the country they were found in, were broken to pieces, that each might have his share by weight. As to the tombs themselves, they are of different structures: some are only of earth, raised up as high as houses, and placed so near together, and in such numbers, on spacious plains, that, at a

(1) Page 124 and 225.
(4) Chap. xiii.

(2) Second edition, p. 1081.

(3) Page 76.

distance,

they lost their ancient inhabitants, by whatsoever name they were called, whether by their own voluntary emigrations in quest of other regions, or whether driven away by invaders more powerful than themselves, is one of those points of history, which in all likelihood will never be cleared up.

As the far greatest part of the lands in *Russia* lie untilled *Classes of*
for want of hands to cultivate them; and as the improvement *the people;*
I 4 of

distance, they appear like a ridge of hills. Others are set round with rough hewn stones, and some with square stones, and are either of an oblong, or a triangular form. We find them called in the ancient maps of *Great Tartary*, 'the pyramidal sepulchres of the *Tartarian* kings;' though, in fact, they are not strictly pyramids. Colonel *Kanifer*, likewise a *Szwedish* prisoner in *Siberia*, who lived for several years of his captivity in the city of *Jenisei*, told our author, that the ambassadors of the *Chinese Tartars* (1), in their return from their expedition to the *Calmuk Ajucki-Khan*, passing through that city, desired leave of the then Governor, to visit the graves of their ancestors; but it was refused: probably, because most of them had been opened, rifled, and demolished. *Strahlenberg*, on this occasion, refers to the ancient writers, who speak of the war between *Cyrus* and the *Scythians*, which last, being asked why they did not stand their ground, but always retreated, answered, that they lost nothing by giving way; but that, if they should come near the sepulchres of their fathers, their enemies might then chance

to see whether they could fight or not. *Arunkiel* proves clearly (2), that the *Cimbri* did not take the custom of burning their dead from the *Greeks*, but from *Otlinus*; and *Torseus* likewise shews (3), that he first introduced into the northern regions the use of urns, the custom of burning the dead, of putting the most valuable effects of the deceased into the grave with their ashes, and of erecting monuments to the most eminent persons, and laying stones over their sepulchres. This is also confirmed by the author of the *Remarks on the Cimbrian Antiquities in Holstein* (4). Some ancient records in *Tanuthian*, *Mungalian*, and *Calmukian* characters, found in the time of *Peter I.* not near *Samarcand*, or the *Caspian* sea, as the author of the *Veraendertes Rusland* (5), and others, who have copied him, pretend, but brought from the upper parts of the deserts of the *Calmuks*, on the river *Irtis*, from pagan tombs and temples there, and sent by that inquisitive emperor to the academy of sciences at *Paris*, where nobody could make any thing of them, were upon a thick paper, made of cotton or silk, done over with black and blue varnish,

(1) Mentioned in the *Veraendertes Rusland*, p. 9.
the *Cimbrian sagas*, part ii. p. 35.
& 144, 8vo. edit.

(2) In his funeral rites of
(3) *Ser. Dynast. Reg. Den. c. vi. p. 130*
(4) Page 154 & 155.
(5) Page 124 & 225.

of every gentleman's revenue is the number of his peasants, or subjects¹; it has long been the maxim of the officers of this nation, in all their successful wars, to carry off as many prisoners as possible, and plant them on their own estates. Several towns on the *Volga*, are the fruits of their former expeditions in *Poland* and *Lithuania*; and they have drained above one-third of the inhabitants from *Ingria* and *Livonia*, and settled whole villages of them in the southern parts towards *Woronesh* (C), where their descendants are now become, in a manner, natives of the soil; an irreparable loss to *Sweden*, if ever those provinces should return to that crown. *Ingria*, indeed, has in some measure been repopled by colonies of *Russians*. Many, or perhaps most of the great families now in *Russia*, are of foreign extraction; as the *Galitzyns*, *Apraxins*, *Nareskins*, &c. from *Poland*; the *Czerkaskis* from *Tartary* (D); the *Miletskies* from *Min-grelia* and *Georgia*; with numbers of others: and even the czars have prided themselves in a *Prussian* original (E).

¹ Lord Whitworth's account of *Russia*, p. 29.

and rolled up, according to the custom of the ancients. The characters or letters upon them, which were partly of a yellow or gold colour, and partly of a white, like silver, were not written, but printed, as we print linen or callico. A proof that that great Prince was very right in saying, that the sciences have made the tour of the world. Should we, without such demonstrations as these, have dreamed that the art of printing was known to the once inhabitants of what is now one of the most savage parts of the whole universe, probably before we had any idea of it? Besides these characters, which have been published by the learned M. Mencke, in the *Acta Eruditorum Lips.* Others of a different kind, unintelligible to several *Russians*, *Tartars*, and *Calmuks*, to whom baron *Sirablenberg* shewed them, but which M. Kobr, professor of the oriental languages at *Lepzig*, has explained, were found to-

wards the source of the river *Jenisei*, near the spot where the little river *Kemischyk* falls into it, and where there was formerly a temple. These last were impressed on fine white linen.

(C) Lord Whitworth, M. de Voltaire, and several other writers call it *Veronis* and *Veronitz*; but the *Russian* name is *Woronesh*.

(D) Prince *Sunfalei Jacolowitz* *Zercaskoi*, from the *Circassian* *Cabarda*, came to the czar *Feodor Iwanowitz*, and assisted him in conquering the country of *Circassia*, and the city of *Terki*. It is the chief *Circassian* family, and almost the richest in *Russia*, having near 70,000 peasants. *Sirablenberg*.

(E) Fletcher, ch. v. mentions particularly of the czar *Iwan Wasilicwitz*, or, as we commonly call him *John Basilewitz* of the house of *Beala*, that he declared he was no *Russian*, but of *Hungarian* extraction.

THE

THE *Russians*, in point of rank, are divided into three general classes; the nobility, called *Kneas*; the gentry, called *Duornins*; and the peasants.

THE *kneas*, or dukes were anciently heads of the little governments into which this country was divided; but they were all subdued in time by the princes of *Wolodimer*, who translated their residence to *Moscow*, and took the title of *W:liki Kneas*, or *Great Dukes*. The descendants of these families still retain their ancient title; and several *Poles*, transplanted thither, as they became considerable, assumed the same marks of distinction, on pretence of being descended from their waiwodes, or palatines. This title is differently respected, according to the revenue or employment of the person; for those dukes who submitted on condition, and received estates in exchange for their petty sovereignties, still continue in some splendour; and others again have raised themselves by their civil or military service, while the rest are reduced to the lowest poverty and contempt. In the year 1708, there were near three hundred *kneas** common soldiers in prince *Menzikoff's* regiment of dragoons. To remedy the confusion of this title, *Peter the First*, after his return from his travels, introduced into *Russia*, as an additional distinction, the dignities of count and baron. His prime minister and great chancellor *Gelwin*, and general *Gordon*, were made counts by the emperor of *Germany*, and his favourite *Alexander Menzikoff* was created prince of the empire. But the czar's ambition increasing with his success, he resolved to bestow his own honours, and soon after created prince *Menzikoff* duke of *Ingria*, and *Gelwin*, his high-admiral *Apraxin*, and his lord privy-seal *Szoff*, counts, without having recourse to the imperial court. After this, he introduced the title of baron, instituted an order of knighthood in honour of St. *Andrew*, distinguished by a blue ribbon and star, in imitation of the garter; and, in 1714, ordered that the estates of the nobility should not be divided, and that the proprietors of them should be at full liberty to leave them to whatever child or heir they should think most worthy of the inheritance. But this law was repealed in 1731. *Bojar* is not a title of nobility, but anciently denoted a post or office in the state: nor indeed does any birth or title give a person rank, according to *Peter's* wife regulation, unless he likewise merits it by his service and abilities; by which means many foreigners, of mean extraction, have risen to very great honours in *Russia*. In regard to unli-

* Lord WHITWORTH.

mitted subjection to their sovereign, the nobility are on a level with the rest of the people. Even the greatest of them used to glory in styling themselves the czar's *golu* or *slave*, when they either spoke or wrote to him ; but *Peter I.* abolished that harsh expression, and ordered them to use, instead of it, the word *raab*, subject.

THE *Duornins* are country gentlemen, most of whom, and particularly the *Sunbojarskoys*, or sons of *Bojars*, who are ranked in this class, hold their lands by knights service, to appear in war on horseback. Formerly it was sufficient to send a man well armed and mounted : but *Peter I.* made them, or their sons, serve in person, unless they found ways to make interest enough with his ministers to be excused. When they appear in the field, they are not allowed a servant, though they be masters of ever so many peasants, and are obliged to do all the duties of common soldiers : but their greatest mortification is, that such of their peasants as will list volunteers, are immediately declared freemen, and in equal consideration with their masters. The point of honour has, indeed, not yet prevailed so far as to give many instances of this nature. Such of the duornins as live on their estates, and are far from the capital, give themselves great airs ; though they are, on the other hand, as humble and submissive to their chief nobility and officers : for in this country, as lord *Whitworth* observes, every one has his share of slavery and worship ; except

THE peasants, who are perfect slaves, absolutely subject to the arbitrary power of their lords, who may treat them as they please, provided they do not kill them, and liable to be transferred, with goods and chattels, from one master to another. They can call nothing their own ; which makes them so lazy, that when their master's task is done, and a little bread and firing provided for the year, they think the great business of their life over, and idle or sleep away the rest of their time ; and yet they live content. A couple of earthen pots, a wooden platter, a spoon, and a knife, are all their household goods ; their drink is water ; their food oatmeal, bread, salt, mushrooms, and roots ; on great days, a little fish, or milk, if it be not a fast ; but flesh very rarely. Thus mere custom in them, shames the pretended austerities of philosophy and false devotion, and fits them admirably for the fatigues of war ; which, if once rendered familiar by use and discipline, will certainly advance far in a people, who go as unconcerned to death or torments, and have as much passive valour, as any nation in the world. Professor *Busching* says,

says †, that the *Russian* peasants are so far from being dull or stupid, as many have thought them, that they are remarkably acute, and do not want for natural parts.

THE government of *Russia* is absolute in the last degree; Govern-
not restricted by any law or custom, but depending solely on ment.
the will of the sovereign, by which the lives and fortunes of all the subjects of that country are decided; the common compliment, even of the greatest of the nobility, to him, being, *I am thy slave, take my head*; and every class of *Russians* frequently saying, even in common discourse, that *all they have belongs to God and the czar*. When puzzled about any thing, and at a loss to find it out, nothing is more usual with them than to say, *Only God and the czar knows it*: and when banished, or in disgrace at court, their greatest complaint is, that they are deprived of *the honour of seeing the brightness of the eyes of his czarish majesty* †. John Basilowitz first reduced them to this extreme submission; and his successors have not only continued them in it, but effectually riveted their slavery, and deprived them of the means of forming any idea of the liberty which other nations enjoy, by absolutely forbidding their subjects, on pain of death, ever to go out of their dominions; nor are the nobility allowed to retire from court, without the czar's express permission. However, such as are employed in the state have their share of arbitrary power, their proceedings being without appeal, all in the czar's name, which they often abuse to satisfy their avarice, revenge, or other guilty passions. For right between private men, they have precedents and written laws, particularly a code called *Subornoe Uloshenie*, 'an uniform and universal law,' drawn up by order of *Alexis Michaelowitch*, and enlarged by new edicts of the succeeding czars (A).
The

† Geograph. vol. I. p. 383. † OLEARIUS, lib. iii.

(A) Heretofore, in disputes between private persons, where the parties were not agreed as to the matter of fact, and had no evidence on either side, the judge asked the plaintiff, whether he would take his oath, that the matter was as he alledged, or refer it to the defendant's oath. He who offered to take his oath, was, once a week, for three weeks running, brought before the judge, who, every time, represented to him the

importance of an oath, and the sin he would be guilty of if he swore falsely. If, after this, he still persisted in his readiness to take his oath, though he swore nothing but the truth, the people looked upon him as an infamous person, would spit in his face, and turn him out of church, into which he was never received afterwards, and much less admitted to the communion, unless it were at the point of death. Now, they do not pro-
ceed

The process, especially in criminal matters, is short enough, when their justice is proof against the temptation of a bribe; but that it seldom is: and their punishments are very severe; though not quite so rigorous as formerly. The *Battogen*, *Katze*, and *Knute*, are now deemed infamous (B).

TILL

ceed with so much rigour, but only bring him who is to take his oath before a picture of one of their saints, where he is asked whether he will swear upon the salvation of his soul? If he persists, they give him a little crucifix to kiss, and afterwards the picture of the saint, which is taken down from the wall for that purpose. Though the oath be indisputably true, the person who took it, is not admitted to the communion for three years; and though he be not treated as an infamous person, yet those of any rank will not easily suffer him in their company. A perjured person is most severely whipped, and then banished. The *Russians* therefore endeavour, as much as possible, to avoid taking an oath; though upon any trivial occasion, especially in their dealings, they make no scruple of swearing at every word, and have incessantly in their mouths their *Po Chrestum*, 'by Christ,' making the sign of the cross at the same time. They permit strangers to take their oaths, according to the rules of their several religions. *Olearius*, lib. iii. and *Fletcher*, c. 14.

(B) They were not so formerly, according to *Olearius* (1); for not only those who had passed through the executioner's hands were admitted into the best companies, but likewise the executioner himself, whose profession

was accounted so honourable, that sometimes even merchants quitted theirs, to serve the magistrate at executions, and would buy that employment as a lucrative post, the profits of which arose partly from their stipend, partly from what was extorted from the criminal under pretence of gentle treatment, but most of all from a clandestine sale of brandy and spirits to the prisoners. The *Russians* have now learnt another way of thinking from their more civilized neighbours: the executioner is looked upon as infamous, and is no longer permitted to sell his office; but it must continue in his family: on failure of which the butchers are obliged to chuse one out of their body.

The ordinary punishments in *Russia* are slitting the nostrils, whipping, and the *Battogen*, which is inflicted thus. He who is to receive this chastisement, is stripped to his shirt, and laid upon the ground on his belly; when two men, sitting crosswise upon him, one upon his neck, and the other upon his feet, beat him on the back with little wands or switches, during the time ordered by the judge. Slitting the nostrils used to be inflicted on those who had taken tobacco in snuff, contrary to an old idle prohibition.

Whipping, or the *Knute*, as it is given in *Russia*, is one of the most barbarous punishments

TILL, Peter the Great set about taming his savages, and reforming their barbarous customs, a work which will justly render his memory immortal, the vast dominions of Russia were divided into four parts, called *Chetfirds*, each of which was named from its particular office or department. The first of them was called the *Posolsky-Chetfird*, or jurisdiction-office of embassies, and foreign affairs. The second was called the *Rosferadny-Chetfird*, because it belonged to the *Rosferade* or high-constable. The third was the *Pomeslenoy-Chetfird*, in which a register was kept of all the lands given by the prince for service, to his nobles, bojars, and others. The fourth

ever heard of. *Olearius* relates thus (1) the manner of its being executed, in his presence, on eight men and one woman, for selling brandy and tobacco without a licence. The executioner's man, after stripping them down to the waist, took them up one after another, upon his back, with their feet tied together with a cord, which passed between his legs, and was held by another servant of the executioner, so fast, that they were not able to stir. The executioner stood three paces off, with a bull's pizzle, having fastened to the end of it three straps or thongs of an elk's skin, not tanned, and consequently exceeding sharp, with which, springing forward whenever he struck, he laid on their backs with all his strength, so that the blood gushed out at every blow. The men had 25 or 26 lashes each, till an officer, who had in writing what number of stripes they were to receive, cried *Po!no*, 'enough.' The woman had only 16, but fainted away. After their backs were thus shockingly mangled, they were all tied together by the arms, two and two together, those who had sold tobacco having a little horn full of it, and

those who had sold brandy, a little bottle about their necks, and whipped through the city, for about half a league, after which they were brought back to the place of their first punishment, and there dismissed. This is so cruel a punishment, that many die of it. Some, after having undergone this dreadful scourging, wrap themselves up in the skin of a sheep newly killed. But even this horrid flagellation is, according to *M. de la Motraye*, only what is called the moderate *Knute*. When the sentence orders it between the moderate and the severe, pieces of flesh are taken off at every stroke of the executioner; and when it is ordered to be given with the utmost severity, the executioner, striking the flank, under the ribs, cuts the flesh to the very bowels.

Another kind of chastisement is sometimes given to a most unmerciful degree, on the soles of the offender's feet, with a stick about the thickness of a man's finger.

Even the holy inquisition cannot exceed the horrid refinements of cruelty formerly practised by these barbarians, and we fear, too often used even

(1) *Ibid.*

fourth was called the *Cossansky-Dowertz*, and had the jurisdiction of the kingdoms of *Astracan* and *Casan*, with the cities and towns on the *Volga*. A few places only, not exceeding thirty-six towns, with their territories, which were the czar's inheritance, or *Vochin*, as it is termed, were exempted from the jurisdiction of these *Chetfrds*, the heads of

now, to force people to confess by torture. One of the most terrible of these excruciating torments, called the *Strapado*, is executed thus (1). The malefactor, having his hands tied behind him with a rope, is hoisted up into the air by that cord, with a great beam fastened to his feet, upon which the executioner jumps up from time to time, to augment the pain, and farther the dislocation of the members, whilst a smoke and fire which are made under his feet, burn and stifle him. Sometimes they cause the malefactor's head to be shaven, and, as he is hanging, pour cold water, drop by drop, upon his crown; which occasions such anguish as is not to be equalled even by whipping, and then clapping a red hot iron upon the stripes, as is often done; or by tying to a spit, and roasting at a fire.

Thieves are tortured to make them discover their accomplices, and confess their other crimes. If it be the first offence, they are whipped from the prison to the market-place, where the offender hath an ear cut off, and is sent back to prison for two years. If he offends a second time, he is punished as before, and kept in prison, till there be a number of them to banish into *Siberia*. Theft is never punished with death in *Russia*: but the receivers and concealers of stolen

goods are punished equally with the thief. Murder, committed without any necessity of defence, is punished with death. The criminal is kept six weeks in a very close prison, upon bread and water only; after which he receives the communion, and is beheaded.

But even all these cruelties fall short of those which are inflicted on such as cannot satisfy their creditors. He who does not pay at the time agreed on, is put into the house of an officer appointed for that purpose, and has a certain farther time allowed him to make satisfaction. If he fails therein, he is carried to prison, from whence he is brought every day to a place before the chancery, where the common executioner beats him upon the shin-bones with a wand about the bigness of a man's little finger, for an hour together. That done, he is returned to prison, unless he can find security for his appearing again the next day at the same hour, to be treated in the same manner, till he has made satisfaction. This is executed rigorously upon all sorts of persons, of whatever condition or quality they be, subjects or foreigners, men or women, priests or laymen: and if, at last, the debtor cannot find wherewith to pay, he, his wife, and children, are sentenced to be bond-slaves to the creditor.

(1) *Id. ibid.*

which

which resided commonly at court, and carried their offices with them wherever they went. They were generally lords of the greatest families in *Russia*, who were favourites of the czar, and acted as sovereigns under him, in all the provinces they were to govern. An appeal lay to them from all the districts in their department; but there was no appeal from their decision. They had liberty to use the czar's name for their authority in issuing out their orders, and had absolute power over the lives and fortunes of those within their department. Under them, a bench of *diacks*, or secretaries, sat as judges in each of these principal offices or courts at *Moscow*, who were to hear and determine matters relating to the treasury, as well as all civil and military affairs, and to report their proceedings to the principal lords under whom they acted, who seldom went themselves to hear any cause.

THESE lords had also the sole power of appointing and sending governors to each province, which was sub-divided into smaller districts; and every governor had under him a *diack*, or secretary, who was a kind of petty-chancellor, and an office or court of justice, called a *Priglasé*, where they sat as commissioners for the czar's revenues, and likewise as judges, with an absolute power to determine all causes, without even counsel to plead for the unhappy persons brought before them. Only in cases of life, they were obliged to make a representation by letter to the lord of the province in *Moscow*, before any man could be executed, but that was done in such a manner, that the decision was always such as they desired.

and *Priglasés*; under the direction of the governors of the provinces.

THE governors of provinces were, generally, appointed for three years, in which time, if their enormous rapine suffered them to continue so long in place, they made great fortunes; by which we may judge of their equity; especially as they had no sort of salaries allowed them, but only a present of three, or four thousand rubles, according to the abilities of the people in their department, when they first entered on their government. But besides the great article of bribery in all causes that came before them, they had other opportunities of enriching themselves; one of which was, their power of assessing the taxes, nominating their own collectors, or *challavolniks*, to receive the czar's revenues, and return the sums collected into the grand *Priglasé*, or proper office of each bojar at *Moscow*; where what account they thought fit was made out of the money received, and the expences attending it, and the remainder was paid into the czar's treasury. The same abuses still subsist in a great measure:

sure : besides which, these governors have the disposal of all employments, civil and military, in their departments : but they have no power over the regular troops, who are never to be under their direction, nor paid by them, though quartered in their jurisdiction ; but are to receive their orders immediately from the czar and his generals.

Bojars.

Ocolnitzen.

Dumnci
ana
Diacks.

Present
admini-
stration of
the affairs
of the
Russian
empire, by

the senate,

the synod,

the war-
office.

The czars used formerly to keep up the veneration of their subjects, by appearing very rarely, except in public acts of ceremony and devotion, and then with a solemnity suitable to the occasion ; while the *Bojars*, or privy counsellors, disposed of the empire at their pleasure : but *Peter the Great* missed no opportunity of exposing them and their abuses. Till his time, these *Bojars* had the chief direction of all the *Princases* or offices, for their superiors never minded business, and were assisted by the *Ocolnitzen*, a lower sort of privy counsellors, who were admitted only on extraordinary occasions. The *Dumnci* are the judges of all processes, and the *Diacks*, the secretaries. Every *Princase* was composed of these officers, and had, as we have just observed, a sovereign jurisdiction of life and death, independant of each other ; which often caused no small confusion. They were above thirty in number, for the several provinces of the empire ; and though they are still kept up, yet their once acting officers, such as *Bojars* and *Ocolnitzen*, have been dropped by degrees, only the *Diacks*, or secretaries being retained ; and in consequence of the regulations of *Peter I.* the affairs of the *Russian* empire, in general, are now managed by the following colleges, or chanceries, as they are called.

THE senate, or directing council, is the supreme court of judicature, to which all processes are brought by appeal, in the last resort. The senate takes care of all domestic affairs, receives accounts from all the colleges, excepting the holy synod, and issues out orders to them all accordingly. In the reign of the empress *Catharine*, the privy-council used to send orders to the senate ; but in the reign of the empress *Anne* such orders were issued only by the cabinet-council, which consisted of two ministers of state. The present empress has entirely abolished the cabinet-council, and, by an edict of the 12th of *December 1741*, restored to the senate the same power which it had in the time of *Peter the Great*.

The holy-synod, or ecclesiastical-council, instituted by *Peter I.* when he suppressed the patriarchate, regulates all affairs relating to the church.

THE war-college has the care of recruiting and exercising the whole *Russian* army, except the guards, who are under the immediate direction of the sovereign. This office like-
wise

wife receives the taxes appointed for the maintenance of the troops, and nominates the officers as high as the rank of lieutenant-colonels. Under the war-college are, the office of the general-commissary at war, the office of ordnance, that of the under commissary at war, the military-chest, the office for cloathing the army, the victualling-office, and the accomptant's-office.

THE admiralty-college manages all naval concerns with-^{the admi-} out exception; and such forests as lie near navigable rivers, ^{ralty col-} are under the inspection of this college; subordinate to which ^{lege,} are the office of the general-marine-commissary, which pays the navy, has the care of victualling the fleet, and keeps the monies assigned for those services; the store-office, which has the direction of the magazines, and every thing belonging to the equipment of ships of war; the office which directs the construction of ships, provides the necessary materials for that purpose, and has also the inspection of the forests; and the artillery-office.

THE college for foreign affairs pays the salaries of the ^{the college} Russian ministers at foreign courts, pensions, and the ex-^{for foreign} pences of foreign envoys, which are always defrayed. This ^{affairs,} college also makes out passports, and decides all difficulties and disputes relating to foreign ministers. The members of this college are the chancellor of the empire and the vice-chancellor, who, upon any momentous affairs, are assisted by some of the counsellors of state.

THE college of justice at *Moscow*. Under this is the ^{the college} *Sud-ney Pricase*, some of the members of which constitute a col-^{of justice,} lege of justice at *Petersburg*, which determines suits brought thither by appeal from the conquered provinces, and has likewise a consistorial jurisdiction over the protestants and papists in that city; but on this occasion the minister of the church, to which the plaintiff belongs, is summoned to attend.

THE *wotshinski-college*, or feudal-chancery, is held at ^{the feudal} *Moscow*, and has the care of every thing relating to the ^{chancery,} estates of private persons, and their boundaries or limits.

THE college of the treasury has the direction of levying ^{the college} all the public revenues, except the poll-tax and the produce ^{of the trea-} of the salt-works. The office which has the care of the ^{jury,} monies arising from the conquered provinces is now held at *Petersburg*; but all the other departments belonging to the treasury are at *Moscow*.

THE state-office issues out the public money, and gives the ^{the state-} necessary directions to the chamber of accompts. The re-^{office}

venue-chambers at *Petersburg* and *Moscow* are accordingly dependent on this office.

the revision-college, THE revision-college is a sort of check on the other colleges, and receives their accounts in order to examine them.

the colleges for trade, mines, and manufactures, THE colleges for trade, mines, and manufactures, are distinct offices; and besides the departments from which they take their names, they have also the management of the naval customs or tolls, and decide all commercial disputes between merchants and traders.

the confiscation-chancery, THE confiscation-chancery directs the sale of all forfeited estates, and the levying of all fines imposed by the other colleges.

the salt-office, THE salt-office has the direction of the revenues arising from the salt-works, which are appropriated for the sovereign's privy-purse.

the college of the magistracy, and the privy-chancery. BESIDES these, there is a college of the magistracy, as it is called, to which all the magistrates in the empire are accountable for their conduct; and a privy-chancery, which takes cognizance of all hospitals, dispensaries, medicines, &c.

Religion of the Russians. THE *Russians* profess the religion of the *Greek* church, which is said to have been first embraced by the great duchess *Olga*, or *Olga*, in the year of Christ 955, and afterwards by her grandson the great duke *Volodimir* in 988, whose example was followed by his subjects: but their ignorance and superstition have greatly corrupted even ~~their~~ ^{their} religion. They hold three sacraments, baptism, the Lord's supper, and extreme unction; which last they look upon as extremely conducive, but not absolutely necessary to salvation. Without baptism, administered according to the rites of their communion, they think none can ~~be~~ ^{be} saved; and therefore they re-baptize all proselytes from other christian churches, just as they do converts from paganism. They hold transubstantiation, and receive the eucharist in both kinds (A), observe four lents, and have service daily in their churches.

(A) The consecrated bread is put into the wine, and a little of both is taken out of the chalice with a spoon, and given to the communicants. The wine is red, and mixed with warm water, the better to imitate the blood and water which issued from our Saviour's side. The

communion bread, or wafer, as the Romanists call it, is about twice as big as a crown-piece, and somewhat thicker; but the priest breaks it into as many pieces as there are communicants. It must be leavened, and have been kneaded and baked by the widow of a priest. This they

churches. They use auricular confession, and think they are cleansed by it from as many sins as they confess by name, and

they think so essential to the sacrament, that one of the principal causes of the schism between the *Greek* and *Latin* church, is, that the latter makes use of unleavened bread, contrary to the express institution of Christ, who, to abolish the ceremony of the *Jews*, who made use of unleavened bread, was pleased to take common bread. In the middle of this wafer is the figure of a crucifix, which the priest, after he has consecrated it, takes off with an instrument like a lancet, and puts into a *pyx*, or wooden-box, suspended over the altar. When communion is to be administered to a sick person, a little of this consecrated bread is taken out of the *pyx*, mixed with three drops of wine and a drop or two of water, and given in a spoon: but if, through weakness, or otherwise, he be not able to swallow the bread, only a little consecrated wine is given. At the administering of the sacrament, the priest says, "This is the true body and the true blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he hath given for thee, and for many more, for the remission of thy sins; which thou shalt take in remembrance of him. God bless thee." The more devout sort sleep after they have received the communion, that they may not sin that day. What remains of the bread after consecration, serves for holy-bread, which they call *Kutja*: and on the Sunday following, the priest gives a morsel of it to each of those who had communicated the week before. Formerly the consecrated bread used not only to be sent into the country, to places where there was no priest, but also to be given to travellers, or persons going to the wars, who made their confession before they set out, and were to communicate themselves if they were in any danger of death. The custom of receiving the consecrated wine in the church, and carrying away the bread, to be taken at home; as also that of the anchorets, who carried away both to the places of their retirement, is so ancient, that St. *Cyprian*, and even *Tertullian*, speak of it, as a thing commonly done in their times. But this kind of communicating is now absolutely abolished in *Russia*, as well as elsewhere. There is scarce a *Russian* but communicates at *Easter*, after an extraordinary mortification for eight days together; during which they eat nothing but a hard kind of bread, and drink only water, or *quas*, which is so sour, that it sometimes brings them almost to death's door. They generally receive the communion upon *Easter Eve*, and hold that it must at least be upon a fasting day; a circumstance which they observe so strictly, that if any one communicates on a *Sunday*, he is not to eat any flesh that day. They give the communion to infants, when sick, be they ever so young, but only in one kind, till they are seven years

and in particular to the priest (B). The *Athanasian creed* is their rule of faith. They believe in God the Father, as Creator of all the world; in God the Son, as Sanctifier and Redeemer of all mankind; and in the Holy Ghost, as Sanctifier of all the faithful: but they maintain, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only. Their Bible, of which they will not suffer the books of *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, and *Deuteronomy*, to be so much as carried to church, for fear of polluting that place of worship by some not over-moderate passages; they say, the Levitical law is translated from the version of the *Septuagint* into the *Slavonian* tongue, which very few, if any of the congregation, understand, when the priest reads any part of it to them; if even he can read it. They are, however, permitted to have the whole *Bible* in their houses; but they set little value upon any part of it, except the *New Testament*, the prophets, and some verses out of the *Psalms*; nor have they yet the scriptures in their own language (C). They hold tradition to be of equal authority

years of age; after which they are communicated like grown persons, because, says the *Greek* church, one begins to sin mortally at about that age. Agreeable to this was the practice of the third century, when, as we learn from St. *Cyprian*, children were communicated immediately after baptism; a custom which continued till St. *Augustine's* time. The *Russians* also give the communion to distracted persons; but they only touch their lips with the bread, after it hath lain a while in the wine.

(B) Those who are come to years of discretion are obliged to go to confession before they communicate. They make their confession standing, in the middle of the church, and before the picture of some saint, on which they kept their eyes fixed, as long as the confession lasts, making a very particular recital of all their sins, and at every

sin expressing their remorse, and promising amendment. The priest, with the absolution, enjoins them a penance, which generally consists in repeating several times the words *Gospodi Pomilui*, or in making a number of reverences before the pictures of saints, abstaining from women for a certain time, kneeling at the church-door; or, if the sins be very heinous, he orders them to use a holy-water, which is consecrated on *Twelfth-day*, and kept by the priests all the year long for this purpose, and not to be had of them for nothing. They think that water has the virtue to purify them of their sins, and restore them to a state of grace.

(C) In the explication of the *Bible*, they pay great regard to St. *Cyril of Jerusalem*, who lived towards the end of the fourth century, St. *John Damascene*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, St.

authority with the written word of God ; and think to satisfy the second commandment by allowing no carved images : but their churches are filled with miserable paintings, without shade or perspective ; and even some of those dawblings, as well as the finer strokes of the *Italian* pencils, are said to be the work of angels ; particularly a celebrated piece of the virgin *Mary* with three hands, which is preserved in the monastery of *Jerusalem*, about thirty miles from *Moscow* (B).

St. *John Chrysostom*, and *Ephraim*, deacon of the church of *Edeffa* in *Syria* ; of which last they relate, as does also *Gerard Vossius*, who translated his works into *Latin*, that an angel having presented to him a book written in gold characters, which no body could open, he immediately derived from it those illuminations, which are at this day apparent in his writings. Another of their great doctors is *Nicolas Sudarowitz*, their own countryman, and author of several spiritual treatises. Their veneration for his memory is such, that, not long ago, wax-candles were lighted up before his picture, for which a particular chapel was built in the great street of *Moscow*, leading to *Taver* gate ; but both were destroyed by fire. A *Sclavonic Bible* used formerly to cost between twenty-five and thirty rubels ; but a new edition of that book was published in 1751, from the *Moscow* edition of 1663, with annotations, and may be had for four rubels. The *New Testament* and *Psalter*, in the *Sclavonian* language, in quarto, is sold at a moderate price in *Russia*.

(B) The *Russians* relate very gravely, and deem those atheists who doubt the truth of their

account, that the painter who drew this picture of the virgin *Mary*, with our Saviour in her arms, having sketched out his piece so as to make both her hands appear, was surprised to find, when he went next to look at it, three hands regularly disposed about the child : upon which, thinking that some other person of the trade had slipped privately into his room, and done this to put a trick upon him, he took his pencil, and in a kind of passion, rubbed out the third hand, finished the picture, locked the door, and put the key in his pocket. The next morning, he found a third hand painted again as before. Astonished and amazed, he crossed and blessed himself : but still concluding, upon reflection, that some wag had found means to get into his apartment, he again effaced the supernumerary hand, and then locked and sealed his doors, and secured his windows, with the utmost care. The next morning, he found the third hand painted a third time, and was going to alter it again, when the virgin *Mary* appeared in person, and bid him forbear ; for that it was her pleasure to be so drawn.

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THE respect paid to these pictures is the grossest kind of idolatry. To them they bow and cross themselves; and all the religious instruction they give their children, especially those of the lower sort, is to reverence and say their prayers before those vile representations of their saints; to whom, and to the apostles, and the virgin *Mary*, the ignorant among them apply, not only as to intercessors, but as to immediate causes and co-operators of their salvation. Every room has its guardian picture of this kind in a corner, the *Russian* place of honour, to which strangers pay their reverence on coming in, before they begin their business, or take any notice of the company; or if the visitor does not immediately see the saint, he turns round and asks, *J'esti le Bog?* "Where is the GOD?" the name they give to these wretched paintings; before which it is another great part of their devotion to light up wax-candles, at the hazard of setting fire to their houses, as they often do, and to repeat frequently the words, *Ghospodi Pomilui*, "Lord have mercy upon me;" without any farther attention. They refrain scrupulously from certain meats, and think it particularly a great crime to eat a pigeon, because the Holy Ghost is painted in the shape of a dove. That the gospel was first preached to the *Russians* by St. Andrew, as some of their chronicles pretend, is, at best, a very improbable story. But as it is not our business here to write an ecclesiastical history, we shall content ourselves with noticing such particular religious ceremonies and customs of the people we are speaking of, as may help to throw a light upon their character and manners.

THEIR private devotion consists in fasting and prayer; in the former of which they greatly exceed the papists. *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* are stated fasts all the year round. In *Lent* they neither eat flesh, milk, eggs, or butter; but confine themselves wholly to vegetables, bread, and fish fried in oil. The butter-week, as it is called, when eating of flesh is forbidden, and butter is allowed, is the week immediately preceding the great fast of *Lent*, which is regulated by the moveable feast of *Easter*, and lasts till that festival. St. Peter's fast, as they term it, always begins on the first Monday after *Whitsuntide*, and lasts sometimes six weeks, and sometimes but eight days, as *Easter* happens to fall early or late. The fast of the blessed virgin begins annually on the first of *August*, and continues to the fifteenth of that month. St. Philip's fast, which is likewise immovable, begins on the fifteenth of *November*, and lasts till the twentieth of *December*.

THEY

THEY are indeed less rigid in their fasts now than they used to be, the more frequent travels of their young gentry having helped to enlighten them: and the czar *Peter* himself set them an example, by eating flesh on all their fast-days, in private houses, tho' he refrained from it in public.

The eighth week before *Easter*, which, as we observed *Carnival*. before, is called the *Butter-week*, may be looked upon as the *Russian* carnival, and is spent in all kinds of entertainments and licentiousness. Among the diversions exhibited during this time, one of the most singular is that of riding in sledges down a steep declivity of twenty ells in height, which is made with boards, and covered with ice, by throwing water to freeze on it. At this time of public diversions they make up for the scantiness of their diet, by a copious use of spirits or brandy; and on *Easter-day*, most of them eat to such excess, as to throw themselves into a fit of sickness by over-loading their stomachs. On that joyful festival, they kiss one another in the most friendly manner, presenting an egg coloured over, or sometimes curiously painted, with the salutation used by the primitive christians on the same occasion, "Christ is risen;" to which the answer is, "He is risen indeed."

In their private devotions they kneel before a picture, for *Private* they will by no means allow of images, of our Saviour, the *devotions*. virgin *Mary*, *St. Nicolas*, who is their great patron, or some other saint, to which they bow several times, making the sign of the cross with their thumb, fore-finger, and third finger, on the breast, forehead, and shoulders, at the same time repeating in a low voice, the Lord's prayer, and some other short ejaculations, particularly the words *Glossoli Penitui*, "Lord, be merciful to me." They seldom pass by a church, but they utter these words, bowing and crossing themselves, without paying regard to any persons who may happen to be present: they also look towards a church when they are at a distance from it, and practise the same bowing and crossing. Many, and sometimes even persons of distinction, by way of penance, or from other motives of humiliation, prostrate themselves on their faces at the entrance of the churches; and those who are conscious of having contracted any impurity, forbear going into the church, but stand at the door. Their churches, as has been observed, are very numerous; some of stones, but most of wood, and all built in the form of a cross, with five little cupolæ. Every nobleman's seat has one; to build a church being thought a meritorious act, and laying a sort of obligation on heaven.

It is remarkable, that all the old churches in *Russia* have a crescent, or half-moon, under the cross erected on the top of the steeples. The church-bells are often rung; and as ringing is accounted a branch of devotion, every town is provided with a great number of bells, which make an almost perpetual jingling.

Public
worship.

THEIR church-service, which is recited in the *Slavonian* tongue, unintelligible at least to the common people, consists of abundance of trifling ceremonies, long masses, singing, and prayers; all which are performed by the priests, the congregation in the mean time saying *Gospodi Pomilui*. A lecture from one of the ancient fathers is sometimes added. Sermons are preached but in few churches; and even there but very seldom (A). There are no seats whatever in the *Russian* churches; but the whole congregation perform their devotions standing. On festival days, the people go thrice to church; first in the morning, before day, to *mattens*, which they call *Sasserim*; at noon, to the *Obedny*; and in the evening, to the *Walschemi*, or *Vespers*; and the clergy are then dressed in very rich vestments, not unlike those of the *Levitical* priests described in the *Old Testament*. The word of God is but little known among the *Russians*; for it is not yet translated into their language; nor have proper measures been taken for the instruction of young people, especially among the vulgar, in the principles of religion. The *Russians* never sing hymns, nor keep any hymn-books in their houses; and none but the choristers sing psalms in the churches; that office being looked upon as their peculiar province, for which they are held in some esteem. As for instrumental music, it is not allowed in the *Russian* churches. The czar *Feodor*, brother to *Peter*, ~~the Great~~, was the first who introduced chanting among them.

(A) Towards the beginning of the last century, the prototype, or parish priest of *Morum*, taking upon him to preach, and making use of the word of God to exhort the people to piety, the patriarch deposed him, together with all the other priests who would have followed his example, excommunicated them, and banished them into *Siberia*. Only the bare text of the *Bible* was then allowed to be read,

with certain homilies: and the reason given for it was, that the Holy Spirit having grounded the church upon the pure word of God, without any explication, they were not to trouble themselves about any, as the different interpretations of the scriptures are, in a great measure, the cause of the errors and heresies which divide the church.

BESIDES

BESIDES the festivals ordained by the *Russian* church, there are also, every year, some holy days appointed by the civil power, when all public business and trades are suspended with greater strictness than even during the former. Such are the anniversary of the birth, inauguration, and coronation of the present empress, and of the saint's day, whose name she bears; and likewise the festival of the birth and name day of the great duke, and his consort the great duchess; that of saint *Alexander Newski*, and the anniversary of the battle of *Pultawa*.

THE *Russians*, like other people, have had their sectaries *Sectaries*. ever since the institution of christianity among them; for sects are often the fruit of ignorance, as well as of pretended knowledge. But *Russia* is the only great christian state in which religion has not occasioned civil wars; though it has, indeed, produced some tumults there. The oldest of these separatists, established in the twelfth century by a set of zealots who were just able to read the *New Testament*, are termed, by way of contempt, *Roskolniki* or *Roskolshtshicken*, heretics; but they call themselves *Starowierzi*, or old believers. Their chief peculiarities are founded on the interpretation they give their own books; the most essential of which was written, say they, by *Cyril of Jerusalem* (A). According to them, it is a great sin to say *halleluia* three times: it should be repeated but twice; nor should the sign of the cross ever be made, or the benediction given, but with the fore and middle fingers (B); whereas the clergy of the established church in *Russia* use the thumb as well as those two fingers. They let their beards grow to their full length, and pay a high tax for that privilege, besides double taxes for all other things. They are very abstemious in spirituous liquors, and account other *Russian* priests unworthy of administering the sacraments, because they drink brandy: neither will they eat or drink out of a vessel that has been used by a *Russian*

(A) Which is most manifestly spurious, and was, in all probability, written by some *Russian* monk in the 15th century; for in this book, among many other inconsistent passages, *Cyril*, as he is called, is made to relate several absurd stories concerning *Luther* and *Calvin*, who did not live till ages after the real *Cyril of Jerusalem*—

(B) The end of the ring finger should be joined, say they, to the end of the thumb, and the first and middle finger held straight: the signification of which, according to their opinion, is, that the first three represent the Holy-Trinity, and the other two Christ in both natures, God and Man.

of the national church, or have any sort of intercourse or society with them. They are strictly regular in their lives, and say, with Jesus Christ, that there is neither first nor last among the faithful. They hold civil government to be no christian institution; for that all men ought to be upon an equality, and to live as brethren; and they maintain, that a man may, not only lawfully, kill himself for Christ's sake; but that therein consists a high degree of spiritual happiness. The other *Russians* charge them with the same abominations as the pagans did the first *Galileans*; these, the gnostics; and the papists, some years ago, the protestants: that after putting out the fire and lights, they intermix without distinction of kindred, age, or even sex: that if, through such chance-medleys, a maiden proves with child, and brings forth a girl, they let it live; but if a boy, they kill it, and drink its blood. Some attempts were formerly made to bring them over by persecution; but they then shut themselves up in their houses and barns, set fire to them, and burnt themselves alive. *Peter I.* took the only prudent method with them, that of letting them live unmolested. Their number now scarcely exceeds two thousand males^d in *Russia* proper: but their opinions have spread greatly in *Siberia*, and prevail much among the inhabitants of *Tomsk* and *Tara*^e.

THE inhabitants of the provinces conquered from *Sweden* profess *Lutheranism*: and the protestants, of whom there are great numbers among the *Russians*, as also the papists, enjoy a full liberty of conscience, and the public exercise of their religion; so that they have churches and priests or ministers at *Petersburg*, *Cronstadt*, *Moscow*, *Archangel*, and *Astracan*: but the papists have no longer the privilege of hanging up bells in their churches. *Feodor*, and more particularly *Peter the Great*, admitted indifferently into their armies and councils, those of the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Lutheran*, and *Calvinistical* persuasions, and allowed them to serve God after their own way, provided the state was well served. There was not indeed, in the beginning of the reign of *Peter*, one *Latin* church in all his vast empire. Only when that prince established new manufactories at *Astracan*, about sixty *Roman* catholic families settled there, under the spiritual direction of a few *Jesuits*: but when the *Jesuits* attempted afterwards to glide into his dominions, he banished all these by a pub-

^d VOLTAIRE, Hist. de Russie sous Pierre le Grand, tom. i. p. 70.
^e Ruching, Geogr. vbl. i. p. 386.

lic edict in 1718. The capuchins were suffered to stay, as monks of no consequence; but the jesuits were looked upon as dangerous politicians.

THE *Jews* never had any settlement in *Russia*, as they have in so many other states of *Europe*, from *Constantinople* to *Rome*. The *Russians* have always carried on their trade themselves, with the assistance of the nations settled among them. Of all the *Greek* churches, theirs is the only one that does not see synagogues erected near its temples.

A CONSIDERABLE number of the *Russian* subjects profess the *Mahometan* religion; and still greater numbers are yet pagans. In order to promote their conversion, the synod has instituted a society for the propagation of christian knowledge; and some accounts say, that many thousands of them have been converted to christianity. But it appears too plainly from M. *Gmelin's* journey through *Siberia*^t, that great constraint and violence have been used to bring them over; and that the people, most of whom are baptized against their will, have but a very imperfect, and even a contemptible idea of the christian religion.

THE *Russian* bishops and archbishops are called *Archüerei*. *Hierarchy*. The metropolitans, of which there are but two, one at *Kiow* and clergy. and the other at *Tobolsk*, differ from the bishops only in their title. The first *Russian* metropolitan, whose name was *Michael Cysus*, was ordained by the celebrated *Photius*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, who deputed a prelate to baptize *Wolodimer*. Formerly, the primate or supreme bishop of the *Russian* church was a suffragan to the patriarch of *Constantinople*: but the czar *Feodor Iwanowitz* made the *Constantinopolitan* patriarch, *Jeremias*, (A) install *Hiob*, or *Job*.

Vol. i. p. 257, 334, 335, &c.

(A) *Strahlenberg* (1) says this *Jeremias* came to *Russia*, in order to collect money, to spend at the *Turkish* court, to have the patriarch *Mitrophane*, who was an *Unitarian*, deposed; and that, the better to succeed in this, he the more readily consented to the installation of *Hiob*, as patriarch of *Russia*. Perhaps,

adds he, this is the same *Jeremias* who corresponded with the *Lutheran* divines, particularly those of *Tubingen*, concerning the *Greek* and *Lutheran* religions, and whose letters, in *Greek* and *Latin*, have been printed at *Wittemberg*. *Fletcher* (2), who was minister from the court of *England* at *Moscow*, in the year

(1) *Chap. ix.*

(2) *Chap. xxi.*

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Job, patriarch of all *Russia*, in the year 1588. These prelates assuming by degrees an exorbitant power, which at last became dangerous even to the czars themselves (B), *Peter I.* on the death of the patriarch *Adrian* in 1701, suppressed the patriarchate, and declared himself head of the church of *Russia*: but it is not true that he ever officiated in that character. He committed the spiritual administration to the archbishop of *Rezan*, and the management of temporal affairs to a lay-commission, with the disposal of the abbey lands and revenues, which he found a fine opportunity to sequester; for the abbots, on his enquiring into their circumstances, pretending great poverty, and alledging that they were scarce able to maintain their monks, though they confined themselves to the poor pittance of fifteen rubles a-year for each of them; *Peter*, in a seeming compassion, told them, he would take care of their revenues, and double that allowance; which in fact he did, and thereby added to his revenues the value of an hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling a-year; besides breaking the formidable power of the clergy, who have now no more

1588, when this *Jeremias*, or *Hieronimo* as he calls him, arrived there, says, he had been either banished by the *Turks*, or deposed by the *Greek* clergy; and that, after visiting *Rome*, as was thought, he applied to *Fedor Iwanowitcz*, a very superstitious and devout prince, with political projects, chiefly of making war against the *Turks*, which, however, weak as the czar was, did not succeed.

(B) Not satisfied with the most public demonstration of the highest respect paid them by their sovereigns, which was such that the czar, once every year, on *Palm Sunday*, walked bare-headed before the patriarch, leading his horse by the bridle; *Nicon*, whom the monks look upon as a saint, and who was patriarch of *Russia* in the time of *Alexis*, father of *Peter the*

Great, endeavoured to set his chair even above the throne; and not only usurped the right of sitting in the senate next to the czar, but pretended that neither peace nor war could be made without his consent. His authority, backed by his riches and intrigues, by the clergy and the people, kept his matter in a kind of suspension. He even dared to excommunicate some senators who opposed his ambitious projects; and at last *Alexis*, finding that he was not powerful enough to depose him by his own authority alone, was obliged to convene a synod of all the bishops. *Nicon* was accused of having received money from the *Poles*; and, in consequence thereof, deposed, and confined in a cloister for the rest of his days, and the prelates elected another patriarch. *Voltaire*.

freehold

freehold left ; and their peasants, or subjects, depend immediately upon the officers of the crown. In the year 1719, the same prince instituted a council, which now has the direction of ecclesiastical affairs, and is stiled *the most holy synod*. The archbishop of *Moscow* has been president of this synod ever since the year 1750. Subordinate to it are, the *Oeconomie*, as it is called, which has the management of all the ecclesiastical lands and revenues ; and the *Roskolniki-Prisafe*, which has power to execute the regulations made concerning the separatists called *Roskolniki*, and levies the tax imposed on them for leave to let their beards grow. Under the present government, the holy synod is held in great veneration. All the ecclesiastics are permitted to wear their beards and their own lank hair. Their dress is a sort of long cloak ; and on their head they wear a high stiffened black cap, from which a piece of the same stuff hangs down on their backs, and a large flapped hat. Secular priests, when they are out of the church, generally wear a blue or brown long coat. The protopopes, or parish priests, and chaplains, are of the meanest people, *husbands of one wife*, in a literal explication of the scripture ; being obliged to marry, but to a maiden only ; and when she died, the priest was formerly excluded from all farther service, and obliged to turn monk, or be degraded, and take up some sorry trade for a livelihood ; in which last case he was allowed to marry again : but, in consequence of the regulations of *Peter I.* they are now permitted to be continued in the under offices of the church. Hence it is observed, that, in *Russia*, no wives are better treated than those of the ecclesiastics. From the lowness of their origin, it is no wonder they are very ignorant, their utmost education being to repeat the service with a musical accent, and read a chapter in the *Bible*, which, being in the *Slavonian* language, is understood by very few of them. Their regular monks, and dignified clergy, though almost equally ignorant, except some few educated at *Kiow*, are in much greater esteem : their habit and fasts, for they never eat flesh, together with their gravity, and continual devotion, draw upon them the veneration of the people.

In the thirteenth century several popes laboured hard to put the great dukes of *Russia* out of conceit with the *Greek* religion, by recommending to them that of *Rome*, but without success. The doctors of the *Sorbonne* at *Paris* made the same attempt of late years ; endeavouring, at the suppression of the patriarchate by *Peter I.* to bring about an union of the *Russian* church with that of *Rome* ; but they were not able

able to carry their point. The members of the *Greek* church, whose tenets are embraced in an empire of near six thousand miles, whilst the *Roman* has not half that extent in *Europe*, have always been bent upon maintaining at least an equality with those of the *Latin* communion; and have ever feared the zeal, or, as they not improperly call it, the ambition of the church of *Rome*, which, limited as it is in our hemisphere, styles herself universal, and has tried but too much to realise that great title.

VAST as the *Russian* empire is, there are but twenty-eight episcopal sees in it; and in the time of *Peter I.* there were only twenty-two. *Voltaire* shrewdly observes, that the *Russian* church may possibly owe the peace she has enjoyed, in some measure, to her not having more prelates.

Convents. IDLENESS, ignorance, indigence, age, infirmities, domestic discontent, violence, and, sometimes, the overflowings of a misguided devotion, fill the numerous convents of *Russia*, as they do those of other countries; notwithstanding the care of *Peter I.* to stop this evil, by wisely ordering that no man should be permitted to embrace the monastic life before the age of thirty, or any woman to take the veil under fifty^a; nor even then, without the express approbation and licence of the holy synod: a care well worthy the legislator of a vast empire, one of whose greatest wants is an increase of population. Still the number of religious, of both sexes, cloistered up in *Russia*, and lost to society and the state, amounts to 13,000, according to the calculation of an accurate observer (A): and these 13,000 useless people have no less than 72,000 vassals, or slaves, to cultivate their lands: so difficult is it to root out old abuses. Formerly the more superstitious sort of those who thus retired from the world, as it is called, used to make over all they had to the convent that received them; and this extravagance was carried to such a height, that the monks would soon have been masters of the best part of *Russia*, if their incroachments had not been wisely checked in time. Those who now become monks or nuns, are allowed to take with them, into the monastery, only a small part of their fortunes, by way of making their lives somewhat more comfortable; but are obliged to leave the remainder to their heirs. Almost all the religious of this em-

^a CONSETT.

(A) M. de *Voltaire*, who reckons 7400 monks, and 5600 nuns in *Russia*. *Hist. d. Russie*, tom. i. p. 59.

pire follow the rule of *St. Basil*, with such austerity, that they never so much as taste any kind of flesh, but live entirely upon salt-fish, honey, milk, cheese, herbs and pulse, especially cucumbers, both fresh and pickled, which they mince very small, and eat with a spoon in some of their *quas*. They have this in common with most of their countrymen, that they can hardly write or read. Not one of them in ten can say the Lord's prayer, and much fewer are acquainted with the creed and the ten commandments^b. They have set hours for their service, and say their prayers by beads. These monks, however, do not lead so retired a life, but that they are seen in great numbers, both in cities and all over the country, where their employment, if they have any, is the same with the peasants, from whom they are distinguished only by their habit. Till the time of the czar *Peter*, there used also to be in *Russia* numbers of *Anchorets*, who built themselves chapels near the high-ways, and lived in woods, like hermits, subsisting only by the charity of travellers; but there are now much fewer of them. The *Russians*, indeed, if they have not many other shining virtues to boast of, are very ready to give alms; because they look upon that as an atonement for almost every sin.

THE *Troitzkoi-monastir*, or monastery of the Trinity, distant from *Moscow* sixty wersts, and about fifty-six from *Perslaw-Salski*, is the largest and richest in the whole *Russian* empire; having twenty thousand peasants under its jurisdiction^c. There were formerly seven hundred monks in it; but that number has been considerably lessened in consequence of the emperor *Peter*'s ecclesiastical regulation, and the surplus of the revenues is appropriated for the maintenance of schools, and the support of ~~the~~ soldiers.

THE abbot, or head of a monastery, is called *Archimandrite*, and the prior of a convent *Ingumen*. An abbess, or head of a nunnery, is stiled *Ingumenia*. Deacons, popes, or papas as they are sometimes called, and protopopes, who are priests that belong to the cathedral and principal church, are exceeding numerous in *Russia*. Every large village there has a church, and a priest to officiate in it; and in the towns, almost every street has its church or chapel, and frequently both.

THE *Russians* baptize their children as soon as they are born. If the child be very weak, or in danger of death, ^{*By baptism.*} this ceremony is performed immediately, at home, though

OLEARIUS, b. iii.

^c STRAHLENBERG, c. xii.

never in the room where the mother lies-in : but if well, it is carried to church by the Godfather and Godmother*. The priest receives the infant at the church-door, and there exorcises it, by laying his hands upon it, saying, "Get out of this child thou unclean-spirit, and make way for the Holy-Ghost;" and by blowing three times, cross-wise, upon the child, to drive away the devil, by whom the *Russians* believe children are really possessed before baptism, and who, they think, would profane the church, were he to be ejected in it. This done, the child is carried into the church, where the sponsors present to the priest nine wax-candles, which he lights, and sets up round the font. He then incenses the sponsors, makes a procession with them three times round the font, all having lighted candles in their hands, and being preceded by the clerk, who carries a picture of St. *John*. The water is then consecrated with great ceremony : and when the sponsors, after they have given in writing the intended name of the infant, are asked, among the other usual questions, whether the child forsakes the devil, whether he forsakes his angels, and whether he forsakes his works ? they immediately turn their backs to the font, answer to each question, yes, and spit each time upon the ground, to shew their detestation of the infernal spirit. The priest then cuts off a little of the child's hair, which he puts into a book, and, after asking the sponsors whether they bring that child to be baptized, takes the infant, quite naked, into his arms, and dips him three times in the water, pronouncing the ordinary words of the sacrament, "I baptise thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy-Ghost." After the baptism, he puts a grain of salt into the child's mouth, makes the sign of the cross on its forehead, hands, breast, and back, with an oil consecrated for that purpose; and putting a clean shirt about it, says, "Thou art as clean and as clear from thy original sin, as this shirt." The ceremony is concluded with a small cross of gold, silver, or lead, according to the abilities of the parents, which the priest hangs about the child's neck, with so strict an injunction to wear it his life, that if it be not found about him at his death, the *Russians* would not bury the carcase, but drag it to a dung-hill. The priest likewise assigns the child a particular saint, whose picture he delivers to the sponsors, charging them to oblige the new made christian, when he comes to years of

discretion, to have a particular devotion for that his patron ; and enjoining them to love one another, but to take especial heed not to intermarry after the spiritual alliance they have contracted. If more than one child is to be baptised at the same time, the font is emptied after each christening, and the new water is consecrated ; the former being defiled, say they, with the impurity of the original sin of the child that was baptised before, and therefore not fit to cleanse a second. They will not, by any means, heat the water intended for christening, with fire ; but, when it is very cold, they put it into a warm place till the chill is taken off. Adults, who are baptised, whether pagans, mahometans, or christians of another communion, who embrace the religion of the *Greek* church, receive their baptism in a brook or river, where they are plunged over head and ears, be the weather never so cold : nay, sometimes, the ice is broken to get them into the water (A). The latter of these converts, in particular, are obliged to go, for six weeks, into a monastery, where the monks instruct them in the *Russian* manner of honouring the saints, of doing reverence to their pictures, and of making the sign of the cross. They are afterwards brought to the place of baptism, where they are obliged to abjure their former religion, to detest it as heretical, and to spit as often as it is named.

(A) In this manner are treated those in particular whom the *Russians* call *Chaldeans* ; a set of vagabonds, who used to get leave of the patriarch, while there was one, to put on vizards, and run up and down the streets, from the 18th of *December* till *Twelfth-day*, with combustibles, with which they set fire to the hair and beards of all they met, particularly the peasants, whom they forced to give them a copeck before they would let them go. *Olearius* says he saw them practise this with such insolence, as not only to burn the beards and faces of the poor country people, but even to set fire to loads of hay, if they made any sort of difficulty to give it them. These russians are indeed treated as profane persons, by the more

sober part of the *Russians* ; and deemed to be in such a state of inevitable damnation, as to render it necessary for them to be reconciled to God, and enter into the church, by baptism ; to which end they generally pitch upon twelfth-day, as that on which the great vocation of the Gentiles happened ; and afterwards, they think themselves as clean and holy as the best of christians, who are generally baptised but once ; whereas many of these have been baptised ten or a dozen times. The *Russians* used to say, that these men represented those who heated the fiery furnace, into which *Shedrach*, *Meshek*, and *Abednego* were cast by the command of *Nabuchadnezzar*.

Marriages

TILL the time of *Peter I.* who rectified many strange customs and abuses among the *Russians*, the young men and maids of that nation were not permitted to see, or have any discourse with each other before marriage; and much less to make one another any promise to that effect, by word or writing. When those who had children marriageable, especially daughters, had found out a match they liked, they used to speak to the young man's parents, and declare their desire of making an alliance with them. If the girl was handsome, or rather if she was not deformed, the mother of the intended husband, or some other woman related to him, was allowed to visit her, and the friends on both sides afterwards settled the match. When all things were agreed on, the young man went from his own house, on horseback, though the way was ever so short, preceded by the priest who was to marry him. At the bride's door, he was met by all her friends, who received him and his retinue, and desired them to sit down at a table, on which three dishes of meat were served up; but no-body ate of them. Upon the bridegroom's seating himself, in a place left purposely for him, at the upper-end of the table, the bride was brought in, richly dressed, if she belonged to people of any fashion, in a robe embroidered with gold and pearls, and seated by him; but with a veil over her face; and still more effectually to prevent his seeing her, a piece of crimson silk was held up between them. The bride's *suacha*, or chamber-maid, then came in, painted her, tied up her hair in two knots, and placed on her head a crown of silk, gilded with leaf-gold or silver, and adorned with five or six rows of pearls, which hung down on her breast. In the mean time, another *suacha* painted the bridegroom; and while this was doing, the women that was present got upon the benches in the room, and sung songs. After this came in two young lads, richly clad, carrying between them a large cheese and some loaves, upon a kind of bier, upon which hung several martins skins. The same was brought in on the bride's part: and a bason was then set on the table, filled with little bits of silk, about big enough to make pin-cushions of, small square pieces of silver, hop, barley and oats, all mixed together. The *suacha*, having now finished painting the bride, and covered her face again, took out of this bason a certain number of handfuls of the mixture, and threw it among the company, who, renewing their singing, picked up what they found on the ground. This done, the priest led the young couple to church, where the spot on which the bride and bridegroom

bridegroom were to stand was covered with a piece of crimson taffeta ; another piece of the same kind of silk being held over them. The priest then, taking the man by the right hand and the woman by the left, asked them three times, whether they came thither to be married with their own free consent, and whether they could love one another as they ought ? When both had answered in the affirmative, all the company joined hands, and sung, in alternate verses with the priest, the 128th psalm, dancing all the while. The psalm ended, the priest put upon the heads, or over the shoulders of the bride and bridegroom, a garland of rue, saying, " Increase and multiply ;" and then concluded the ceremony with the wedding-ring, as among us, and the words, " Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." While the priest pronounced these words, those who were invited to the wedding lighted their candles, and presented him a glass of red wine, in which the married couple pledged him three times ; after which the bridegroom threw the glass upon the ground, and he and the bride trod it to pieces, saying, " May they thus fall at our feet, and be trod to pieces, who shall endeavour to sow division or discontent between us." Then the women strewed flax and hemp seed over the young couple, and made a shew of attempting to pull away the bride, who thereupon clung close to her new husband. The ceremony being thus ended, the bride was put into her sledge, surrounded with six torches, and the bridegroom returned on horseback to his own house, where the wedding was kept.

As soon as they were arrived there, the bridegroom, with his kindred and friends, sat down at a table plentifully furnished with meat ; but the women carried the bride to her apartment, where they undressed her, and put her to bed. The bridegroom was then fetched away from table, and six or eight young men, with lights in their hands, conducted him to the chamber, where they sat down their candles, in barrels of wheat and barley, placed round the room for that purpose ; and, after receiving a present of two martinis a-piece, immediately retired. In the mean time the bride, perceiving the bridegroom coming, got out of bed, slipped on a loose gown lined with fur, and received him with a submissive inclination of the head, and this was the first time of his seeing her face. They sat down together and supped, after which they went to bed ; all withdrawing except one of the old servants of the house, who, while the relations and friends of the new married-couple were busied,

partly in practising charms and incantations, which they thought might be advantageous to them, and partly in feasting and regaling themselves, walked before the chamber-door, and asked, from time to time, whether they were ready. As soon as the bridegroom answered that they were, the trumpets and trimbrels, which only expected the word, began to play, and continued till the baths were prepared, into which the new married couple were put, but a-part. They were then washed with water, mead, and wine; and the bride sent the bridegroom a shirt, embroidered with gold and pearls at the collar and extremities, and a rich habit. The nuptial-bed (for persons of quality) was made by the direction of the two *suachas*, attended by an hundred men servants, upon forty sheaves of rye, ranged in proper order, and encompassed with barrels of wheat, barley, and oats.

PERSONS of meaner condition were married with less ceremony. The night before the wedding, the young man used to send his intended bride some cloaths, a furred cap, a pair of buskins, a cabinet with certain trinkets, a bag for night-cloaths, a comb, and a looking-glass. The next day, the priest was sent for, and came with a little silver cross, with which, on entering the house, he gave the benediction, first to the messengers who brought him, and afterwards to the guests that were invited. The young couple were then set at table, but with a piece of silk between them, till the *suacha* had dressed the bride's head; when a looking glass was brought, and the intended bride and bridegroom were permitted to lay their cheeks together, and see each other in it; the two *suachas*, in the mean time, casting hops upon them. This done, they were led to church, where the ceremonies were the same as for persons of higher rank^h.

THIS way of marrying, without the man's ever seeing the person he is contracted to till it is too late to recede, may do, as *M. de Voltaire* observes, in *Turky* or *Persia*, where polygamy is established, and the women are locked up: but it is bad for countries where only one wife is allowed, and where divorces are rare. The remedying of this abuse was therefore a care well worthy of *Peter the Great*.

THE sovereigns of *Russia* have declined matching with foreigners ever since the year 1490. Since their possessing *Caspian* and *Asiatican*, the customs of the *Asiatics* seem greatly

to prevail among them, and particularly in their marrying, none but their own subjects. The manner too in which the four last czars chose their wives, resembles still more strongly that of ancient *Asia*. The finest maidens in the empire were sent for to court, when the monarch thought of marrying. The great mistress of the court received them in her house, and lodged them separately, but made them all dine together. The czar saw them, either under a borrowed name, or without disguise. The day of marriage was fixed, and the sovereign's choice not yet declared; when a wedding-garment was presented to the lady in whose favour he had secretly determined. The rest were sent back, with handsome presents. Thus it was that the czar *Michael Romanow* married *Eudoxia*, the daughter of a poor gentleman called *Streshneu*, who was tilling his land with his own domestics, when the chamberlains sent to him by the emperor, with presents, informed him that his daughter was on the throne. The name of that princess is still dear to *Russia*ⁱ.

If the custom of raising subjects to the throne was favourable to the fair sex; a very hard one prevailed, at the same time, in *Russia*. The daughters of the czars seldom married then: most of them passed their lives in a convent.

Olearius^k gives the following account of the ceremonies used by the *Russians*, in his time, at their funerals. As soon as a person expired, notice was sent to his relations and friends, who thereupon repaired to his house, stood round his corpse, excited one another to bemoan him, as if they intended purposely to heighten the lamentations of the women, and asked the deceased, why he would die? Whether his circumstances were not good? Whether he wanted meat and drink? Whether his wife were not handsome and young enough? Whether she had been inconstant to him? and many other such questions. A present of beer, brandy, and mead, was then sent to the priest, that he might pray for the soul of the deceased, who, after being well washed, was laid in a coffin scooped out of the trunk of a tree, with his arms across over his breast, a clean shirt or a shroud about him, and a pair of new shoes, of very thin *Russian* leather, on his feet. The coffin was covered with a cloth, or sometimes with a coat which the defunct had worn, and carried to church; preceded by a priest bearing a picture of the saint assigned to the deceased for his patron, at his baptism,

Burials.

ⁱ VOLTAIRE. ^k Lib. xi.

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and by the four nearest unmarried female relations, as chief mourners, who filled the air with howling cries, measured in such exact time, that they all ceased, and all began again together. Other priests walked round the coffin during this procession, and incensed it all the way. If the deceased was a rich man, and the season of the year permitted it, he was kept above ground eight or ten days, during which the priest incensed the corpse, and sprinkled it with holy water every day. When the ground was frozen so hard that a spade could not enter it, the bodies of the poorer sort were laid up in dead-houses, which they call God's houses, till graves could be dug for them. At the grave, the coffin was opened, and a picture of the deceased's saint held over him, while the priest recited the funeral service; after which the kindred and friends took leave of the dead person, by kissing either him or the coffin; and then the priest put between his fingers a piece of paper, signed by the bishop or other principal ecclesiastic of the place, and the confessor, certifying that the deceased died in the true faith, and recommending him to suitable treatment in the other world (A). The coffin was then put into the grave, with the face of the deceased turned towards the east; and the mourners returned home together, to drown their sorrow in mead and brandy. Their mourning used to last forty days; and it was customary for the next of kin to build over the grave a hut lined with matting, where the priest prayed for the soul of their departed friend, morning and evening, for six weeks together: for though the *Russians* do not believe in purga-

(A) The form of this passport run thus: "We whose names are hereunto subscribed, the patriarch, or metropolitan, and priest of the city of N. do make known and certify, by these presents, that the bearer of these our letters, hath always lived among us like a good christian, professing the Greek religion; and though he hath committed some sins, yet that he hath confessed the same, and thereupon received absolution, and taken the communion for the remission of

his offences: That he hath honoured God and his saints; that he hath said his prayers; that he hath fasted on the hours and days appointed by the church; and that he hath demeaned himself so well towards me, who am his confessor, that I have no reason to complain of him, nor to deny him the absolution of his sins. It witness whereof we have given him the present testimonial, to the end that, upon sight thereof, St. Peter may open unto him the gate of eternal bliss."

tory,

tory, they hold that there are two several places to which the souls of men retire after their separation from the body, there to wait the day of judgment; some in a pleasant and delightful abode, where they enjoy the conversation of angels; others, in a dark and dismal valley, where they see nought but devils: and that while the soul is yet on its way, it may be diverted from the evil road by the prayers of priests and monks. The *Russians* had also a tradition, which was generally received, that whoever was buried in the monastery of *Petersky* at *Kiow*, would be saved, even though he died without repenting of his sins. But *Peter I.* took care to abolish, as far as he could, these, and many other superstitious abuses, when he settled the national synod.

They have such veneration for holy-water, that they not only make whole tubs full of it at once, but all their rivers used formerly to be hallowed once a year, by their bishops, with great pomp and solemnity. Twelfth-day was the time fixed for performing this ceremony at *Moscow*, where the czar and all his nobility used to be present at it^b. The procession was opened by the inferior clergy, marching two and two, with banners and pictures of saints, at the head of which were those of the *Virgin Mary*, and *St. Michael* fighting the dragon: next went the priests and bishops, in the same order; then the monks and abbots; after them the patriarch, richly attired, with a globe on the top of his mitre, to denote his universality over that church; and last of all came the czar and his court. A hole being made in the ice, the patriarch recited several prayers, conjuring the devil to come out of the water, into which he dipped his cross, and threw a handful of salt; ending the exorcism with a profusion of frankincense. The morning before, all the *Muscovites* used to chalk crosses over every door and window of their houses, lest the devil, when conjured out of the water, should fly in at them. The moment the ceremony was over, all the people pressed forward with pails and buckets, to take of the hallowed water for drink and other uses: mothers plunged their children into it over head and ears; numbers, as well women as men, leaped into it, some naked, some with their cloaths on, though so intensely cold, that one less heated with devotion, would have been afraid of being instantly frozen to death; and many brought even their horses to drink of the sanctified stream; which was also frequently given to sick persons, in their greatest extremity, as a means of either recovering them, or sanctifying them to God.

*Manners
and cus-
toms.*

Before the time of *Peter I.* the *Russians* were, not undeservedly, looked upon as mere savages. But that wise and great emperor, by incredible application, and a proper temperament of severity and mildness, brought about, by degrees, such an alteration in their manners, as set them upon a kind of level with some of the civilized nations of *Europe*, at least whilst he lived; for they seem now to be retrograding apace. The work which he begun would have required a succession of princes, animated with the same spirit. The *Russians* are ingenious, implicitly obedient to the will of their superiors, and especially of late, good soldiers, when properly commanded: but they are distrustful, immodest, quarrelsome, insolent in prosperity, abject in adversity, and excessively deceitful in their traffic. Persons of distinction among them are very fond of state and splendor.

*Fondness
of drink.*

The insatiable eagerness of their common people after spirituous liquors, especially in the carnival time, may in some measure be imputed to their rigorous fasts, and the slender diet they live upon throughout the year: for though provisions of all kinds are extremely cheap in almost every part of *Russia*, their food chiefly consists of turneps, cabbages, peas, large cucumbers, onions, garlic, and coarse ill-tasted fish. Their usual drink is *quas*, which is a kind of small beer, and *braga*, brewed of oatmeal and hops: that of their gentry is mead, and, of late, wine; though even with them, brandy always makes a part of every repast. Among the lower sort, in particular, the men are those who give themselves up most to excessive drinking, which they do to such a degree, as to pawn every rag upon their backs at ale-houses, and go home stark-naked, if we may credit *Olearius*^c, who indeed gives more than one instance of their bestiality in this respect: nor is it at all uncommon to see their women drunk, staggering along the streets.

Dress.

THE ancient dress of the *Russians*, consisting of a long robe lined with fur, a vest enriched with jewels on days of ceremony, and a high turban of fine sable or other skins, was perhaps more noble, and certainly better suited to their climate, though it might be less convenient for war, or any active employment, than a short coat and waistcoat, like ours, which the czar *Peter* obliged them to wear, at the same time that he made them cut off their beards; of which, and of prominent bellies, they were great admirers. Their women, looking upon a ruddy complexion as the very ef-

sence of beauty, are so extremely fond of paint, that even the poorer sort among them will beg money to buy red. Both sexes wear a cross on their breasts, which is put on when they are baptized, and is never laid aside as long as they live. The peasants crosses are of lead; but those of higher class are of gold or silver. If any one were to be found dead, without a cross, the corpse would be thrown upon a dung-hill, or cast into a ditch.

THE women of fashion in this country live extremely re- *Domestic*
tired, seldom going out of their houses, and receiving the *life.*
visits of their friends and relations much oftener than they return them. As those of this rank are not much brought up to housewifery, they give themselves but little trouble about it, especially after they are married. Their chief employment is sewing, embroidering of silk handkerchiefs, and making little purses and toys. Their dress within doors is generally made of some common stuff of little value: but when they go to church, or their husbands would honour a friend with their presence, they are clad magnificently. In visits of ceremony, it is usual for the men and women to salute each other with a kiss, if they are nearly of equal rank: but those of the lowest class prostrate themselves on the ground before persons of high distinction, in order to shew their profound respect. *Olearius*, and other writers, some of whom seem to have been too much prejudiced against the *Russians*, tell us strange stories of their unaccountable brutality to one another in the usual intercourse of life: but *Busching* says, that even the common people among them salute each other with great civility when they meet. However, that most of them are brutal enough, is very certain.

THE *Russians* seldom fail of bathing twice a week; for *ibid.*
which purpose almost every house is provided with a bath; and he that has none of his own goes to the public baths. They often fall out naked from the warm bath, run about in the cold, roll themselves in the snow, and then plunge again into the bath; looking upon this vicissitude of heat and cold, as beneficial to the constitution, by rendering them hardy and robust: but many are of opinion that it helps to give them a fallow swarthy complexion; though it must at the same time be owned, that they are extremely subject to the scurvy, especially in the northern provinces, where few escape without visible marks of that raging distemper. Another disorder, peculiar to those who live in the farthest parts of *Siberia*, between *Tomsk* and *Kusnisk*, is very singular. The tip of their tongue begins to rot, without any pain, and
this

this mortification runs gradually till it gets into the throat, and they not knowing any remedy to stop the evil, at length kills them^d. The coldness of their climate preserves them from pestilential distempers.

Houses.

SOME of the principal people have handsome houses of stone; but the most usual way of building in *Russia*, both in the towns and country, is to lay one beam or log of wood upon another, fastening them at the four corners, and filling up the crevices with moss. The house is afterwards covered with shingles, and holes are cut in it for doors and windows. There is commonly a brick stove or large oven in every room in the house of a peasant, which takes up a fourth part of the area, and is flat at the top, and boarded. On this, and a kind of shelves round the room, the whole family sleep, without beds. Their habitations look like so many chimnies; the fire-place, which is the stove or oven, having no vent for the smoke, but into the room. As soon as it is dark, they swarm with insects called *tarakans*, which are a species of goat-chaffers. The houses in most villages are built contiguous, as they are in the towns: so that when a fire breaks out, as very often happens, through the reigning vice of the *Russians*, drunkenness, or their negligence in putting out the many tapers which they stick about the pictures of their saints, it spreads with vast rapidity. Luckily, those who can afford it, have only to go to market, where they may immediately suit themselves with other houses, or even single apartments, ready made, which want only being tacked together. The loss of the furniture is easily replaced; that of the common people, in particular, seldom exceeding three benches, an oblong table, and a picture of a saint or two.

^d STRAHLENBERG, C. 13.

S E C T. III.

Language, Learning, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce of Russia.

THE *Russian* language, which is remarkably soft, de- *Language,*
 rives its origin from the *Slavonian*, though it differs
 greatly from it at present, and with regard to religious
 subjects, is intermixed with numbers of *Greek* words.
 The alphabet consists of forty-two letters, most of which
 are *Greek* characters, as they were written in the ninth cen-
 tury, when the knowledge of letters was first introduced into
Russia. But as those letters did not express every particular
 found in the *Slavonian* tongue, recourse was had to several
Hebrew letters, and some arbitrary signs. The *Muscovite*,
Novogrodian, and *Ukrainian* dialects, are the most used in
Russia, together with that of *Archangel*, which greatly re-
 sembles the *Siberian*.

THE several branches of learning were but little known *Learning,*
 in *Russia*, before the reign of *Peter the Great*, who, sparing
 neither pains nor expence, to dispel the clouds of ignorance
 in which his subjects were involved, and to inspire them with
 a taste for arts and sciences, founded an academy of sciences,
 an university, and a *gymnasium* or seminary at *Petersburg*, be-
 sides other schools in the different parts of his empire; in-
 vited persons of distinguished abilities from other nations, to
 settle at *Petersburg*; collected a great number of books; and,
 contrary to the mistaken policy of his predecessors, encou-
 raged his subjects to travel into those countries where arts
 and sciences were known to flourish. These wise and lau-
 dable measures are still continued, and have been the means
 of cultivating, among the *Russians*, some geniuses, who have
 made no inconsiderable figure in the republic of letters.
 Since the time of *Peter I.* the empress *Elizabeth* has also
 erected an university and two seminaries at *Moscow*. How-
 ever, the number of *Russian literati* is as yet but small: and
 as there are only three universities in that vast empire, which
 are those of *Petersburg*, *Kiow*, and *Moscow*, learning may
 still be said to be only in its infancy in *Russia*: nor must we
 judge of the state of literature in the whole empire, from the
 present appearances at *Petersburg*; though the *Russians* are
 far from wanting natural talents. Their studies are chiefly
 directed to history, genealogies, and the mathematics: but
 they

they make a great mystery of the description and history of their own country.

THE members of the academy of sciences at *Petersburg*, not only publish collections of their own memoirs ; but compose books for the instruction of youth in the sciences, besides translating several useful works published in foreign countries.

Arts, manufactures,

FORMERLY the *Russians*, like all other people in their first state, were wholly employed in agriculture, feeding of cattle, hunting, and fishing. What they chiefly excelled in, was making of *yuchte*, or *Russian* leather, which had been a secret of long standing among them ; but they were entirely unacquainted with the more ingenious mechanic arts. However, numbers of excellent artificers having been invited to *Petersburg* by *Peter the Great*, the *Russians* shewed, that, with proper instructions, they did not want a capacity for all kinds of handicraft-trades, for they have now flourishing manufactures of velvet, silk, woollen stuffs, linnen, copper, brass, iron, steel, and tin ; and make great guns, fire-arms, wire, cordage, sail-cloth, paper, parchment, glass, gun-powder, &c. Though it must be observed, that these manufactures are not brought to such perfection as to be carried on without foreign hands, and additional supplies of those commodities from abroad. What is wrought by *Russian* workmen, is sold for one half, or a third part less than what is made by foreigners at *Petersburg* and *Moscow* ; and the former does not do half the service of the latter. Ship-building is now carried to great perfection in *Russia* : and as to the peasants of that country, they are so far their own artists, as to make almost every utensil they have occasion for. *Peter the Great* first established the art of printing in *Russia*. His types, and other implements for that purpose, were brought from *Holland*. A press, with letters, had been sent from *Poland* to *Moscow*, and a printing-house erected, by the approbation of one of the former czars ; but the building was set on fire in the night, and burnt to the ground, by the procurement, as was generally supposed, of the priests, who looked upon all books, and especially such as treated of their own history, and the miracles of their saints, to be as dangerous as witchcraft.

Trade of Russia.

Russia affords a variety of commodities which are of great use to foreigners ; and as the exports of this country far exceed its imports, the balance of trade is considerably in its favour (A). The *Russian* home commodities are fables and black

(A) In order to give the reader some idea of the yearly exports of *Russia*, we shall transcribe the particulars, collected by

black furs; the skins of blue and white foxes, ermines, hyenas, linxes, squirrels, bears, panthers, wolves, martens, wild cats, white hares, &c. Likewise *Russia* leather (B), copper, iron (C), a transparent fossil, called *Marienglas*, or *Muscovy* glass, tallow, wax, honey, pot-ash, tar, linseed oil, rosin, pitch, train-oil, caviar (D), salt-fish, castor, ising-glass, hemp, flax, thread, *Russia* linnen, sail-cloth, callimanco, matts, *Siberian* musk, *mamonts* teeth and bones, as they are called, soap, feathers, hogs bristles, timber, &c. to which may be added the *Chinese* goods, rhubarb (E), and other drugs, with which the *Russians* partly furnish the rest

by Dr. *Busching* from authentic accounts, according to which the following quantities of the commodities here mentioned, are annually exported from *Petersburg*, viz.

	<i>Arshines.</i>
Callimanco	1,214,000
Linnen	4,000,000
'Table ditto	600,000
	<i>Puds.</i>
Bees-wax	22,000
Ising-glass	1,500
Flax	65,000
Hemp	1,000,000
Tallow	100,000
<i>Russia</i> leather	200,000
Pressed caviar	20,000
Hogs-bristles	6,500
Hare-skins	400,000
Pieces of furr, &c. &c.	70,000

(B) The red and black *yuchte*, or *Russia* leather, cannot be equalled in any other part of the world for colour, smell, and softness. The best sort of it is dressed at *Jaroslów*, *Rostrom*, and *Bliskow*. One may judge of the genuineness of *Russia* leather, not only by the colour and softness, but also by its fuming and smelling like burnt leather, when rubbed hard. The word *yucht*, or *yuchte*, signifies a pair; two

skins being always put together.

(C) The quantity of bar, and other unwrought iron, annually exported from *Russia*, amounts, one year with another, to 300,000 *puds*; and the *Russian* iron is little, if at all, inferior to that of *Sweden*.

(D) *Caviar*, or *Cawter*, is made of the roes of the fish called *beluga*, and the sturgeon. The best is made of the *beluga* roes, and is of two sorts; namely, the granulated, and the pressed *caviar*. The former, which is most valued, is prepared in autumn and winter, but the latter is made in summer; and both sorts are exported to the southern parts of *Europe*. The granulated sort is first salted, and then put into kegs for exportation. *Caviar* is most palatable when fresh, and spread on bread, with salt, leek, and pepper: but as it soon becomes tainted by warmth, it cannot well be exported fresh. The *Russians*, in their language, call it *Ikra*.

(E) No greater quantity of rhubarb is exported from *Russia*, than what is allowed by the empress, who also fixes the price of it.

of Europe. Furrs are so far from being cheap at *Petersburg*, that they may be bought for the same prize at *Dantzic*, *Hamburg*, and *Leipsic*, and sometimes even cheaper; the reason of which is, that incredible quantities of them are clandestinely carried out of the country without paying any duty. The goods imported into *Russia*, are silks, chints, and cotton, cloth and other woollen stuffs, fine linnen, toys, *French* brandy, wines, herrings, and other fish, spices, hardware, &c.

IN 1749, the value of the goods exported from *Petersburg*, amounted to 3,184,322 rubels; and that of the imports to 2,942,242 rubels (A). Of these were exported to *England* to the value of 2,245,573 rubels; and the value of the commodities imported from thence, amounted to 1,012,209 rubels.

THE goods chiefly imported from *England*, are all sorts of woollen manufactures, lead, tin, dying-woods, indigo, pewter, olibanum, brimstone, lignum vitæ. The *Hollanders* and *Hamburgers*, besides these, bring wines, paper, allum, glass-wares, spices, dollars, plate, gold and silver lace, brocades, *Silesia* cloth, and all sorts of gallantries.

THE exports of the *English* from *Russia*, are hemp, flax, train-oil, linnen, pot-ash, rhubarb, isinglass, wax, tar, red-hides, and caviar; the two last for *Leghorn*. The *Hollanders* and *Hamburgers* carry out farther, wood-ash, masts, hides dried and salted, tallow, fables, hemp-seed, mats, and hogs bristles.

THE fishery of *seals*, or sea-dogs, of which about ten thousand are taken every year, yields five thousand measures of oil. The skins and oil are sent to *England*. *Morses*, or sea-horses, from *Nova-Zembla*, as it is corruptly called, used to load thirty boats a year with blubber. Their teeth are esteemed next to ivory: but this trade, being monopolized by a company, decays daily. Of cod and *stock-fish*, about three ships lading are sent yearly to *Denmark*: of salmon salted and dried, a ship's loading to *Bilboa*. These, with the cod, are taken in the north sea, about *Kilduin* and *Cola*; but the ships that go for them carry salt from *St. Ubes*.

(A) Lord *Whitworth* (1), in near two thousand rubels: from the year 1710, reckoned the whence we may judge how yearly balance of trade in favour of the *Russians*, to be only much their commerce has increased since that time.

To enter more particularly into the commerce of *Russia*, it will be proper to divide it into land or domestic, and naval or foreign trade. The land-trade principally consists of

THE trade to *China*, which, at present, is carried on by caravans, and partly by private adventurers. The greatest, in quantity, and the most valuable commodities which the *Russians* carry to *China*, are furs; in return for which they bring back gold, silks, cotton, tea, &c. (A). This trade, if rightly managed, would bring into the *Russian* government, a yearly profit of at least three hundred thousand rubels.

THE trade with the *Calmuks*, which is entirely in private hands, and of no great importance. They exchange with these people all sorts of iron and copper utensils, for cattle and provisions, and sometimes for gold and silver.

THE trade to *Bughar*, or *Bachara*, one of the chief cities of *Uzbek Tartary*, near the river *Oxus*, which brings in ready money, or by bartering of goods, curled lamb-skins, *Indian* silks, and sometimes gems; which are brought to the yearly fair at *Samarkand*.

THE trade to *Persia*, by the way of *Astracan* and the *Caspian* sea, which is considerable, and brings in return raw silk and silken stuffs.

THE traders in the *Ukraine* carry provisions to the *Crim-Tartars*, and traffick with the *Greek* merchants at *Constantinople*.

THE inhabitants of *Kiow* trade to *Siberia*, in cattle and *Russia* leather; and, notwithstanding the severest prohibitions, great quantities of goods are smuggled from the government of *Smolensk*, to *Koningsberg* and *Dantzic*.

THE naval commerce of *Russia*, owes its origin to the *Hanse* towns, which formerly carried on a considerable trade with *Revel*, *Novogrod*, and *Pleskow*; till, about the middle of the sixteenth century, some *English* traders, of whom captain

• Lord WHITWORTH, p. 90.

(B) This caravan sets out from *Moscow* in the winter, and is three years before it returns. *Chinese* commissaries receive it on the borders of *Chinese Mun-galia*, and conduct it, at their expence, to *Pekin*, where the *Chinese* maintain both the people and camels for three months, within which time the *Russians* are obliged to sell or barter their goods. At the expiration of this time, the caravan is again conveyed to the borders, at the charge of the *Chinese*. Those who advance their money in this traffic, frequently double it in three years.

Chancellor

The History of Russia.

Chancellor was the first, found the way to *Archangel*, which afterwards became the principal mart.

MONEY was formerly so very scarce in this country, that foreigners were obliged, when they bartered their goods for those of *Russia*, to give specie with them to the *Russians*, who had no idea of any commercial course of exchange till the year 1670. Most of the foreign merchants used to reside at *Moscow*, and went in the summer to *Archangel*, where they had their warehouses and factors: This practice continued till the year 1721, when the seat of commerce was transferred from *Archangel* to *Petersburg*, by order of *Peter the Great*, and the foreign traders were, in consequence thereof, obliged to remove their factories to the latter. At the same time also, among other regulations, a tariff was settled: but this was abolished in 1733, and the old *Russian* rubel was restored, by which the customs and duties are computed to this day. That rubel, before the present century, was only an imaginary piece, containing an hundred silver copeiks of those times, the only real current coin formerly known in *Russia*, which, however, were as large and heavy as those coined since (A). Fifty such copeiks were valued at one specie or *Holland* rix-dollar, which is equal to four shillings and four-pence farthing of our money, and one hundred of those rubels were supposed to weigh fourteen pounds of fine silver. They still compute by rubels of this value in commercial affairs: but the duty for all merchandise imported and exported, is paid in alberts, or new *Holland* rix-dollars, and not in *Russian* money. Fourteen such rix-dollars are valued at a pound weight of fine silver, which must be paid either in coin or bullion^f. The first real rubels, half rubels, &c. were coined in 1703^g. Their standard should be of the same goodness with *Lyon* dollars, viz. twelve ounces fine silver, and twelve ounces alloy to the pound weight: but most of the bullion that is carried into the mint, is not above ten ounces fine silver; and being seldom tried when melted, the *Russian* coins are of different intrinsic value, as

^f BUSCHING.

^g Lord WHITWORTH.

(A)
 3 copeiks make an altine.
 10 copeiks a greiven.
 25 copeiks a popoltine.
 50 copeiks a poltine.
 100 copeiks a rubel.
 The copeik is divided into *Denufskas* and *Polyfskas*. The

denufska, which *Consell* takes to have been the first coin of the country, because the *Russian* word for money in general, is *denga*, from whence, according to him, the diminutive *denufska*, is half a copeik, and the *polyfska* is half the *denufska*.

the

the run happens to be good or bad ; plate, dollars, and old copeiks, which last are received in the treasury at an allowance of 15 *per cent.* discount, being all melted together, with an additional alloy of brass. The silver chiefly used in the *Russian* coinage, is cross-dollars and *Albertus* dollars, with unwrought plate, brought from *Holland*, *Hamburgh*, and *Bremen* ; partly to clear the merchants customs ; and partly in return of brass money, which the treasury often advances to foreigners, to be repaid in dollars at the end of two years.

In 1702, the first ducats were coined with the czar's stamp, at twenty-six carrats, which is the fineness of *Holland* ducats : but the direction of the mint being taken, the next year, from the foreigners who had before had the management of it, and *Chinese* gold, of only twenty or twenty-one carrats, and from ~~one~~ to three grains, being used, without refining it, those ducats were utterly decried, and very few have been coined since the year 1706. The gold is imported in ingots from *China*, about three hundred and sixty pound weight *English*, yearly ; besides what is brought every summer from other parts, often in specie, by the ships which trade to *Russia*.

In 1705, the czar *Peter* begun to coin brass copeiks, halves, and quarters. Thirty-six pounds of brass, *English* weight, which are bought in *Moscow* for seven rubels, produce twenty when coined. About ten thousand of these copeiks are given out monthly ; but no one is obliged to receive them in payment, except such as are in the service of the crown. They may be negotiated against silver at two *per cent.* loss. The brass used to come by the fleets to *Archangel*.

THE merchants and traders at *Petersburg* consist of natives and foreigners. The former may sell by wholesale or retail ; but the latter by wholesale only, and that to none but the natives : for foreigners are not permitted to have any commercial dealings with one another in *Russia*, nor are they allowed to keep the goods consigned to them in their own ware-houses ; but are obliged to deposit them in magazines, built by the government for that purpose, and to pay rent for ware-house-room in proportion to the quantity of goods they are possessed of¹. They also pay five *per cent.* for all goods bought and sold by weight, and four *per cent.* for those by tale or measure ; besides the duties on importation or exportation, which ever mount highest at the end of the

¹ BUSHING.

trade time : for they do not actually pay for both these last.⁴ Whatever goods they send to *Moscow* or any inland towns, are subject to a duty of ten *per cent.* in dollars, and five *per cent.* where they are bought or sold, in brass money. The *Russians* pay five *per cent.* where they sell or buy in the country, and five *per cent.* at the general custom-house. Wine pays a particular rate of five dollars a hoghead.

Mos'r of the foreign traders at *Petersburg*, are only factors^c : the rest, who trade on their own bottoms, deal chiefly in toys and grocery. The factor. are intrusted with very large capitals, and may get handsome fortunes without engaging in any commerce for themselves. The native *Russian* traders, who bring goods from different places to *Petersburg*, and carry foreign commodities up into the country, do not reside at *Petersburg*, but in various parts of the empire. In *May* or *June* they carry their goods to *Petersburg*, annually, by water ; and in the months of *September*, *October*, and *December*, after they have disposed of them, they return to their respective homes with foreign commodities. The wealthiest of these traders save themselves the fatigue of travelling, by sending their factors to *Petersburg*.

ALL foreign merchandize is generally sold at a year's credit : but the *Russian* commodities must be paid for on delivery, unless the owners of them find a difficulty in selling their stock ; in which case they deal by way of exchange : though even then they will not barter goods for goods, but commonly insist on a fourth, a third, or half of the value of the whole in specie. Of late, foreign merchants deal for the *Russian* commodities by contract, and even advance the money to the *Russians* in winter, upon condition that they deliver in the goods, at a settled price, in the ensuing summer ; and for the greater security, these contracts are entered in the custom-house books. To this unreasonable partiality in favour of the natives, and against foreign traders, to the large credit given by the latter to the former, and sometimes to the misconduct of the factors, may be chiefly imputed the great losses sustained by foreign merchants in *Russia*, which amount to some millions of rubels since the removal of the seat of trade from *Archangel* to *Petersburg* : so that the remarkable increase of foreign commerce in *Russia*, amidst such discouraging checks on trade, is very surprising. In the year 1744, the number of ships which came into the port of *Petersburg* from *England*, *Holland*, *France*, *Norway*, *Denmark*, *Lubeck*, *Hamburg*, *Stettin*, *Rostoc*, *Kiel*, *Prussia*,

^b LORD WHITWORTH, p. 85. ^c BUSCHING.

Sweden,

Sweden, Dantzic, &c. amounted to two hundred and sixty-four; and in the following year only to one hundred and ninety-five. But in 1750, the number increased to two hundred and seventy-two; and in 1751, to two hundred and ninety^b.

THE *English* enjoyed considerable privileges in their trade to *Russia*, so early as the year 1553, when the czar *Iwan Basilowitz* was on the throne, as we observed beforeⁱ. These privileges were renewed by *Peter I.* who gave them great encouragements; but permitted them to send their goods only to *Moscow*. In 1752, a treaty of commerce was concluded betwixt *Russia* and *England*, by which it was stipulated that the *English* should be allowed to send goods through *Russia* into *Persia*: but captain *Elton*, a *Scotchman*, having entered into the service of *Shah Nadir* in 1746, and built ships for him on the *Caspian* sea, the *Russians* put a stop to this trade to *Persia*. However, the *English* still have a more considerable trade to *Russia*, than any other nation.

NEXT to them, the *Dutch* carry on the greatest trade with the *Russians*. Bills of exchange are drawn at *Petersburg*, on *Amsterdam* only^k: so that the traders^o of other countries, who give orders for buying *Russian* commodities at *Petersburg*, are obliged to procure credit, or to have proper funds at *Amsterdam*.

SUCH foreigners as settle at *Petersburg*, without actual commissions, and a sufficient credit in exchange, run a great risk of becoming bankrupts; of which there have been too many instances. There is not a nation in the world more inclined to commerce than the *Russians*: but they are so full of chicanery and finesse, that a stranger cannot be too cautious in his dealings with them.

As we gave in our last note, some account of the money of the *Russians*, our commercial readers, in particular, if any such we have, will perhaps not be displeased at our subjoining here, in another, their weights and measures (A).

S E C T.

Id.

Page 10.

^k BUSCHING..

(A) The weights peculiar to *Russia*, are (1):

A *Solotnick*, which is the sixth part of an ounce, and is divided into halves, quarters, and eighths.

A *Pound*, which is equal to ninety six *Solotnicks*.

A *Pud*, which is forty of their pounds, and thirty six of ours.

A *Berkowitz*, which is equal to ten *Puds*.

• (1) *Busching*.

M

The

S E C T. IV.

Of the Coronation, Titles, Court, Revenues, Expences, Forces, &c. of the Czar.

*Ceremonies
of the
czar's co-
ronation.*

AT the accession of a new czar, all the metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, nobility, and principal merchants throughout the whole empire, are summoned to *Moscow*, against the day of the coronation; when the officiating prelate, which used to be the patriarch, while there was one, but now is the archbishop of *Moscow*, conducts the new great duke to the church of *Precheffe*, or our lady, within the *Kremlin*, where a scaffold is erected three steps high, and covered with rich *Persian* tapestry, on which are set three chairs, at equal distances one from the other¹. One of these is for the great duke, another for the archbishop, and the third for the ducal cap and robe. The robe is of purple satin, lined with sable; and on the top of the cap, which is embroidered with jewels, is a little crown, set as thick as possible with diamonds, and said to be the same which the great duke *Demetrius Monomach* took at *Cassa* in *Tartary*, and immediately destined for the coronation of his successors.

As soon as the czar enters the church, the clergy begin their hymns, after which the archbishop prays to God, to *St. Nicholas*, the great patron of the *Russians*, and to the other saints, desiring their presence at that day's solemnity. The prayer being ended, the chief counsellor of state takes the great duke by the hand, presents him to the archbishop, and says to him; "The *Knez* and *Bojars* acknowledge the

¹ OLEARIUS, lib. iii. and FLETCHER, c. 6.

The *Russian* measures of length, are (1)

The *Arshine*, which is equal to twenty-eight inches, and one tenth, *English* measure.

The *Werjebok*, which is a tenth of the *Arshine*; and

The *Saschen*, or Fathom, which contains three *Arshines*.

Among the measures of capacity, are (2)

The *Galenok* or *Kruschka*, a measure for liquids, eight of which are equal to a *Vedro*; which last contains about twenty gallons *English*, and answers to the German *Eimer*.

The *Cbetwerick*, a dry measure, reckoned equal to 320 *Russian* pounds.

² (1) *Id.*

(2) *Strabier. rg.* c. 13.

“ prince here present, to be lawful heir to the crown ; and
 “ desire that, as such, you immediately crown him :” Upon
 which the archbishop leads the prince up to the scaffold,
 seats him on one of the three chairs, touches his forehead
 with a little cross of diamonds, and blesses him. Then
 one of the metropolitans reads the following prayer. “ O
 “ Lord our God, king of kings, who didst chuse thy ser-
 “ vant *David*, by thy prophet *Samuel*, and didst cause him to
 “ be anointed king over thy people *Israel*, hearken to our
 “ prayers, which, though unworthy, we offer up unto thee.
 “ Look down from thy sanctuary upon this thy servant,
 “ whom thou hast chosen and exalted for king over these
 “ thy holy nations : Anoint him with the oil of gladness ;
 “ protect him by thy power ; set upon his head a precious
 “ diadem ; grant him a long and happy life ; put into his
 “ hand a royal scepter ; and make him sit upon the throne of
 “ justice ; make subject to him all barbarous nations ; let
 “ his heart and understanding always continue in thy fear.
 “ In all the course of his life, let him be constantly obe-
 “ dient to thy commandments ; suffer not any heresy or
 “ schism to come near his person or government ; but shew
 “ him the salvation of thy holy and universal church ; that
 “ he may judge thy people with justice ; protect the chil-
 “ dren of the poor, and finally attain everlasting life : for
 “ thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory. God
 “ the father, God the son, God the Holy-Ghost, be with us,
 “ and remain with us.”

AFTER this prayer, the archbishop orders two metropo-
 litans to take the cap and robe ; and some of the bojars,
 whom he directs to come upon the scaffold, to put them on
 the great duke, whom he blesses a second time, by touching
 his forehead with the little cross of diamonds. The ducal
 cap is then delivered to them, and they set it upon the
 prince's head, while the archbishop says, In the name of the
 Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and blesses him the third time.
 That done, the archbishop bids all the prelates approach,
 and each of them gives the great duke his benediction ; but
 only with the two fore-fingers. The great duke and the
 archbishop then sit down ; but rise again immediately, to or-
 der the singing of the litany, every verse of which ends with
Glaspedi pomilui, “ Lord have mercy upon us,” and is fre-
 quently intermixed with the great duke's name. After the
 litany, they sit down again, and one of the metropolitans
 goes up to the altar, and says, singing, “ God preserve in
 “ health our czar and great duke of all the *Russias*, whom
 “ he hath of his love bestowed upon us, and grant him a

“ long and happy life.” The words are echoed round for some time, by every one present ; after which the archbishop alone goes up to the prince, and tells him, “ That since, through the providence of God, all the estates of the realm, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, have established and crowned him great duke over all the *Russias*, and entrusted him with a government of so great importance, he ought to apply all his thoughts to love God, keep his commandments, administer justice, and protect and maintain the true *Greek* religion.” He then bows himself down to the ground, before the czar, even touching it with his forehead, as a token of his homage ; and all the rest, ecclesiastics, nobles, and others, in their respective ranks, do the same. They then go to the church of *St. Michael the Archangel*, and afterwards to that of *St. Nicholas*, both within the walls of the palace, as well as that of *Precheste*, and, after singing in each of them the same litanies as before, conclude the ceremonies with dining in the great hall of the *Kremlin*.

His Titles. THE sovereign of *Russia* was formerly stiled *Weliki Knez*, *Grand Prince*, *Great Lord*, or *Great Chief*, which we render by the words *Great Duke*. The title of *Czar*, which, in the *Sclavonian* language, signifies *King*, and likewise *Emperor*, was first assumed by *John Basilowitz*, surnamed the *Great*, grandfather of *John Basilowitz the Tyrant*, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, upon his being crowned in *Casan* ; and therefore is more probably derived from the *Tzars* or *Tchars* of that kingdom, or the *Tshas* of *Persia*, than from the *Cæsars* of *Rome*, whom, in all likelihood, the *Sirian Tzars* had never so much as heard of on the borders of the *Oby*. *Basilius*, son of *John Basilowitz I.* lost the newly acquired title and kingdom : but his son, *John Basilowitz II.* recovered both, with the addition of *Astracan* ; and accordingly stiled himself *Czar of Casan, Astracan, and Siberia, Grand Prince (A) of Moscow, Wolodimer, and Novogrod, Lord of Plescow,*

III VOLTAIRE.

(A) This proves that *Strablenberg* is right in saying, (1)^e that the title of *Czar*, and that of *Grand Prince*, are as different as those of *Roman Emperor* and *Archduke of Austria*, or king of *Poland*, and *Grand Prince of Lithuania*. That the title *Czar*, in the *Sclavonian* tongue, signifies *King*, and also, sometimes *Emperor*, is evident from all the books in that language, as well sacred as profane, where those monarchs are constantly called *Czars*. In the *Sclavonian Bible*, which was translated from the

(1) Cap. vi.

Greek

Pleskow, &c. and *Powelitel*, which signifies *Imperator*, *Commander*, and *Samoderschitz*, *Self-preserver*, or *Sovereign*, of all the *Russias*. These titles remained undisputed till the year 1721, when the archbishop of *Novogrod*, to curry favour with his prince, persuaded *Peter the Great* to change the *Russian* word *Powelitel*, into its equivalent in *Latin*, and call himself *Imperator*. This occasioned some altercations, arising from difficulties in point of ceremonial and rank, with the other courts of *Europe*; but at length the title of *Emperor* was universally allowed (B).

THE *Russian* empire has been an undivided inheritance *and power.* ever since the time of *John Basilowitz I.* and females are not excluded from it. In 1722, the emperor *Peter the Great* published an ordinance, by which the succession was wholly to depend upon the will and pleasure of the reigning sovereign: and this is the only written fundamental law relative to the succession in *Russia*, where the power of the emperor is quite absolute and unlimited. The now reigning prince,

Greek version of the *Septuagint*, above seven hundred years ago, long before the *Russian Grand Princes* took the title of *Czar*, *Pharaoh*, *Saul*, *David*, *Solomon*, and *Alexander the Great*, are called *Czars*: and that there is no difference in that language between the titles of *Emperor* and *King*, appears from this passage in *St. Matthew*, c. 12. Give unto *Cæsar*, the things that are *Cæsar's*, and unto *God*, the things that are *God's*; which is rendered in the *Sclavonian*, *Dasch'd Zariu Zariewo a Bogu Boschie*. But when, in the same chapter, the question is, Whose is this image? and the answer is, *Cæsar's*; then, in the *Sclavonian*, it is said *Cæsar*. Likewise, in another place, we find *W'zarstwo, Augusta Cæsarea*, or, in the reign of *Cæsar Augustus*; where, in the *Sclavonian* tongue, the name *Cæsar* is taken for a proper or family name.

(B) The title of the *Russian* sovereign, at full length, runs now as follows:

N. N. Emperor and sole sovereign of all the *Russias*, sovereign lord of *Moscow*, *Kiew*, *Włodimiria*, *Novogrod*; czar in *Casan*, *Astracan*, and *Siberia*; lord of *Pleskow*; great duke of *Smolensko*; duke of *Esthonia*, *Liuvonia*, and *Carelia*; of *Tweria*, *Ingoria*, *Pernia*, *Wiatka*, *Bulgaria*, and lord of several other territories; great duke of *Novogrod* in the low country of *Tshernickow*, *Resan*, *Rostow*, *Jaroslaw*, *Bielosero*, *Uldoria*, *Obdoria*, *Condinia*; emperor of all the northern parts; lord of the territory of *Iweria*; of the *Carthalianian*, *Greuzinian*, and *Georgian* czars; of the *Kabardinian*, *Circassian* and *Gorian* princes; and lord and supreme ruler of many other countries and territories (1)

(1) *Bush*, p. 399.

Elizabeth, who is stiled empress and sole sovereign of all the *Russias*, was the youngest daughter of *Peter I.* and ascended the throne in 1741, on the deposition of *John III.* and his mother who was regent. Upon the treaty which she concluded with *Sweden* in 1743, at *Abo*, this czarina gave the title of great duke of *Russia* to her eldest sister's son, *Charles Peter Ulrick* duke of *Holstein*, after he had embraced the *Greek* religion, and taken the name of *Peter Feodorowitz*.

Court, and attendants. THE *Russian* court has always been very numerous and magnificent, being filled, particularly on solemn occasions, by the bojars, or privy-counsellors, with all the officers of each pricase; by the nobles and gentry, who are obliged to constant attendance, by titles of honour and distinction, without any salary; such as the *krapshacks*, or carvers, who are always two of the first nobility, and whose employment is held in high estimation; the *salwicks*, or sewers, who are also used to carry any message of importance, to receive ambassadors, &c. and the *spalmicks*, or gentlemen of the bed-chamber; which two last titles are in great number, and descend from father to son, though generally confirmed by the prince; and lastly, by the *gyfts*, or chief-merchants. On public feasts or ceremonies, all these received rich gowns of brocade, lined with furs, from the treasury, which they returned as soon as the appearance was over: but the czar *Peter I.* abolished these formalities, without settling any other court; some said, to save the expence during the wars he was engaged in; others, from his particular temper, which was averse to such constraints. On any ceremony, he was attended by the chief officers of his army, and only some of his nobility. However, the former pomp has since been restored, and heightened by the addition of three orders of knighthood, created by the prince we have been speaking of.

Orders of knight-hood. THE first, and most honourable, is that of *St. Andrew*, or the *blue ribbon*, instituted by *Peter the Great* in 1698, in honour of *St. Andrew*, the patron of *Russia*. The empress *Catharine* gave the statutes, and assigned proper habits for this order, which has its ensigns, motto, and collar.

THE second is the order of *St. Alexander Newski*, or the *red ribbon*, which was indeed instituted by *Peter I.* but the czarina *Catharine* first conferred it in the year 1725. This order has also its badge and motto.

THE third is a female order, which *Peter the Great* found-

* Lord WHITWORTH, p. 62.

† BUSCHING.

ed in 1714, in honour of his consort *Catharine*; and from her name he called it the order of *St. Catharine*.

THESE honours, as *Voltaire* observes, command respect, cost the sovereign nothing, and flatter those who receive them, without adding to their power.

FORMERLY, the chief dignity in *Russia*, next to the great duke, was that of *Sunderstravoi consische*, or lord-high-steward; but that office was suppressed when *Zuiski*, who had it, was raised to the crown^b. The greatest now, is that of *dvo-retzkoi*, or chancellor; after whom come grand-master of the household; the *Orusnitschei*, or master of the horse; the treasurer; comptroller, chamberlain, tasters, harbingers, &c.ⁱ

AN hundred and fifty tables are now spread twice a-day *Table*. at the *Russian* court, and served with eighteen hundred dishes. The court-purveyor receives for this purpose, two thousand rubels every three days, exclusive of the produce of the crown-estates, and the proper quantities of wine, sugar, and spices. The daily consumption of coffee is a pud, or thirty-six pounds of our weight; and seven thousand puds of salt are expended there every month^k.

THE revenues of the *Russian* empire are variously com- *Revenues*. puted. The author of the *Anmerckung uber die Moscovitischen briefe*, or "Observations on the *Moscovite* letters," pretends that they amount to sixty millions of rubels; but this is certainly exaggerated. Some compute them at twenty millions of rubels, which is still beyond the mark; and others (A), on the contrary, reckon them to be but eight millions, which is too little (B). *M. de Voltaire* says^l, that according to a state of the *Russian* finances in 1725, they amounted to thirteen millions of rubels, reckoning only the taxes and dut. that were paid in money, and excluding what was paid in kind: to which he adds, that this sum was then sufficient to maintain 339,500 soldiers and sailors; and that both the revenues and troops have increased since. *M. Busching*^m agrees with him as to this augmentation, which he estimates

^b OLEARIUS, lib. iii.

ⁱ FLETCHER, ch. xxvii.

^k BUSCHING.

^l Hist. de Russie sous Pierre le Grand, p. 60.

^m Geog. vol. f. p. 402.

(A) Among which number are the author of *Das Veränderte Russland* (1), and the writer of the remarks upon *L'histoire générale des Tartares* (2). *Strahlenberg* says (3) they amounted

to five millions of rubels in the time of the czar *Alexis*.

(B) Lord *Whitworth* (4) reckoned them at only about seven millions of rubels in the year 1710.

(1) P. 24. (2) P. 72.

(3) P. 87. (4) P. 87.

at near a fifth-part, in consequence of an imperial *ukase*, or edict issued in 1752 by the present empress *Elizabeth*; but at the same time he assures us, from an authentic account of the empress's whole revenues, lying before him at the time of his writing, that they amount to only about ten millions of rubels. Which ever of these author's is right, it is very certain, that the imperial revenues are not proportionate to the vast extent of the *Russian* dominions; that they do not all consist of ready money; the country in many places furnishing recruits for the army in lieu of it, and most of the inhabitants of *Siberia* paying their tribute in furs; and that they are sufficient to answer the exigencies of the state.

THEY arise from the annual capitation or poll-tax, to which the vassals of noblemen pay 70 copeiks, the burghers 120 copeiks, and the *Tartars*, *Tscheremisses*, and other nations in the territory of *Casan*, together with the vassals of the khan, 110 copeiks a man. This tax, according to M. *Busching*, amounts to five millions of rubels; but as it is not duly paid by a great number, the arrears remaining every year are very considerable. At the close of the year 1752, the present empress of *Russia*, considering the situation of her subjects, freely remitted all the arrears of this tax from the year 1724 to 1747, which amounted to no less than 2,534,000 rubels.

FROM the demesne lands, occupied by 360,000 peasants, each of whom pays 110 copeiks a-year; amounting in all to 396,000 rubels.

FROM the revenues of the *cabaques*, or inns and drinking houses, which are in all about two millions; the privilege of selling beer, mead, and spirits distilled from corn, being monopolized by the crown.

FROM the tolls and customs by sea and land, which produce about 1,150,000 rubels; though it is to be observed, that all the inland duties, throughout the whole empire of *Russia*, were abolished in the year 1754.

FROM the continual trade carried on by the crown, in iron, pot-ash, ashes of the willow-tree, rhubarb, tar, and train-oil (A).

FROM

(A) The crown exports yearly about 40,000 *puds* of iron, which produce 240,000 rubels; and private persons, who have also iron works, sell annually as great a quantity. The pro-

fits arising from pot-ash are computed at 40,000 rubels a-year. The ashes of the willow-tree bring in 30,000 rubels; and the rhubarb, of which both the quantity to be exported and the

FROM the salt-works, which bring yearly in to the crown 700,000 rubels.

FROM the duty on stamp-paper, amounting to 120,000 rubels.

FROM a tax on all law-suits, which pay ten *per cent.* of the value contested; from oven or chimney-money; from all hackney horses and carriages; and likewise all bath-stoves, of which every village has one in public, and every fashionable house one in particular, taxed at a rubel a piece yearly.

FROM the abbey-lands, since their being managed by a secular commission for the benefit of the crown.

FROM the caravans to *China*, at least 100,000 rubels: though the revenue arising from this article is not every year equal; for it sometimes amounts to more, but is never less than that sum.

FROM the exportation of sail-cloth; which trade, however, is in private hands. The revenue from coining and the mint is likewise very considerable. The uncertain and casual sums arising from confiscations and mines, do not properly come in here, as they are generally given away to favourites.

THE ordinary expences of the *Russian* court, though very large, are no more, as we have elsewhere observed, than what the revenues can sufficiently defray.

The annual charge of the fleet, and the canal of *Cronstadt*, amounts to 1,200,000 rubels, for which part of the кабаque, or revenue arising from the sale of liquors, is appropriated.

THE charge of maintaining the army is about 4,000,000 rubels, which is defrayed by the poll-tax. The two regiments of guards are paid out of the profits arising from the кабаques. The *Ismaïlow* regiment is maintained by the produce of the salt-works, and the horse-guards by the *Siberian* prikaze or college of judicature.

THE corps of cadets, of which we have spoken in our account of *Petersburg*, stands the government in 65,000 rubels a-year, which arise from the capitation, and the general commission of war. The expence of the train of artillery amounts yearly to 300,000 rubels.

THE annual charge of the civil list, in the time of *Peter I.* did not exceed 50 or 60,000 rubels; but in the reign of the

price, are regulated by the government, 200,000 rubels. About 80,000 Barrels of oil are exported from *Archangel* at a rubel a barrel; and the profits arising to the crown from train-oil amount yearly to 24,000 rubels.

empress

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emprefs *Anne*, the salaries of the court-officers alone, amounted to 120,000 rubels. In the present reign, they are not less than 190,000 rubels; and the total of the annual expences of the crown is about a million of rubels.

THE great duke, or heir apparent, is allowed 200,000 rubels a-year, for the maintenance of his household.

THE annual allowance to the *Russian* ministers at foreign courts, is about 800,000 rubels. Those from foreign courts, to the *Russian*, are defrayed at the expence of this last.

THE academy and university at *Petersburg* receive annually from the treasury, by warrant of the state-office, 53,928 rubels.

THE court allows 110,000 rubels for the support of public dispensaries; and the deductions from the pay of the officers and soldiers for that purpose, make about 40,000 rubels; so that the whole expence amounts to 150,000 rubels. We pass over several less considerable sums annually paid by the *Russian* court.

THE produce of the public shews of tumblers and rope-dancers, of which multitudes are exhibited at *Easter* for the diversion of the people, who are passionately fond of them, is allotted for paying the expence of the police, paving the streets, &c. Besides this, every house-keeper pays an assessment for his house and court-yard, according to the extent of ground he occupies, which is applied to the same purposes. The salaries of all civil officers are paid out of the monies received by the chanceries or offices belonging to their departments; and those of the governors, by the *pricases* or offices of their respective governments. A senator, as such, receives no pension or salary. The surplus remaining in the inferior offices, is transferred to the state-office.

Army.

By the indefatigable care of *Peter the Great*, the military establishment of *Russia* has been entirely new modelled. Before his time, the greatest part of the infantry consisted of *Strelitzes*, who, being honoured with particular privileges, as the czar's body-guards, arrogated to themselves a power which often proved dangerous even to the emperor's life. But *Peter I.* suppressed both the name and the corps. The *Russians* at present are good soldiers, especially if they be well disciplined: but the infantry far surpasses the cavalry. Both are now on the *German* footing. The army is clothed once in two years. The crown finds the arms and horses of the common troopers; but the nobility are obliged to furnish horses for the dragoons, which often cost them ten or twelve rubels a piece, while the treasury allows them on-

ly seven. Most of the dragoons are gentry, and obliged to appear by the tenure of their lands.

THE *Russian* land-forces may be ranked under the general division of regular and irregular offensive, and regular and irregular defensive troops^d.

THE offensive regulars, in time of peace, are quartered in the several provinces, where every company build their barracks in vacant places; three single men, or one that is married, being allowed a room and a garden; and the common soldiers may work for the country people for wages: but no soldier is suffered to go into the villages or farmers houses, without permission of his officer. They are exercised three days in every month; and to keep them from falling into idleness, they are obliged to repair the canals and roads, throughout the empire, every three years.

THE offensive irregulars are, gentlemen volunteers, the *Don* and other *Cosaks*, the *Calmuks*, and sixty thousand *Tartars*. The rest of these are reckoned among the defensive troops belonging to each government, because they cannot be used in war, in remote countries, without great difficulty; and besides, being continually annoyed by their neighbours, they are almost always obliged to be on duty, to watch their motions.

THE regular defensive troops, commonly called the black regiments, and computed to be generally 96,000 men, are in garrison, some in the midst of the empire, to prevent insurrections and civil broils, and some in the frontier towns.

THE defensive irregulars consist of the nobility throughout the whole empire, with their vassals; the country militia in every government; and those of the *Cosaks*, *Calmuks*, and *Tartars*, who are not ranked among the offensive troops. All these have neither pay, provisions, nor cloaths of the crown, but only arms and ammunition. They have their own officers, and are dependent on the governor-general in each province.

THE artillery of *Russia*, when lord *Whitworth* was in *Artillery*, that country, in the year 1710, was mostly of metal, generally from three to thirty-six pounders, new cast since the beginning of the reign of *Peter I.* either from old pieces which had been heaped up by that prince's predecessors, without any just regard to the *calibre*, or from the bells which every church or cloister was obliged to furnish to the foundery, after the battle of *Narva*, according to their largeness and income. In 1708, a thousand pieces of can-

non, from one to sixty pounders, were found in the city of *Moscow* alone : the arsenals of *Plescow*, *Smolensko*, and *Kiow*; were filled in proportion ^f. Besides the field artillery, every battalion has always two long three pounders of metal, and an hundred charges. The mortars are of brass, or *Siberia* iron, of all bores. The field artillery is lodged, in time of peace, partly in *Moscow*, from whence it can easily be conveyed, by water; to *Smolensko*, *Casár*, and other places; partly in *Great Novogrod*, on account of *Livonia*, *Ingria*, and *Carélia*; and partly in the city of *Seofsk* or *Scheofski*, on account of *Kiow*, the *Crim*, and *Azow*. With each of these divisions there is always a regiment of artillery, with proper waggons,ammunition, and a third part of the horses necessary for the train; the rest being dispersed in the country, but near at hand, in case of need.

and Navy. ACCORDING to the state of the *Russian* forces drawn up by M. *Van Hoven* in the year 1746, the army then consisted of 246,494 regulars, and 120,000 irregulars. The fleet was composed of 24 ships of the line, 7 frigates, 3 bomb-ketches, and 2 *praams* or flat-boats; besides the galley-fleet at *Petersburg*, consisting of 102 galleys. The compliment of the whole fleet amounted to 10,570 men, of whom 7701 were sailo.s. The fleet has continued pretty nearly the same since that time: for if some ships have been built yearly, others have become unfit for service. The men of war are laid up at *Revel* and *Cronstadt*, and the galleys at *Petersburg*. The *Russians* cannot as yet be said to have a complete good harbour in the *Baltic*, the water at *Cronstadt* being too fresh, which does considerable damage to the ships that lie there; the mouth of the harbour being also too narrow, and surrounded with rocks and dangerous sands; and the ice remaining there too long, the sea being seldom clear of it before the end of May. Neither have they now any constant fleet in the *Caspian* sea, where, in the time of *Peter I.* they had some galleys and other vessels, on account of his war with *Persia*; nor on the *Black* sea, where, upon the surrender of *Azow* to the *Turks*, some of the ships in those parts were sold to them, and the rest laid up at *Staurqr*, on the river: *Don*. Some sea-officers and ship-carpenters have of late been sent to the eastern parts of *Siberia*, towards *Japan*, to look out for good havens, and convenient places to build ships: but we have not yet heard of any progress they have made ^h.

^f Lord Whitworth p. 107. ^h STRAHLENBERG, ch. xi.

THE *Russian* fleet, in general, is divided into three squadrons, and commanded by an admiral-general in the center, who bears a white flag, with a crimson cross. The van has an admiral, who bears a blue flag, with a white cross; and the rear has another admiral, who bears a red flag, with a white cross. Each of these three squadrons has a vice-admiral, a rear-admiral, and three commodores. The galleys are commanded by an admiral, two vice-admirals, three rear-admirals, and three commodores. Their flags are of the same colour as those of the squadrons they belong to, but of a different form. When the czar commands his fleet in person, his ship bears the royal standard of the empire, which is yellow, and in the middle of it are the arms of the empire.

THE high-admiral of *Russia* has the rank and pay of a general-field-marshal, of which last there are two; one of whom commands the whole army, whilst the other presides in the council of war; and they exchange their posts every three years: an admiral has the rank of a general in chief; a vice-admiral, of a lieutenant-general; and a rear-admiral, of a major-general. A captain of a man of war has the same pay, and ranks with a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, and a major of a marching regiment; and a sea-lieutenant with a captain (A).

(A) According to the account drawn up by M. *Busching* of the annual pay of the generals, officers, and private men, in the *Russian* service,

A general-field-marshal is allowed yearly,			
<i>rubels.</i>	<i>rations.</i>	<i>rubels.</i>	<i>denpbeks</i> or servants.
7000	200	valued at 1140	and 16
		A general in chief,	
3600	80	456	13
		A lieutenant-general,	
2160	58	285	10
		A major-general,	
1800	40	228	8
		A brigadier,	
840	20	171	7
In the marching regiments a colonel is allowed yearly,			
<i>rubels.</i>	<i>rubels.</i>	<i>copeiks.</i>	
600 pay, and	96	and 90	for rations, and 6 servants.
		A lieutenant-colonel,	
360	62	70	4
		A major,	
300	62	70	3
		A captain,	

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<i>rubels.</i>	<i>rubels.</i>	<i>A captain, copeik.</i>	
180	28	50	2 servants.
		<i>A lieutenant,</i>	
120	22	80	1
		<i>A second-lieutenant,</i>	
84	17	10	1
		<i>An ensign,</i>	
84	17	10	1
		<i>A quarter-master of a regiment,</i>	
84	22	80	1
		<i>An adjutant,</i>	
120	22	80	1

A private man is allowed ten rubels and ninety-eight copeiks a-year, besides three barrels of meal, a certain quantity of groats or coarse oat-meal, twenty-four pounds of salt, and flesh to the value of seventy-two copeiks. All these last articles are computed at five rubels and seventy-four copeiks. But six rubels and thirty-five copeiks are deducted from the pay of every private man for cloathing, medicines, flesh, cartridges, and flints for their fire-locks. His whole cloathing, from head to foot, costs near twelve rubels.

The *Dentsheks* or servants are taken out of the recruits, to attend the officers; and so the support of every one of these, eight rubels and sixty-five copeiks are paid annually out of the military chest; but the masters are obliged to cloath them.

The officers and common men receive four months pay, and one month's provisions, always before-hand (1).

(1) *Sirablenberg, cb. xi.*

C H A P. III.

Of the Sovereigns of RUSSIA, and their Actions, from the earliest Accounts of that Empire, to the present Time.

S E C T. I.

From the Commencement of the Russian Monarchy, to the Death of the Czar Theodore Iwanowitz, in whom the Lineage of Ruric became extinct, after having reigned upwards of 600 years.

SCYTHIANS, Huns, Massagetes, Slavonians, Cimbrians, *Origin of* Getae, Sarmatians, with their various tribes and subdivisions, were the ancient inhabitants of the several countries now united under the dominion of the czars of Russia. Of them, and of their origin and actions, so far as any knowledge of those matters has been transmitted to us, we have spoken in former parts of this work, to which the reader is referred (A); it not being our province here to enter anew into mazes of antiquity, from whence little instruction, or even amusement can be derived; but only to give the best account we can of the people now called Russians. The annals of barbarism, could we recall them from oblivion, would be of little service to us.

THOUGH the origin of the Russians be not prior to the ninth century, an impenetrable obscurity still covers even that not distant period; partly owing to the extreme ignorance and barbarism which then, and indeed till of very late years, prevailed among them; and partly to their unaccountable unwillingness to let strangers become acquainted with their history and country (B).

THE

^b PETREIUS, par. ii. STRAHLENBERG, c. iv.

(A) They will be found under their respective heads, in the general index annexed to the 20th volume of what is called the *Ancient Part* of the *Universal History*, to distinguish it from this continuation, which is termed the *Modern*.

(B) That the Russians, out of a strange mistaken kind of policy, or perhaps from a desire to conceal their former excessive barbarism,

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THE use of letters was entirely unknown to them before their conversion to christianity^b; and the most ancient of their chronologers whose works are now extant in manuscript, is *Theodosius*, abbot of the convent of *Petshow* at *Kiow*, who lived in the beginning of the twelfth century (C).

THE *Russians*, properly so called, are certainly colonists in the territories they now inhabit^c; and derive their origin, from the *Slavians* or *Slavonians*, corruptly called *Slavonians*, who first settled along the banks of the *Volga*, and afterwards near the *Danube*, in the countries now named *Bulgaria* and *Hungary*: but being driven from thence by the *Wolochers* or *Wolotaners*, as the *Russian* writers call them, meaning the *Romans*, they first removed to the river *Borysthenes* or *Dnieper*, over-ran *Poland*, and, as it is said, built the city of *Kiow*. Afterwards they extended their colonies farther north, to the rivers which run into the *Ihnen* lake; confined the *Fins* within narrower limits, and laid the foundation of the city of *Novogrod*. The towns of *Smolensk* and *Tjernikow* appear also to have been built by them; though the dates of these events cannot be exactly ascertained (D).

IN

^b PETREIUS, part 1. STRAHLENBERG, c. iv.

^c BUSCHING, vol. i. and STRAHLENBERG, Introduction.

barism, do still make a secret of the history and antiquities of their country, even since arts and sciences have been introduced among them, is attested by many writers, and particularly by baron *Strahlenberg* (1) and professor *Busching* (2), two of the latest authors who have treated of them: and as a farther confirmation of this truth, we may instance the prohibition of the dissertation intended to be published by the learned M. *Muller*, now professor at *Petersburg*; *De Originibus gentis & nominis Russorum*: perhaps an irreparable loss!

(C) He begins his annals from the coming of the *Warengers* into *Russia*, and those chro-

nicles have been continued down to the year 1206 by an anonymous writer. Professor *Muller*, of *Petersburgh*, who is certainly much better qualified to write a history of *Russia* than any other author now living, were he but allowed to do it, has given us, in the 1st vol. of his *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, or collection of *Russian* transactions, an abridgement of this *Russian* manuscript, in *High Dutch*, with notes, wherein he corrects, in some places, the errors of the annalist, to whom he gives the name of *Nestor*. M. *de Voltaire* calls him *Constantine*.

(D) The *Aborigines*, or ancient inhabitants, not only in *Russia*, but all over *Siberia*,

(1) In the Introduction, his account of *Siberia*, &c.

(2) *Geograph.* vol. i.

quite

IN the ninth century the Scandinavians, who were Danes, Normans or Norwegians, and Swedes, emigrated from the north, and, crossing the Baltic, went to seek for habitations in Russia¹. They first subdued the Courlanders, Livonians, and Esthonianians, and extending their conquests still farther, they exacted tribute from the Novogrodians, settled kings over them, and traded as far as Kiow, and even to Greece. These intruders were called Waregers, which, according to professor Müller, signifies "sea-faring people," or, if derived from the old northern word war, "warlike-men," and was probably first used by the Scandinavians, afterwards by the Russians, and, in time, came to pass for a proper name. To these Waregers the name of Ruffes or Russians, which was entirely unknown before the ninth century, owes its origin, as several eminent writers have proved (B). They first used it, according to the Russian annals; and the Fins, to this day, though they can assign no reason for it, give the Swedes the name of Ruffes, or rather Rossa-Laine, and stile themselves Suoma-Laine, that is, people living among fens or morasses. From them the Novogrod Sclavonians seem to

¹ BUSCHING.

quite to the borders of China, are called Tshudi: for professor Müller, upon inquiring in those parts, by whom the ancient buildings and sepulchral monuments there were erected, and whether they were the works of the Russians? was every where answered by the inhabitants, that those monuments, &c. were set up by the Tshudi, who, in ancient times, had lived in that country. Now these Tshudi, who, as the Russian history informs us, inhabited the north part of Russia antecedently to the present possessors, are properly the Fins, Carelians, and Finnean Esthlanders: for the adjective Tshudski is still retained in the Russian language, as in Tshudskoi-Oserce, which is the name they give to the Peipus-lake, and Tshudskoi-Jasick, by

which they mean the Finnean or Esthonian language.

(B) T. S. BAYER, de Vearagis, tom. iv. Comment. Acad. Scient. Imp. Petrop. p. 275. ERICI JUL. BIOERNER Sched. Hist. Geograph. de Vearagis heroibus Scandianis, & primis Russiæ Dynostiis, Stocklomiæ, 1743. 4to. ARVID MOLLERUS, de Vearagia, 1731. ALGOT SCARINUS de originibus prisca gentis Vearagorum; and professor Müller, in the manuscript of his curious and elaborate work de originibus gentis & nominis Russorum, of which the publication has been unfortunately prohibited, as we observed before.

have

have borrowed the name of *Russes*, which they give to all foreigners that come into their country from the north, and which they gave to the *Waregers* : and when these last afterwards became tributaries to the former, they themselves were also included under the name of *Russians* ; as the *Gauls*, when conquered, were called *Franks*, and the ancient *Britons* changed their name into that of *Angles* or *Englishmen*^m. Those who deduce the origin of the *Russians* from the ancient *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, or *Sauromatians*, a point which some writers have laboured greatly, give no farther proof of it than that they possess the country formerly inhabited by those nations ; which nobody disputes : but they should have considered, that as no family on earth knows its first author, so no people can know their first origin. The etymology of the word *Russia* is uncertain ; for it is neither derived from *Rosch*ⁿ, “ a dispersed people,” as some have thought, nor from an imaginary prince of the name of *Rusi*, the brother of *Zech* and *Lech*, &c. as others pretend. Nor are the *Russians* so called from *Rusi*, an ancient city ; for the latter rather derived its name from the former, by whom it was inhabited. To give *Russia* the name of *Moscow* from its capital *Moscow*, is as improper, as if we should term it the *Peterburgian* empire ; or call *France* the *Parisian* monarchy, from *Paris* the capital of that kingdom.

It might be worth a critic's while to enquire, whether the *Waregers*, or *Waregi*, may not possibly have been *Franks*, who emigrated from the northern part of *Europe*, called *Scandinavia* : for tho' they at first differed much from the *Slavonians*, in their language, customs, and manner of living ; yet the two nations, by degrees, became so connected, and blended together, as not to be distinguished in succeeding times ; and to this day the *Asiatics* call the *Europeans*, *Parengi Franks*. We shall find the formation of most states to have been nearly the same. *France* is peopled by a mixture of *Goths*, of *Danes* called *Normands*, of northern *Germans* stiled *Burgundians*, of *Franks*, of other *Germans*, of some *Romans* blended with the ancient *Celts*. *Rome* and *Italy* are full of families which came originally from northern countries, whilst they know not one descended from the ancient *Romans*. The sovereign pontiff is frequently the offspring of a *Lombard*, a *Goth*, a *Teuton*, or a *Cimbrian*. The *Spaniards* are a race of *Arabians*, *Carthaginians*, *Jews*, *Visigoths*, and *Vandals*, incorporated with the natives of the soil. The

^m BUSCHING: ⁿ Ezekiel, ch. xxxviii. ver. 2, 3. and ch. xxxi. ver. 1. VOLTAIRE.

English are a compound of many nations. When different people are thus intermixed, it is a long while before they become civilized, or even form their language. Good order and the arts are established with such difficulty, and revolutions so frequently defeat the very best attempts to introduce them, that if any thing is to be wondered at, it is, that most nations do not live like *Tartars*.

That *Russia*, and particularly that part of it which is properly so called, was divided into a great number of petty principalities and lordships, in the dark ages we are speaking of, is certain; but for want of records relative to those times, either in the *Russian* writers, or in historians of other nations, we cannot pretend to say; nor indeed is it of any consequence to us to know, what were those several districts, what their boundaries, nor how, or by whom they were governed. Their princes, as despotic as their power would suffer them to be, were continually at war, either to defend themselves, or to invade their neighbours. The most horrid rapine, cruelty, and devastations attended the triumphs of the inhuman conqueror, and all were plunged in the utmost misery and distress; when *Gostomi'el* P, a principal man among the *Novogrodians*, by whom he was highly revered for his prudence and understanding, pitying the unhappy fate of his countrymen, and seeing no other probable way to remedy their calamities, advised them, he himself having no male heirs, to apply to their most potent neighbours the *Wargers*, and offer them the government of their country. The proposal was readily accepted; and three princes, of known abilities and valour, named *Ruric*, *Sineus*, and *Truwor* (A), who are generally supposed to have been brothers, were sent to govern them. The first of these took up his residence at *Ladoga*, which some writers call *Garderyk*, in the principality of *Great Novogrod*; the second at *Bielo-Ozero*, or the *White-lake*; and the third kept his court at *Iborfk*, or, according to *Petreyus*, at a small town then called *Twertzog*, in the principality of *Pleskow*.

Ruric, *Sineus*, and *Truwor* collected for their chiefs.

• P History of Kiow, and PETREIUS.

(A) *Petreyus* (1), to shew that these three princes were probably of *Swedish* extraction, derives the name of *Ruric* from *Ric*; that of *Sineus*, from *Sigge*, or *Swen*; and that of *Truwor* from *Tur*, *Trotte*, or *Tufwe*. The first of these etymologies is natural enough; but the two last seem forced.

They die,
and are
succeeded
by

THE three brothers reigned amicably, and made considerable additions to their respective territories, all of which, at length devolved to *Ruric*, by the death of *Sineus* and *Truvor*, who left no issue: but for want of records we cannot say what these additions were, nor the exact time when the three brothers were invited to *Russia*.

A. D.
878.

Igor,

Ruric died about the year of Christ 878¹, and left his dominions to his son *Igor*, a minor, whom he committed to the care of a relation named *Olech*, who governed with great integrity during the young prince's minority, enlarged his possessions by the conquest of several towns and countries, particularly towards the south; undertook an expedition against *Constantinople*, which he besieged, but in vain; and, in his return home, lost his life by the bite of a serpent².

who mar-
ries Olga.

and is kill-
ed.

Olga be-
comes a
Christian.

Igor then returned to *Plescow*, where he married *Olga*, a lady of the best family in that city (B), and had by her a son called *Swetoflaw*. Going to demand tribute of the *Drevenses*, or *Drevliani*, as some writers call them, a people bordering on the *Volga*, he was murdered by them. His widow *Olga* revenged his death: after which she went, for what reason we know not, to *Constantinople*, where she was baptised, and received the name of *Helena*.

The emperor *John Timisce* was her god-father, and fell in love with her, we are told: but she, alledging their spiritual alliance, refused to marry him. Her example made some impression upon her subjects, several of whom became converts to christianity: but none upon her son, who reigned for a long while after her death, which happened at *Pereflaw*, in the 80th year of her age, and fourteen years after her baptism³. The *Russians*, to this day, rank her among their saints, and commemorate her festival on the 11th of *July*.

Swetoflaw
sovereign.

Swetoflaw was a great warrior, and enlarged his dominions by the acquisition of several new territories: but embarking in an expedition against the *Greeks*, at the head of a numerous army, he was defeated, and forced to fly to the *Peucingians*, or, as some *Russian* writers call them, the *Petschenesians*, whose prince *Malditto* killed him treacherously, and made a drinking vessel of his skull (C). *Petrieus*, indeed, says,

¹ Chron. Kiow. ² PETREIUS.

³ J. A. AHLENBERG, c. viii.

(B) *Reutenfels* (1) calls her the niece of *Gostomisel*.

(C) *Strahlenberg* (2) takes these

Peucingians, or *Petschenesians*, to be the same with the *Drevliani* mentioned before, who

cap. vi.

(2) c. viii.

says¹, that this was done by the Greek general, after *Swetoslav* had been killed in battle.

Swetoslav left three sons, *Jaropolck*, *Olech*, and *Wolodimir*, among whom his inheritance was divided. *Jaropolck* had the province of *Kiow*; *Olech*, the country of the *Drewliani*; and *Wolodimir* had *Novogrod*. *Jaropolck* raised an army, with the help of which he killed his brother *Olech*; and *Wolodimir*, in his turn, killed *Jaropolck*. The two former were legitimate: but *Wolodimir* was born of a concubine, named *Malischa*^m.

INHERITING his father's valour, and now sole possessor of a vast dominion, by the murder of his brothers, *Wolodimir* curbed all the neighbouring princes, awed the factious at home, extended his frontiers, and through the terror of his arms, founded on their rapid success, made his subjects enjoy the sweets of peace, which they had never tasted before.

During this happy calm, setting himself above the barbarous custom of his country, he demanded in marriage the princess *Anne*, sister to the Greek emperor *Basilius Porphyrogenitus*. His suit was granted, on condition that he should embrace christianity; to which he agreed; and the *Constantinopolitan* patriarch *Photius*, so famous for his immense erudition, his quarrels with the church of *Rome*, and his misfortunes, rejoiced at the opportunity of adding this part of the world to his patriarchate, ordered *Anastasius*, bishop of *Corsun*, to baptize him. *Wolodimir* received the name of *Basilius*, and twenty thousand of his subjects, say the *Russian* annals, were christened the same day. To this epocha, of the year 987, *Russia* owes the first effectual introduction of the Greek religion, to which it has adhered ever since. *Michael Syra*, or *Cyrus*, a Greek, sent by *Photius*, was received as first metropolitan, or patriarch, of the whole country. *Wolodimir*, at the same time, put away all his then wives and concubines; of the former of which he had six, according to *Petereius*, and other writers; and of the latter, upwards of eight hundred. By those wives he had twelve sons, who were baptized with him. The idols of paganism were thrown down; churches and monasteries were erected; towns built; and the arts, children of plenty and repose, began to flourish under the

A. D.
976.
Wolodimir.

A. D.
987.
He embraces christianity.

¹ Par. ii.

^m PETREIUS; *ibid*.

dwelt upon the borders of the *Wolga*; and infers from their making a drinking vessel of *Swetoslav's* skull, which

was customary among the ancestors of the *Mungals* and *Calmuks*, that they were probably of *Hun* or *Man* extraction.

auspices of a prince willing and able to protect them. The *Slavonian* letters were now first introduced into *Russia*; and *Wolodimir* sent missionaries to convert the *Bulgarians*; but only three or four of their princes came to him, and were baptizedⁿ.

*Divides
his domi-
nions a-
mong his
twelve
sons,*

THIS dawn of happiness seemed to presage a lasting series of blessings. But *Wolodimir*, forgetting what he had himself experienced in his own brothers, imprudently divided his dominions among his twelve sons. Sovereign power seldom admits of such a distribution. The rival brothers became mortal enemies, and as soon as he was dead, replunged their country into all the horrors of murders, massacres, and civil wars. After a long and prosperous reign, he died in the city of *Wolodimir*, which he had built, and made his principal residence. He was called, whilst living, the *Apostle and Solomon* of the *Russians*, who, to this day, honour him as a saint.

GREAT part of *Lithuania*, *Podlachia*, *Red-Russia*, *Upper* and *Lower Podolia*, the duchies of *Smolensko*, *Potoczsk*, *Witepsk*, *Novogrod*, *Twer*, *Muscovy*, *Severia*, *Czernicow*, and all the countries between the *Wilia* and the *Pripeck*, became subject to him.

A. D.
1008.

*who de-
stroy one
another.*

THESE extensive regions, formidable whilst they were united under one sovereign, became weak and defenceless when divided among many. The rage of ambition soon rendered them the alternate theatres of every crime. *Suetopolk*, one of *Wolodimir's* sons, lord of the province of *Twer*, caused two of his brothers to be assassinated, and seized on their duchies. *Jaroslav*, to whose share *Novogrod* had fallen, either from a desire to revenge the murder of his brothers, or willing to make that a pretence for enlarging his own territories, attacked the usurper, and forced him to fly for refuge to *Boleslas* I. king of *Poland*, who, less animated, in reality, by any motive of regard or friendship, than glad of the opportunity of retaliating upon the *Russians* the miseries they had formerly made the *Poles* suffer, received the fugitive prince, espoused his cause, crossed the river *Bog* at the head of a powerful army, and defeated *Jaroslav*. *Kiow* became the victor's reward, and the new ally of *Poland* was re-established, but subjected to a tribute. *Suetopolk*, forgetting the service done him, proved perfidious, as soon as he thought he could be so with impunity; and against his subjects, endeavoured to destroy his benefactors: but the hand that had raised him, defeated his designs. The perjured *Russian* re-

^a STRAHLENBERG, c. viii.

^o PETREIUS.

received the just punishment of his treachery: his principal cities were delivered up to the *Poles*, and he himself was obliged to fly from their pursuits, and from those of his family.

Jaroslav recruited his forces, and attacked his other brothers, all of whom he dispossessed of their dominions, which he seized (A). He then turned his arms against the *Cosaks*, over whom he gained several advantages; and, encouraged by the rapidity of his successes, resolved once more to try his fortune against the *Poles*: but he was again obliged to yield to the valour of *Boleslas*, and to the discipline of troops more experienced than his own. The conqueror contented himself with imposing a new tribute upon *Russia*, restored to *Jaroslav* the prisoners of war, without ransom, confirmed him in his possessions, and reduced by his generosity a rival, whose miscarriages had served only to render him the more enterprising. The *Russian* prince continued quiet during the remainder of the reign of *Boleslas*: but shook off the yoke under his successor, *Miecsilas* II. a weak and indolent king, who saw his enemies ravage his country, without daring to oppose them. *Casimir*, more politic than warlike, on his accession to the throne of *Poland*, prevented the evils with which *Jaroslav* still continued to menace that kingdom, by giving up to this last the conquered places then possessed by the *Poles*, and offering him a lasting friendship, which he proposed to confirm by a marriage with his sister, the daughter of *Wolodimir*. The offer was gladly accepted, and *Jaroslav* continued faithfully attached to the interests of his new ally and brother-in-law, and was of singular service to him in all his wars.

THIS structure of power, which had cost so many crimes, murders, and battles, was again overthrown by *Jaroslav's* dividing his dominions among his five sons, whom he named his successors. The horrors of civil war were soon renewed under princes equally able to hurt each other, and equally ambitious. Neither party was weak enough to be forced to submit, nor strong enough to command respect. *Izaslav*, prince of *Kiow*, the eldest among them, distinguished him-

A. D.

1052.

Divides his dominions among his five sons. Their quarrel.

(A) *Boris* and *Ghlieb*, two of those brothers, who lost their lives in these commotions, were so esteemed for their piety and moderation, that the *Russians* now reckon them among the saints and martyrs, and invoke them as such; the former by the name of *David*, and the latter by that of *Romanus* (1).

(1) *P. trejusz.*

self by the blackest treachery. Surprising unawares his brother *Wzeslaw*, duke of *Poleczk*, and his sons, he put them in irons, and threatened them with immediate death, if they did not renounce all their rights, in his favour. The people, incensed at his behaviour, took up arms against him; and at the same time *Wzeweld* and *Swetoslaw*, two of the other brothers, joined to oppose an enemy from whose cruelty and injustice they themselves had no less to fear. *Izafslaw* was defeated, and *Wzeslaw* reaped the fruits of the victory; his brothers putting him in possession of the principality of the rival who would have deprived him of his inheritance. *Izafslaw*, vanquished and pursued, sought refuge in *Poland*, from *Boleslas II.* whom he easily engaged in his interests; that monarch wanting only a pretence to foment the divisions in *Russia*. *Wzeslaw* marched a numerous army of *Russians* and *Walachians*, to defend the frontiers of his dominions: but the resolute appearance of the *Poles*, with the good order and regularity of their disciplined troops, struck him with such terror, that he shamefully fled, and was followed by his soldiers. The king of *Poland* reinstated the prince his ally in his own duchy, and in that of the cowardly *Wzeslaw*, who continued to retreat, as fast as the enemy advanced. *Boleslas* treated *Russia* like a conquered country, draining it by enormous exactions, and still more by the excessive profusions instigated by his propensity for pleasures, and the unbounded licentiousness which he tolerated in his army. He took possession of the district of *Perzemysla*, which he pretended to claim in right of his wife, who was a princess of *Russia*: but he soon quitted it again, and left there only a few troops, not sufficient to keep the inhabitants in subjection. This was, doubtless, the effect of policy; that he might have the plea of revenge to return again into a country, which he was endeavouring to weaken by frequent invasions. What he foresaw, happened: the *Poles* had no sooner retreated, than the *Russians* revolted; *Izafslaw* was driven out of his dominions by his brothers; and all *Russia* was again involved in civil broils, to which *Boleslas* quickly added the miseries of a foreign war. Putting himself at the head of a numerous army, he engaged and defeated the confederate princes, and penetrated as far as *Kiow*, to which he laid siege. This place was well defended, and held out so long, that the enemy began to despair of taking it, when an epidemic distemper broke out in the city, and made greater havock than all the ravages of war. *Boleslas* then offered his assistance to its distressed inhabitants, and won them by his well-timed care. The *Russians* looked upon him as their

Policy of
the Poles
to weaken
Russia.

They be-
come mas-
ters of
Kiow.

their protector, rather than their conqueror. He made this country tributary to his crown; re-established *Izaslav* in his duchy, rather in quality of governor under him, than as sovereign; divided among the sons of *Izaslav*, the dominions which belonged to their uncles; and married his own son *Miceas* to the princess *Eudoxia*, daughter of *Swetopolk*, duke of *Novogrod*.

THE Vexatery of the *Polish* government, and the disgrace of bearing a foreign yoke, roused the *Russians* again to arms. Their sovereigns formed four armies, with which they invaded *Poland* on different sides, and afterwards assembled on the banks of the *Vistula*, in order to return in a body into their own country, and by that means preserve their booty and prisoners. But *Boleslaus III.* duke of *Bohemia*, and afterwards king of *Poland*, cut off their passage, defeated them, and took from them all the fruits of their depredations.

The Russians invade Poland, and are defeated.

WHEN foreign nations suffered *Russia* to enjoy tranquillity, its own sovereigns were continually raising intestine commotions. One of these, more fortunate and more enterprising than the rest, *Wolodimir II.* nephew to *Izaslav*, possessed himself of the greatest part of these countries, and caused himself to be declared *Monomach*, or sole universal monarch^p. He transferred his whole power to his son *Wsewold II.* but this last plunged the state into fresh disorder, by dividing his dominions amongst his children, who set up so many separate states, incessantly employed in destroying each other. These rival princes renewed the horrid scenes of treachery, assassinations, domestic animosities, and fratricides. The *Tartars*, a people who live by rapine, availed themselves of these divisions to make incursions into *Russia*, and glut themselves with carnage, of which they are as greedy as of plunder.

A. D. 1106. Wolodimir II. sole sovereign of Russia.

Wsewold II. divides his dominions among his children. The Tartars invade Russia.

THE principalities of *Wolodimir*, *Halitz*, and *Kiow*, though considerable when united, were not able separately to resist the frequent incursions of the *Poles*. However, *Jaropolk*, duke of the last of these places, collecting all his forces, resolved to make an effort to retaliate upon *Poland* the injuries he had sustained from that kingdom. The storm was ready to break out under the direction of this active prince, when the *Polish* count *Wloszczewicz*, formed and executed alone a scheme for preventing the calamities which threatened his country. Under pretence of being dissatisfied with his court, he desired the *Russian* prince to afford him an asylum, and promised to devote to him his abilities in the art of war. The

Jaropolk meditates revenge against the Poles.

A. D. 1135.

Is betrayed and taken prisoner. duke of *Kiew* gave too easy credit to the counsels and pretended friendship of the perfidious *Pole*, who seized him, and carried him away prisoner through bye-roads into *Poland*.

Wasilkon revenges his father Jaropolk.

Wasilkon, son of *Jaropolk*, had likewise recourse to artifice to revenge his father. He prevailed on a *Hungarian* lord to repair to the court of *Poland*, and solicit a government. The stratagem took, and the *Hungarian* was put in possession of *Willisca*, an important place in the palatinate of *Cracovia*, which he immediately delivered up to the *Russians*; and even put himself at their head to destroy it by fire and sword, after having first loaded the inhabitants with chains. Not satisfied with this, *Wasilkon* laid a still more fatal snare for *Poland*. He deprived *Jaroslav*, the ally of that crown, of his duchy of *Halitz*, and drove him from his dominions. The dispossessed prince implored the assistance of *Boleslas* III. upon which *Wasilkon*, who expected that he would take that step, and had laid his plan accordingly, bribed some of the principal inhabitants of the duchy of *Halitz*, and prevailed upon them to go to the court of *Poland*, and represent to *Jaroslav* and the king, that their presence, with a few select *Polish* soldiers, would be sufficient to effect the conquest of the duchy of *Halitz*; that the inhabitants of that country, and almost all *Russia*, would second them; and that their enemy was also engaged in a foreign war. These deputies could not be suspected, and what they said bore an air of truth. *Boleslas*, desirous to take advantage of these favourable circumstances, hastened away with only a small body of troops, and marched to *Russia*, as to a sure conquest. *Wasilkon*, who waited for him with a great army, suffered the *Poles* to entangle themselves in the defiles, and then fell upon them. *Boleslas*, for the first time, was forced to seek his safety in flight, with the shame and grief of having been imposed upon, and of having seen his bravest warriors perish ingloriously, without being able to defend themselves.

A. D.
1182.
Contentions for the duchy of Halitz

THE hostilities between *Russia* and *Poland* continued with the same violence under *Boleslas* III. and *Casimir* II. which last made an irruption into the duchy of *Halitz*, to reinstate his nephew *Mieleslas*, who had been driven from thence: but the *Russians*, hating a master not of their own choosing, poisoned him, and offered his dominions to *Wladimir*, another nephew of the king of *Poland*. *Wladimir*, to strengthen himself, sought the assistance of the *Hungarians*, whose friendship he had experienced before. But *Belas*, king of *Hungary*, instead of helping his ally, put him in chains, and took possession of his territories, into which he sent his son *Andrew* in quality of vice-roy. The captive prince, however, escaping from

from his prison, applied to the *Poles*, always ready to take up arms against the *Russians*, and with their assistance defeated the *Hungarians*, and recovered the duchy of *Halitz*, which he rendered tributary to his late benefactors.

THE death of *Wladimir* occasioned fresh feuds and contentions. The greatest part of the *Russian* princes asserted, sword-in-hand, their right to the duchy of *Halitz*. *Romanus*, duke of *Lucko*, gained possession of it with the help of *Poland*, and afterwards became a most implacable enemy to that power, whose vassal he disdained to be. But fortune did not second his high sentiments. *Lesko*, then general, and afterwards king of *Poland*, killed him in battle on the banks of the *Vistula*, and made a dreadful slaughter of his numerous army.

THE *Russians* were reduced to a most deplorable situation, perpetually distressed by their own sovereigns, harrassed by their neighbours, and exposed to all the calamities of war; when, to complete their misery, the *Tartars*, still greater savages than themselves, poured in upon them with irresistible fury, and actually made a conquest of their country. History does not inform us of the particulars of this remarkable event, any farther than that innumerable multitudes of those barbarians, headed by their khan *Battq*, or *Battus*, after ravaging great part of *Poland* and *Silesia*, broke suddenly into *Russia*, and laid every thing waste before them, marking their steps with every act of cruelty. Most of the *Russian* princes, among whom was the great duke *George Sevoloditz*, were made prisoners, and racked to death: in short, none found mercy, but those who voluntarily acknowledged the *Tartars* for their lords. The relentless conqueror imposed upon the *Russians* every thing that is most mortifying in slavery; insisting that they should have no other princes than such as he approved of; and that they should pay him a yearly tribute, to be brought by their sovereigns themselves, now his vassals, on foot, who were to present it humbly to the *Tartarian* ambassador on horseback. They were also to prostrate themselves before the haughty *Tartar*, to offer him milk to drink, and if any drops of it fell down, to lick them up: a singular mark of servility, worthy of the barbarian who imposed it, and which lasted near two hundred and sixty years.

George Sevoloditz was succeeded by his brother *Michael Sevoloditz Zernigop*, who opposed the *Tartars*, but was defeated by them and lost his life. He left three sons, *Fedor*, *Alexander*, and *Andrew*, whose wars with each other, but

A. D.
1237.
Russia sub-
jected by
the Tar-
tars.

none for the public good, ended in the murder of them all. A son of *Alexander*, and of the same name, was then placed on the throne by the *Tartars*; and his son *Danilow*, or *Daniel Alexandrowitz*, removed his court from *Wolodimir* to *Moscow*, where he first assumed the title of *Great Duke of Wolodimir and Moscow*. *Daniel Alexandrowitz* left two sons, *Gregory* and *John*; the former of which, surnamed *Kapita*, from a purse he used always to carry about him filled with money for the poor, ascended the throne; but he was soon assassinated by another prince named *Demetri Michelschwitz*, who was himself put to death for it by the *Tartars*; and *John*, likewise surnamed *Kalita*, was then made czar. This *John* left three sons, *John*, *Simon*, and *Andrew*; and the eldest of these, commonly called *Iwan Iwanowitz*, was made czar with the approbation of the *Tartars*, on whom he was dependent.

*Attacked
by the Li-
vonians
and Poles.*

DURING these several reigns, which fill a space of upwards of an hundred years, and which all historians have passed over as slightly as we are forced to do, for want of records concerning them, the miseries of a foreign yoke were aggravated by all the calamities of intestine discord and war; whilst the knights of *Livonia*, or brothers of the short sword, as they are sometimes called, a kind of military order of religious, on one side, and the *Poles* on the other, catching at the opportunity, attacked *Russia*, and took several of its towns, and even some considerable countries. The *Tartars* and *Russians*, whose interests were in this case the same, often united to oppose their common enemies; but were generally worsted. The *Livonians* took *Pleskow*, and the *Poles* made themselves masters of *Black Russia*, the *Ukraine*, *Podolia*, and the city of *Kiow*. *Casimir the Great*, one of their kings, carried his conquests still farther. He asserted

*Their con-
quests.*

A. D.

1340.

his pretensions to a part of *Russia*, in right of his relation to *Boleslaus*, duke of *Halitz*, who died without issue, and forcibly possessed himself of the duchies of *Perzemyslia*, *Halitz*, and *Luckow*, and of the districts of *Sanock*, *Lubaczew*, and *Tiebrzula*; all which countries he made a province of *Poland*.

THE newly-conquered *Russians* were ill-disposed to brook the government of the *Poles*, whose laws and customs were more contrary to their own, than those of the *Tartars* had been. They joined the latter to rid themselves of the yoke, and assembled an army numerous enough to overwhelm all *Poland*, but destitute of valour and discipline. *Casimir*, undaunted by this deluge of barbarians, presented himself at the head of a few troops, on the borders of the *Visula*, and obliged his enemies to retire.

Demetrius

Demetrius Iwanowitz, son of *Iwan Iwanowitz*, who commanded in *Moscow*, made frequent efforts to rid himself of the galling yoke. He defeated in several battles *Mamay khan* of the *Tartars*, and when conqueror, refused to pay them any tribute, and assumed the title of *Great Duke of Muscovy*. But the oppressors of the north returned in greater numbers than before; and *Demetrius*, at length overpowered, after a struggle of three years, perished with his whole army, which, if we may credit historians, amounted to upwards of two hundred and forty thousand men.

Basilius Demetriwitz revenged his father's death. He attacked his enemies, drove them out of his dominions, and conquered *Bulgaria*. Equally politic and brave, he made an alliance with the *Poles*, whom he could not subdue, and even ceded to them a part of his country, on condition that they should help him to defend the rest against any new incursions of the *Tartars*. But this treaty was a weak barrier against ambition. The *Russians* found new enemies in their allies, and the *Tartars* soon returned. All endeavours to establish a peace merely by conventions, will ever prove ineffectual: a nation is not secure, whilst its neighbours have the power of hurting it.

Basilius Demetriwitz had a son who was called after his name, and to whom the crown ought naturally to have descended. But the father, suspecting his legitimacy, left it to his own brother *Gregory*, a man of a severe and a tyrannical disposition, and therefore hated by the people, who asserted the son's right, and proclaimed him their sovereign. The *Tartars* took cognizance of the dispute, and determined it in favour of *Basilius*; upon which *Gregory* had recourse to arms, drove his nephew from *Moscow* to the principality of *Uglitz*, and forcibly usurped and kept possession of his throne. Upon the death of *Gregory*, *Basilius* returned to *Moscow*: but *Andrew* and *Demetrius*, sons of the late usurper, laid siege to that city, and obliged him to retire to the monastery of *Troitz*, where they took him prisoner, with his wife and son, and put out his eyes: hence the appellation of *Jemnoi*, blind, by which this *Basilius* is distinguished. The subjects of this unfortunate prince, incensed at the cruel treatment he had received, forced the perpetrators of it to fly to *Novogrod*, and reinstated their lawful sovereign at *Moscow*, where he died.

PETREIUS, par. ii. f PETREIUS, par. ii. & HERBERSTEIN ap. Script. rer. Moscovit. p. 6.

THE impenetrable darkness in which the history of the *Russians* has been hitherto involved, such as baffles all endeavours to trace either the regular succession of their sovereigns, or the several dynasties into which they were divided, from the time of their first monarch *Ruric*, down to this period, begins now to clear up a little. Their transactions become important to other nations, the historians of which, for they have not had any of their own, afford us some, though still very imperfect accounts of them: but even these will soon fail us again. What time has obliterated, or what perhaps never was recorded, we cannot call back from oblivion. Perpetually exposed to the fatal vicissitudes of both foreign and domestic wars, inexpressibly distressed by the bloody contests of its own disunited princes, and plunged into all the miseries of complicated slavery, *Russia* was now become a prey to the *Poles* as well as to the *Tartars*, who seemed to vie with each other which should dispose of the empire and its sovereigns. The right of conquest, which subsists no longer than whilst it is supported by power, became a title continually disputed, an inexhaustible source of cruelty and oppression.

A. D. 1450. IN the midst of this general confusion arose one of those men, whom violent passions inspire with boldness, activity, and resolution; in whom impetuous vices sometimes produce the happy effects of heroic virtues. *John Basilowitz* I. by his invincible spirit and refined policy^k, became both the conqueror and deliverer of his country, and laid the first foundation of its future grandeur. Observing, with indignation, the narrow limits of his power at his accession to the throne, after the death of his father *Basilus the Blind*, he began immediately to revolve within himself the means of enlarging his dominions. Marriage, though he had in reality no regard or inclination for women^l, seemed to him one of the best expedients he could begin with; and accordingly he demanded and obtained *Maria*, sister of *Michael* duke of *Twar*, whom he soon after deposed, under pretence of revenging the injuries done to his father, and added this duchy to his own territories of *Moscow*^m. *Maria*, by whom he had a son named *John*, who died before himⁿ, did not live long; and upon her death he married *Sophia*, daughter of *Thomas Paleologus*, who had been driven from

^k CROMERUS, de Orig. & reb. gest. Polon. lib. xxix. ap Piff. Polon. rer. tom. ii. p. 807.

^l HERRERSREIN, Com. res Moscov. p. 8. and BODINUS de Repub. lib. vi. c. i. p. 771.

^m HERRERSTEIN, p. 7. ⁿ THUANUS, adan. 1558.

Constantinople, and forced to take shelter at Rome, where the pope portioned this princess^a, in hopes of procuring thereby great advantages to the *Romish* religion : but his expectations were frustrated, *Sophia* being obliged to conform to the *Greek* church, after her arrival in *Russia*. What could induce *Basilowitz* to seek a consort at such a distance, is nowhere accounted for ; unless it be, that he hoped by this means to establish a pretension to the empire of the east, to which her father was the next heir : but however that may be, the *Russians* certainly owed to this alliance, their deliverance from the *Tartar* yoke. Shocked at the servile homage exacted by those proud victors, her husband going to meet their ambassadors at some distance from the city, and standing to hear what they had to say, whilst they were at dinner ; *Sophia* told him, that she was surprized to find she had married a servant to the *Tartars*^b. Nettled at this reproach, *Basilus* feigned himself ill when the next deputation from the *Tartars* arrived, and under that pretence avoided a repetition of the stipulated humiliating ceremonial^c. Another circumstance, equally displeasing to this princess, was, that the *Tartars* had, by agreement, within the walls of the palace at *Moscow*, houses in which their ministers resided ; to shew their power, and at the same time watch the actions of the great duke^d. To get rid of these, a formal embassy was sent to the *Tartarian Khan*, to tell him, that *Sophia* having been favoured with a vision from above, ordering her to build a temple in the place where those houses stood, her mind could not be at ease till she had fulfilled the divine command, and therefore his leave was desired to pull them down, and give his people others. The *Khan* consented ; the houses within the *Kremlin* were demolished, and no new ones being provided, the *Tartar* residents were obliged to leave *Moscow* ; their prince not being able to revenge this breach of promise, by reason of a war he was then engaged in with the *Poles*. *Basilowitz*, taking advantage of this circumstance, and having in the mean time considerably increased his forces, openly disclaimed all subjection to the *Tartars*, attacked their dominions, and made himself master of *Casan*, where he was solemnly crowned with the diadem

*Shakes off
the yoke
of the
Tartars.*

^a P. JOVIUS, de Leon. Moscovit. inter Script. rer. Moscovit. p. 129. Du CANGE, famil. August. Byzant. p. 248. ^b HERBERSTEIN, p. 8. ^c Id. ibid. ^d PETREII Chron. Moscovit. p. 168.

His conquests.

A. D.
1477.

of that kingdom^c, which is said to be the same that is now used for the coronation of the *Russian* sovereigns. The province of *Permia*, with great part of *Lapland* and *Asiatic Bulgaria*, soon submitted to him; and *Great Novogrod*, a city then so famous, that the *Russians* used to express its vast importance by the proverbial expression of, *Who can resist God and Great Novogrod?* was reduced by his generals after a seven years siege, and yielded him an immense treasure: no less, say some writers^f, than three hundred cart-loads of gold and silver, and other valuable effects. *Alexander Witold*, waiwode of *Lithuania*, was in possession of this rich place, from which he had exacted for some years an annual tribute of 100,000 rubels, a prodigious sum for those days, and for that country, when it was taken by *John Basilowitz*, who, the better to secure his conquest, politically put it under the protection of the *Poles*^g, voluntarily rendered himself their tributary for it, and accepted a governor from the hand of their king *Casimir*, a weak and indolent prince, from whom he well knew he had nothing to fear. The *Novogrodians* continued to enjoy all their privileges till about two years after; when *John*, ambitious of reigning without controul, entered their city with a numerous retinue, under pretence of keeping to the *Greek* faith some of its inhabitants, who, said he, intended to embrace the *Romish* religion^o; and, with the assistance of their archbishop *Theophilus*, stripped them of all their remaining riches^b. He then deposed the treacherous prelate, and established over *Novogrod* new magistrates, creatures of his own; destroying at once, by these means, a noble city, which, had its liberties been protected, and its trade encouraged, might have proved to him an inexhaustible fund of wealth. All the north beheld, with terror and astonishment, the rapid increase of the victor's power: foreign nations courted his alliance; and the several petty princes of *Russia* submitted to him without resistance, acknowledging themselves his vassals.

The *Poles*, however, complained loudly of his late breach of faith in regard to *Novogrod*, and threatened revenge: upon which *Basilowitz*, elated with his successes, with the

^c HERBERSTEIN, *ibi supra*. ^f PETREIUS, par. ii. GUAGNINUS, *Descript. Moscov.* p. 163. ^g MATTHIAS de Michovia, *Chron. Reg. Polon.* l. iv. c. 72. ^o RUSSOUWENS *Lief. Chron.* p. 50. ^b GUAGNINUS, *Loc. supra cit.* & PETREIUS, p. 73.

riches he had amassed, and with the weak condition of most of his neighbours, sent a body of troops into *Lithuania*, and soon become master of several of its towns. *Casimir* applied for assistance to *Matthias*, king of *Hungary*; but was answered by this last, that his own soldiers were quite undisciplined; that his auxiliaries had lately mutinied for want of pay; and that it was impossible for him to raise a new army out of the neighbouring countries. The *Polish* monarch, in this distress, was obliged to purchase of *John* a cessation of arms for two years¹, during which the *Muscovite* made new accessions to his dominions.

THE dukes of *Servia*, whose territories were about five hundred miles in extent², had long thought themselves ill used by the *Lithuanians*, on account of their religion, which was that of the *Greek* church, and wanted to withdraw from their subjection to *Poland*, and put themselves under the protection of *Russia*. The following accident afforded them the wished-for pretence. Their envoys arriving at *Wilna*, desired admittance to the king's presence; which being refused, one of them endeavoured to force his way in: but the porter shut the door rudely against him, and in so doing broke one of his fingers. The servant was immediately put to death for this offence: but the *Servians*, by no means satisfied with that, returned home in great fury, and prevailed upon their countrymen to submit themselves and their country to the *Muscovites*. *Casimir* made several attempts to recall them; but to no purpose.

Servia
submits to
the Rus-
sians.
A. D.
1490.

Matthias, king of *Hungary*, dying about this time, two of his sons, *Uladiuslas*, then king of *Bohemia*, and *John Albert*, contended for the vacant crown. *Casimir* wanted to give it to the latter, whom he accordingly assisted to the utmost of his power; and to enable him the better so to do, though he was in great want of money as well as men, he purchased a renewal of the truce with the *Russians*, and thereby gave *John Basilowitz* time to establish himself in his new acquisitions³.

Casimir died in the year 1492, and was succeeded on the throne of *Poland* by his son *John Albert*, who, totally disregarding the *Russians*, involved himself unnecessarily in a war with the brave *Stephen*, duke of *Moldavia*: and though he had, at the same time, both the *Tartars*, and *Turks* against him, his propensity to pleasure, and his lascivious disposi-

¹ CROMERUS, ap. Pistor. p. 806. ² PETREIUS, p. 52. NEUGEBAUER, lib. vi. p. 424. ³ CROMERUS, lib. xxix. p. 812. NEUGEBAUER, p. 427.

John Bafilowitz makes peace with Poland,

and marries his daughter to the duke of Lithuania.

With whom he seeks a quarrel.

A. D. 1500.

The Russians defeat the Lithuanians.

A. D. 1502.

Are defeated by the Livonians.

tion, rendered him so indolent^m, that he not only did not so much as attempt to molest *Bafilowitz* in any of his possessions, but concluded a peace with him on terms very advantageous to the latter, and even entered into a treaty by which he stipulated not to assist the *Lithuanians*, though they had chosen his brother *Alexander* for their duke, in case the *Russians* should attack them, as it was supposed they wouldⁿ. *Alexander*, thinking to parry the inconveniences of this agreement, and to guard against the designs of his enemies, demanded in marriage *Bafilowitz's* daughter, *Helena*, by his second wife *Sophia*, and obtained her. The *Lithuanians* then flattered themselves with a prospect of tranquillity^o: but the ambitious czar, for *Bafilowitz* had assumed that title since his conquest of *Casan*, aiming only at an increase of dominion, soon found a pretence to break with his new allies, by alledging, that *Polish Russia*, as far as the river *Berezina*, had formerly belonged to his ancestors, and therefore should be his; and that *Alexander*, by his marriage-contract, had engaged to build a *Greek* church at *Wilna* for his *Russian* comfort, which he had not done, but on the contrary endeavoured to force the *Polish Russians* to embrace the religion of the church of *Rome*^h. In consequence of this plea, he sent into the territories of his son-in-law, by different ways, three armies, which reduced several places, destroyed the country about *Smolensko*, and defeated the *Lithuanian* field-marshal *Ostrosky*, near the river *Wedrasch*, where he fell unawares into an ambush of the *Russians*ⁱ. *Alexander* raised a new army of *Silesians*, *Bohemians*, and *Moravians*; but they came too late, the *Russians* having retired with their plunder.

ELATED by their success against the *Lithuanians*, they invaded *Livonia* in the year 1502, with 130,000 men: but *Walter Von Plettenberg*, grand-master of the knights of the cross, with only 12,000 men, gave them a total overthrow; killing 10,000 of his enemies, with scarce any loss on his own side (A). *Bafilowitz*, dispirited by this defeat, and being then engaged in war with the *Tartars*, the *Poles*, and

^m Idem, lib. xxx. p. 820. ⁿ Idem, lib. xxxi. p. 814 and 821. NEUGEBAUER, p. 429. & MICHOWIUS, lib. iv. c. 75. p. 242. ^o HERBERSTEIN, p. 7. CROMERUS, ubi supra. RUSSOUW. Lief. Chron. p. 53. ^h Sacraii Elucidar. error. in præf. p. 185. ⁱ HERBERSTEIN, ubi supra. PETREIUS, p. 167, & GUAGNINUS, tom. 2. rer. Polon. p. 397.

(A) The annals of *Livonia*, p. 75, say, that *Plettenberg* lost but one man; which seems scarcely credible.

the city of *Pleskow*, immediately dispatched an embassy to *Plettenberg*, and concluded a truce with him for fifty years. *With whom they make a truce for 50 years.* At the same time he begged of that general to send to *Moscow*, that he might see him, one of the iron dragoons, as he called them, who had performed wonders in the late engagement. *Von Plettenberg* readily complied; and the czar, struck with admiration, rewarded the cuirassier's extraordinary accomplishments, with considerable honours and presents^t.

Alexander had been elected king of *Poland*, upon the death of his brother *John Albert*, which happened in the beginning of this year: but the *Poles* refused to crown his consort *Helena*, because she adhered to the *Greek* religion^w. Provoked at this affront, and probably still more stimulated by ambition, *Basilowitz* resolved again to try his fortune with them, and accordingly ordered his son *Demetrius*, who was now the eldest, to march against *Smolensko*, and reduce that city. The young prince did all that could be done; but the vigorous resistance of the besieged, and the arrival of the king of *Poland* with a numerous army, obliged the *Russians* to raise the siege, and return home^k; and the czar was glad to make a fresh truce with the *Poles* for six years, upon the easy terms of only returning the prisoners he had taken^t. *another truce with them.* Some writers say, that flying into a violent passion with his son, the moment he saw him, and imputing the miscarriage of this expedition to his want of courage or conduct, he gave him a blow which laid him dead at his feet: to which is added, that remorse for this rash action carried the father to his grave^o: but this account, somewhat very like which has been unjustly imputed to *John Basilowitz II.* as the cause of the death of his son, as we shall see, is not confirmed by authors whose authority can be relied on. Certain it is, however, that neither of them long survived this event, and that *Demetrius* died first: for *Sophia*, who had gained an absolute ascendant over her husband, and wanted to give the sovereignty to her own children, persuaded him, by various artful insinuations, to set aside and imprison his grandson *Demetrius*, the only child of the late *John*, whom he had by

^t TILLEMANNI BRIDENBACHII Bell. Livon. ap. Pistor. rer. Polon. tom. iii. p. 55, 3rd inter Script. rer. Moscovit. p. 227. LEUENCLAUS de Mosc. Bell. l. iii. p. 129. ^w STANISLAI STARNICII Annales, lib. vii. p. 273. ^k MICHOWIUS, lib. iv. c. 8. p. 49. CROMERUS, p. 826. ^e HERBERSTEIN, p. 8. MICHOWIUS, c. 81. and GUAGNINI Chron. Pol. t. ii. p. 397. ^o LACOMBE, Revolutions de Russie, p. 31.

Declares
his grand-
son De-
metrius
his suc-
cessor.

His death,
and cha-
racter.

his first wife *Maria*, and declare her then eldest son, *Gabriel*, his successor (A). Age and infirmities had rendered the czar so weak, that he blindly followed this iniquitous advice : but shortly after, finding his end approach, he sent for young *Demetrius*, expressed great repentance for his barbarity towards him, and on his death-bed declared him his lawful successor^b. He died^c in November 1655.(B), after a reign of 55 years ; leaving behind him an immense territory, chiefly of his own acquiring.

John Basilowitz may justly be looked upon as one of the founders of the vast empire of *Russia*. He had all the qualities which constitute a conqueror ; an enterprising genius, an intrepid soul, and an indefatigable body : but at the same time he had all the vices of a barbarous age, and all the ferocity of his savage country. Battles, bloodshed, and the miseries of war, were his chief delight. He fought and triumphed with that ascendancy which is the result of confidence and a happy temerity ; and had the art of bringing to a sort of discipline, men who, before his time, had not even an idea of regularity, either in attacking others, or defending themselves. His air was commanding, his stature gigantic, his strength surprizing, and his look fierce and terrible.

Cromerus says^f, he never took the field but once in person, and that the success of his generals was entirely owing to his secret management : and baron *Herberstein* observes^b, that *Stephen* duke of *Moldavia* used often to wonder how *Basilowitz* enlarged his dominions without labour or pains, whilst he himself could scarcely defend his own by continual wars. That the policy by which this czar effected almost every thing he did, was such as never respected even the most sacred ties, when he could get any thing by breaking through them, is evident from his actions. History has not transmitted to us so many particulars as we could wish of all his conquests, nor of his wars with the *Poles* and *Swedes* ;

^b CROMERUS, p. 81. MICHOV. l. iv. c. 85, p. 28. HERBERSTEIN, p. 7. PETREIUS, par. 2. ^c RUSSOUW. Lief. Chron. p. 57. MICHOV. ubi supra. HERBERSTEIN, p. 8. ^f Lib. xxix. ap Pistor. rer. Polon. t. ii. p. 807. ^b P. 8.

(A) *John Basilowitz* had five sons by his second wife, *Sophia*, viz. *Demetrius*, who died before his father, as we have just observed, *Gabriel*, *Gregory*, *Simon*, and *Andrew*.

(B) *Petreius*, and some others, mistakenly place his death in 1492.

particularly

particularly with these last, under their administrator *Steen Sture*, about the year 1479. The depredations of time, and the want of records, necessarily occasion chasms in all histories, which later writers cannot fill up. Though he punished drunkenness severely in others, and to prevent it, prohibited the selling of strong liquors; he was himself greatly addicted to excessive drinking, scarce a day passing without his being intoxicated at dinner; when he would fall asleep at table, his attendants waiting in silent dread till he awoke; after which, indeed, he generally gave a loose to mirthⁿ. The poor were never suffered to approach him, nor were his ears ever open to their complaints^o. Yet, with all this, even in his life time, he was stiled *the Great*. His conquests, indeed, might intitle him to that distinction, as has been the case with others; but we see nothing else that could. It was reserved for another czar truly to merit that glorious appellation, by being the father of his people. *Basilowitz* first encircled *Moscow* with a wall; and the city of *Iwanograd* was built by him in one summer^p. He also enlarged the titles of the *Russian* sovereigns; stiling himself great duke of *Wolodimir*, *Moscow*, and *Novograd*, and lord of all the *Russias*.

John Basilowitz was no sooner dead, than his son *Gabriel* A. D. *Iwanowitz*, at the instigation of his mother *Sophia*, sacrificed the young *Demetrius*, by confining him again in a prison, where he perished; some say, of hunger and cold. *Iwanowitz* 1505. *Basilus* During the short time this unfortunate prince survived his grandfather, *Gabriel* stiled himself only *guardian of the realm*^q; but upon his death, he ascended the throne, was crowned by the name of *Basilus*, which he liked better than that of *Gabriel*, and took all the titles then belonging to the sovereignty, to which some say he first added that of *czar*: but it seems more probable that this title had been assumed before by his father, upon his conquest of *Casan*.

Alexander, king of *Poland*, concluding that *Russia* would now be distracted a-new by factions and civil wars, which might afford him an opportunity of recovering what his father had lost, marched into *Lithuania*, to be in readiness to act: but after waiting there some time, finding that there was no possibility of relieving or setting up the young *Demetrius*, he returned home, and died the next year^r. *Basilus*, in his turn, expected that the *Polas* would quarrel, as usual, about

ⁿ HERBERSTEIN, p. 11. ^o Idem ibid. ^p CROMERUS, p. 831. & HERBERSTEIN, ubi supra. ^q PETREIUS, p. 166. HERBERSTEIN, p. 8. ^r CROMER. lib. xxx. p. 831, 832.

A. D. 1507. the choice of a new king, and prepared to take advantage of their dissensions: but his expectations being frustrated by their unanimous election of *Sigismund I.* a prince of a mild and peaceable disposition, he sent an army into *Lithuania*, and laid siege to *Smolensko*, under pretence that his sister *Helena* had not been treated with the respect due to her dignity as queen dowager, since the demise of her late husband. The besieged made a brave resistance, till news arriving that the crown-troops of *Poland* were coming to their assistance, with the additional aid of 80,000 *Crim-Tartars*, and that they intended also to invade *Russia*, the *Muscovites* returned home with great speed, and their czar, excessively alarmed, thought of suing for peace on almost any terms; when an unexpected incident revived his hopes, by bringing to him one of the ablest generals of that age.

Glinſki
goes over
to the Rus-
ſians.

Michael Glinſki, governor of *Lithuania*, after having been in high favour with king *Alexander* of *Poland*, found his credit decline under his ſucceſſor *Sigismund*, chiefly through the means of *Zabrezinius*, grand-maſtial of *Lithuania*, who charged him with a deſign to conſpire againſt his prince, and render himſelf independent. *Glinſki's* haughty and enterpriſing ſpirit, rendered the accuſation probable; and numbers of enemies, who envied his wealth and power, joined their efforts to ruin him. He petitioned to be heard in his juſtification; but his requeſt not being immediately granted, he fell upon *Zabrezinius* at *Grodno*, and of his own authority put him to death; after which, as he could not expect that *Sigismund* would pardon this proceeding, he took up arms, ſeized ſeveral ſtrong places in *Lithuania*, plundered that province, and fled with his riches to *Moscow*, where he was well received by *Baſilius*, who gave him a conſiderable command, with which he made ſeveral conqueſts for the *Ruſſians*. *Glinſki's* party in *Lithuania* was, however, ſoon diſperſed by the crown-army of *Poland*; whoſe commander, duke *Conſtantine Oſtroffki*, penetrating to the very gates of *Moscow*, made the czar tremble upon his throne, and forced him to ſubmit to ſuch conditions as the victors thought proper to impoſe. A treaty was concluded, and ratified at *Wilna* the following year, by which all the places taken by *Glinſki* in *Lithuania* were reſtored, and he and his whole family were baniſhed to *Moscow*.

The Poles
invade
Ruſſia,
and force
Baſilius to
ſubmit.

Baſilius, diſſembling his reſentment, remained quiet for a time; after which, pretending to ſet out upon ſome other expedition, he marched with a numerous army, and encamp-

* HERB. p. 9. PETREIUS, p. 170. † DECIUS, p. 302.
‡ PUFFEND. tom ii. p. 254.

ed near *Plescow*, where the *Poles*, relying on the late treaty, and not dreaming of his having any design against them, visited his camp, as that of their friend and ally. But in the mean time the *Muscovite* priests of the *Greek* church at *Plescow*, pursuant to the instructions they had privately received before hand, preached to the people, on whom the voice of bigotry is always too apt to make impression, the expediency of having a sovereign of their own religion; and wrought them up to such a pitch, that they murdered their magistrates, and opened their gates to the czar; who, becoming by this means master of the whole duchy of *Plescow*, made its inhabitants slaves, sent them away to different parts of *Russia*, and replaced them with *Muscovites*, the better to secure his conquest^b. The *Poles* could not stop the progress of this revolution, after it had once begun; the emperor *Maximilian*, who had taken umbrage at their power, being then in league with the czar, and meditating himself an invasion of *Lithuania*, to guard against which their troops were fully employed.

He takes
Plescow by
treachery,
A. D.
1510.

ELATED with this success, *Basilius* led an army of 60,000 and *Smolensko*. men into *Lithuania*, upon *Gliniski's* assurance that he would certainly put him in possession of *Smolensko*; the sovereignty of which the czar promised to give, in that case, to him and his heirs. The country about that city was laid waste, and its walls were battered so long, to no purpose, that the *Russians* began to think of raising the siege, when *Gliniski*, by dint of money, for that was his grand resource, found means to bribe the commanding officers of the garrison, and procured a surrender of the place. *Basilius* entered it the next day, and sent to *Moscow* every thing of value that he found there¹. *Gliniski* then claimed his promise, of which the *Russian* monarch, thinking he could now do without him, or not chusing to trust him too far, eluded the performance; and shortly after, through a series of misfortunes incident to men of his towering spirit, he fell into disgrace with *Basilius*, who suspected that he wanted also to betray him, upon which he was arrested and imprisoned. In effect, *Gliniski* is said actually to have made his terms with *Sigismund*, and obtained pardon of all his former offences, on condition that he should let the *Poles* take back what the *Russians* had conquer-

Gliniski
disgraced
in Russia.

^b HERBERST. p. 56. DECIUS, p. 308. HEIDENST. de bello Moscov. lib. iv. p. 395. ¹ HERB. p. 9. & 79. DECIUS, p. 319. LEUENC. p. 130, & RUSSOUW. p. 130. ^k DECIUS, p. 320. HERB. p. 79. NEUGEB. lib. vii. p. 467.

ed from them in *Lithuania*ⁿ; and *Basilius*, either believing, or pretending to believe him guilty, secured him in a strong prison.

The truce between Russia and Sweden prolonged. THE *Swedes*, alarmed at the success of the *Russians* in taking *Plescow* and *Smolensko*, and at their prodigious armies, the efforts of which they feared might at last be directed against them, desired a prolongation of the truce between the two crowns, for sixty years longer, to which the czar readily agreed^o; though it proved, in fact, a suspension of hostilities only for a short time. *Lithuania* was still the principal object of *Basilius's* designs; and to push that point, he ordered *Ivan Czeladin*, a man of great resolution, and enterprising even to rashness, to march thither with 80,000 men.

The army of the *Poles*, which did not exceed 35,000, including the *Lithuanians*, but which was commanded by the brave and experienced duke *Ostrosski*, met them on the opposite banks of the *Dnieper*, near *Orsova*, and passed that rapid river in their fight. *Czeladin's* officers advised him to fall upon the enemy when about half of them had crossed over: but, confident of success, he answered, that the rest of them would then run away, and that he was determined to gain a complete victory^p. The *Lithuanians* began the attack, but were repelled by the *Russians*, who, imprudently following them, lost an advantageous situation, and found themselves at once exposed to the full fire of the enemy's artillery. The *Polish* cavalry then rushed in among them, sword-in-hand, and made dreadful havock; the trembling *Russians* scarce attempting even to defend themselves. Those who endeavoured to fly, were driven into the *Dnieper* and drowned; and the conqueror, when weary of massacring, made slaves of the rest. At the head of these captives stood the haughty *Czeladin*, foaming with rage, and cursing his stars, for a misfortune which his own vanity alone had brought upon him. Some writers say, his confidence was such, that he left his artillery behind him, in order to march the faster; and it is pretty certain, that the *Russians* were greatly incumbered in this battle by cuirasses, which they had not been used to wear^q. The prisoners were put in irons, and carried to *Wilna*, where baron *Herberstein* says^r, he saw several of them, among whom was *Czeladin* himself, reduced to such misery as even to ask for a few dollars.

A. D.
1514.
The battle of Orsova, between the Russians and the Poles. The Russians are totally defeated.

ⁿ NEUGER. ubi supra. ^o PUFFEND. tom ii. p. 254.
^p GUAGN. tom ii. p. 360. HERB p 9. PEDREIUS, p. 17, & alii.
^q DECIUS, p. 319. ^r p. 10.

Basilus was at *Smolensko* when he received the news of this defeat of his army; upon which, after furnishing that place with provisions and ammunition, which *Ostrosski's* negligence, in not improving his victory, gave him time to do, he left in it a strong garrison, and hastened to *Moscow*, lest his brothers should take advantage of his absence and overthrow. The *Poles*, too late, laid siege to *Smolensko*, but were obliged to raise it; partly by the brave defence of the besieged, partly by the approach of winter, for the battle of *Orsowa* was fought on the 8th of *September*, and partly by their own soldiers, who, thinking they had got booty enough, resolved to go home to spend the produce of their spoils ^f.

THE Pope ordered public thanksgivings for this victory of *The pope the Poles*; and *Sigismund*, to shew his gratitude for that *orders* favour, sent an embassy to his Holiness, with a present of *thank* fourteen bojars taken in the late battle. But these last were *givings* stopped near *Inspruck*, by order of the emperor *Maximilian*, for the who, after treating them handsomely at *Vienna*, ordered them *victory of* to be conveyed back to *Basilus* from *Lubeck*, to the great *the Poles* mortification of the pious *Polish* king; who declared, that he looked upon this proceeding as a violation of the rights of nations ^h.

IN the mean time *Basilus's* danger increased daily, and A. D. every prospect of advantage from his alliance with *Maximi- 1515.* *lian* vanished at once. The *Crim Tartars* not only made in- *Basilus's* cursions into *Russia*, since the battle of *Orsowa*, but threaten- *dangers in* ed a new invasion; and the emperor, having gained his point *crease*. with *Sigismund* of *Poland* and *Uladislaus* king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, by a double marriage, which secured to him the *The empe*- succession of these last kingdoms, sent an ambassador to the *ror break* czar, to desire him to desist from farther hostilities ^k. *Maxi-* off his *alliance* *lian's* former ambassador, who had solicited and promoted *with him* the war from its very beginning, was still at *Moscow*, and had not intimated any thing concerning this change of measures; so that *Basilus*, not knowing what to make of this last, whose name was *Oderum*, treated him as a spy, and had him secured, till, about two months after, he was convinced of his character ^l: but still he could not succeed, nor obtain from *Basilus* any answer to carry back to his master, other than, that the emperor had deserted him at an unsea-

^f HERB. p. 10. DECUS, ubi supra. LEVENCL. tom iii. p. 331. ^g P. JOVIUS, de Leg. Mosc. inter Script. rer. Mosc. p. 120.

^h DECUS, p. 322. ORICKOVIVS, Orat. in fun. Sigism. ap. PIST. tom iii. p. 49. NEUGES. lib. vii. p. 469.

ⁱ HERB. p. 101. ^j DECUS, p. 333.

A. D.
1516.
and sol-
icits in
vain for
Glinſki's
releafe.

ſonable time, and that he could not put ſo ſudden a ſtop to a war, which his imperial majeſty himſelf had deſired him to beginⁿ. It was to ſettle this affair that baron *Herberſtein*, who has left us an account of his journey, and of the ſtate and hiſtory of *Ruſſia*, was ſent to *Moscow* by the emperor *Maximilian*°. This ambaffador tried all his ſkill to perſuade the czar to make peace with the *Poles*; and likewiſe preſented him a particular letter from that monarch in behalf of *Glinſki*, requeſting his releafe: but he wou'd not liſten to either^p.

Baſilius is
unſucceſs-
ful in Li-
vonia.

Baſilius undertook an expedition into *Livonia*; but his troops were ſo ſeverely handled there by *Walter* of *Plettenberg*, that he was obliged to ſue for peace, even upon diſhonourable terms, from that grand-maſter of the knights of the croſs. What thoſe terms were, or what the tranſactions of this war, hiſtory does not inform us. Some advantages which he gained in the countries of *Petſora*, *Samojitia*, *Obdora*, and over the *Negaian Tartars*, for the particulars of which we are equally at a loſs, might help, in ſome meaſure, to conſole him: but a new ſtorm broke out at once in his empire, and threatened to bury him in its ruins.

Sigiſmund
ſtirſ up
the Tar-
tars.

Sigiſmund, reſolving if poſſible to put an end to the war, agreed with the *Crim Tartars*, by money and fair promiſes, that they ſhould invade *Muſcovy* on their ſide, whiſt he would attack it on that of *Opotzka*^q. *Baſilius* got early information of this treaty: upon which he ſent ambaffadors to the *Tartars*, with orders artfully to repreſent to them, that *Lithuania*, being then unprovided with troops, would afford them a rich and eaſy booty; and that the *Poles*, ſecure and careleſs ſince their laſt victory, would naturally imagine that they were arming againſt the *Muſcovites*, in conſequence of their late agreement^u. The hint was reliſhed, and the *Tartar* khan entered *Podolia*, which he over-ran and ravaged without mercy^w; whiſt *Baſilius*, under favour of this diſverſion, ventured to attack *Lithuania* again: but his ſucceſs was ſmall, and he was ſoon obliged to withdraw his troops, for the defence of his own dominions, which the *Tartars*, equally treacherous to him, invaded with 80,000 horſe^x. To palliate their behaviour to the *Poles*, from whom they carried off a prodigious booty, they pretended that their khan's two ſons, young and impetuous, had been the cauſe of this accident; but that, to prove their honeſty, (the czar, per-

Baſilius
counter-
plots him.

ⁿ DECIIUS, p. 335. ° Idem, p. 101. ^p HERB. p. 80. ^q HERB. p. 75. NEUGFB. lib. vii. p. 476. ^u HERB. ubi ſupra. ^w Id. ibid. DECIIUS, p. 335. NEUGFB. ^x DECIIUS, ubi ſupra.
haps

haps, had not performed his promise to them) they would have invaded the *Moscovites*; which they soon after did effectually. *Basilius* sent an army to oppose them; but his troops were defeated, and, after losing upwards of twenty thousand men, forced to abandon a considerable part of their country, which the enemy plundered and laid waste.

THIS check made the czar think of peace with the Poles; but upon his refusing to restore *Smolensko*, as one of the conditions of it, *Sigismund* detached into *Muscovy* a considerable body of horse, who brought back with them great spoils and many prisoners. About the same time the Polish troops who had laid siege to *Opotzka* under the command of their general *Suirexou*, an officer not equal to the undertaking, were defeated and driven away; the next year the Russians were worsted before *Polocz*; and the year after, they were obliged to quit *Lithuania*. Mutual embassies were then sent from each of these contending sovereigns to the other. *Sigismund* insisted on having *Smolensko* returned: and *Basilius*, to elude that point, artfully protracted the negociation so as to give room to think he might be brought to it by degrees, and in the mean while to keep on seemingly good terms; a policy which answered his interests particularly at that time, as he expected another visit from the *Tartars*, in which he was not mistaken.

THOSE of *Casan*, who had been conquered by *John Basilowitz* I. revolted, and were subdued again towards the beginning of the reign of this czar, his son; who, to punish them, appointed for their king, under him, one *Scheale*, a *Tartar*, and of the royal family; a man excessively deformed, frightful to behold, and of a still more shocking disposition of mind. Supported by the Russians, to whom he at the same time bore a mortal hatred, he governed with unbounded cruelty and despotism. The crim khan, *Mendligerei*, had married *Nursultan*, the widow of two kings of *Casan*, and had by her two sons; *Machmetgerei*, who succeeded him, and *Saggerei*. *Nursultan* had no children living by her former marriages. The *Casan Tartars*, abhorring *Scheale's* administration, and detesting their subjection to the Russians, represented to *Machmetgerei* their distressed condition, and begged of him, to give them for their king his brother *Saggerei*, that they might once more recover their liberty; assuring him, in return, that he might ever depend

^b NEUGE. lib. vii. p. 477. ^f DECIUS, p. 338. ^h NEUGE. lib. vii. p. 480. ⁱ Idem p. 489. ^o HERB. p. 67. ⁿ NEUGE. lib. vii. p. 489. ^e HERB. p. 67. ^w STRUXS, tom i. p. 448.

A.D. 1521. on their gratitude and affection^b. *Sapgerei* was conducted to *Casán* by his brother, and crowned there; whilst *Scheale*, upon the news of their approach, fled with great precipitation.

They in vade Russia, take Moscow, and again subject the czar to a tribute. THE *Tartars* then, with an innumerable force, entered *Russia*, ravaged that country, where the czar, not expecting them quite so soon, was yet unprepared to receive them, and penetrated to *Moscow*, of which they made themselves masters. An army which had been sent to oppose their progress, till such time as more troops could be raised, was defeated by them near the river *Occa*, and the czar's brother *Andrew*, who commanded it, was the very first that ran away^c: *Basilius*, with difficulty, made his escape to *Novogrod*; so terrified, that he hid himself by the way under a hay-cock^d, to avoid a straggling party of the enemy. The *Tartars*, however, soon obliged him to sign a writing, by which he acknowledged himself their vassal, and promised to pay them a tribute of so much a-head for every one of his subjects: besides which, *Machmetgerei*, after causing his own statue to be set up in *Moscow*, as a mark of his sovereignty, compelled the fugitive *Russian* monarch to return to his capital; to bring thither in person the first payment of his tribute; and, as a token of his submission, to prostrate himself before that statue^e.

They leave Moscow.

Machmetgerei then left *Moscow*, and returned home with an immense booty, and upwards of eighty thousand prisoners^f, who were made slaves, and sold like cattle to the *Turks* and other enemies of the christians. In his way back, he attempted to take *Rezan*; but was repulsed with considerable loss by *Iwan Kowen*, who commanded in that place for the *Russians*, and narrowly escaped with life, his coat being shot through with a musket-ball. The *Muscovites* pulled down *Machmetgerei*'s statue, broke it to pieces, and shook off their yoke, as soon as their conquerors had left them.

Basilius concludes a truce with the Poles. His treachery against the duke of Servia.

Basilius now talked of nothing but being revenged on the *Tartars*; as a previous step to which he sent ambassadors to king *Sigismund* of *Poland*, to remove all obstructions on that side, and concluded a truce with him for five years^g. Another obstacle, which gave umbrage to the czar, was *Basilius Semetzitz*, duke of *Servia*, a politic and warlike prince, who had always kept himself independent, and whose exten-

^b HERB. p. 368. PETREIUS, p. 91. ^c HERB. p. 70.
^d HERB. p. 68. PETREIUS, p. 92. ^e PETREIUS, p. 93.
^f HERB. p. 69. PETREIUS, p. 54. NEUGEBO. lib. viii. p. 497.
^g HERB. p. 701.

five territories bordered upon the *Russian* dominions. To remove this powerful, and therefore dangerous neighbour, *Basilus Iwanowitz* procured accusations, charging him with a design to put himself under the protection of *Poland*, and take up arms against the state of *Moscow*. *Semetzitz* thereupon desired a safe conduct, that he might go to *Moscow*, to justify himself. His request was granted, and he was received there with great honours and distinction: but on the third day after his arrival in that city, he was seized and thrown into a prison, where baron *Herberstein* saw him^b five years after. *Basilus* took possession of his duchy, and *Wassil* do then marched with a large army to the borders of *Casan*; *min* ons he from whence he returned back, after having built there the *seizes*. city of *Basilogrod*^d, without so much as attempting any one military exploit.

He seemed to be more in earnest the next year, when he sent against *Casan* an army of 180,000 men, who might have done great things if their generals had been fit to command: but one of them, through fear and neglect, exposed his part of the troops to imminent danger of perishing with hunger, and missed several opportunities of making conquests; and the other, secure and indolent, lost about ninety ships laden with provisions and ammunition, on the river *Wolga*, whilst he was asleep. It was indeed generally suspected, that the *Tartars* had not been sparing of their gold to either of these commanders^e. The most that they did, was hiring a few incendiaries to set fire to *Casan*, whilst they looked tamely on; plundering part of the flat country around it, and persuading the *Tartars* to send ambassadors to *Basilus*, to treat of an accommodation; which in fact they did: but their negotiations were carried on so slowly, that baron *Herberstein* found them still at *Moscow*, when he was there on his second embassy; and there was not then the least appearance of a peace^f. This was in the year 1526, when, the emperor *Maximilian* being dead, this baron and count *Neugard* were sent to *Basilus* by the emperor *Charles V.* and his brother the archduke *Ferdinand*, partly to renew the former treaty between the two crowns, which the czar had desired by his ambassador at *Vienna*, and partly to try to mediate peace^g between *Russia* and *Poland* (A).

^b HERB. p. 51.

^c Idem, p. 70.

^d Idem, p. 72, & seq.

^e Idem, p. 73.

^f Idem, de Legat. secund. p. 111.

(A) Baron *Herberstein*'s first embassy to the court of *Moscow* was from the emperor *Maximilian*.

A. D.
1526.
Basilus
repudiates
his wife
Salomea,
on account
of her be-
ing bar-
ren;

TOWARDS the beginning of this year *Basilus* put away his consort *Salomea*, because, after having lived with her near twenty-one years, she had never borne him a child. Before he espoused her, which was in the year 1505, immediately after his accession to the throne, he called together his council and the principal persons in his dominions, and desired them to declare, whether it would be most conducive to the good of his country, that he should marry a native or a foreigner. They all agreed, that it would be best to marry one of their own nation; for that a foreign prince's would introduce many new modes and customs, occasion vast expences, and, besides, be of another religion. This advice was particularly enforced by one *Micrus*, a Grecian nobleman, in great favour with the czar, and much beloved by the people, in hopes that *Basilus* would pitch upon his daughter, who was reckoned a great beauty. However, no less than fifteen hundred young ladies were assembled, and out of them he chose this *Salomea*, the daughter of *Iwan Saburov*. The unfortunate czarina was now conducted to a convent, where she was forced to put on the nun's habit; and upon her breaking out into invectives against the czar for this cruel treatment, his prime minister *Iwan Schygona*, exhibited a specimen of the *Russian* manners, by beating her with a horse-whip, for daring to abuse her lord.

and mar-
ries *Glin-
ski's* niece
Helena.

Basilus then, either repenting his severity against *Gliniski*, and conceiving a more favourable opinion of him, or knowing his great abilities, and willing to secure his fidelity at any rate, married that imprisoned nobleman's niece, *Helena*. *Gliniski* was set at liberty, promoted to greater honours than before, and even appointed one of the regents of the state, in case of the czar's demise, and joint guardian, with two others, of the czarina and her children, if she should have any.

Salomea
said to be
delivered
of a son in
the convent
to which
she was
banished.

Salomea was almost forgot, when news came to court that she was big with child in the convent; and two ladies of distinction, one of whom was wife to the high treasurer, protested that they had been so informed by *Salomea* herself, that they had seen her, and that she had every visible mark of an advanced pregnancy. The czar sent for them, questioned them himself, and, finding their report agree with the public rumour, rewarded their intelligence with a hearty drubbing administered with his own hand. Astonished, however, and alarmed, he sent to the convent persons in whom

HERB. ubi supra. PETREIUS, p. 178.
p. 118. HERB. p. 19.

PETREIUS

he could confide, to inquire into the truth of this strange
^{as 38} *Salomea*, upon their arrival, went directly into
the temple, laid her hands upon the altar, and in their pre-
sence called God to witness, that she had been a true and
faithful wife to *Basilius*, than whom she had never known
any other man; and that she had actually been delivered of
a son, who would appear at a proper time, and revenge her
wrongs; but that they were not worthy to see him then.
The return of these messengers threw *Basilius* into fresh per-
plexities. Convinced that, if she had borne a child, it was
not of his begetting, he was going to condemn her to severe
punishment, and closer confinement; but his friends advised
him rather to drop the affair, and let it bury itself in obli-
vion.

The emperor's ministers still continued to exert their
endeavours to mediate a reconciliation between the *Russians*
and the *Poles*, and at length prevailed so far, that *Basilius*
told them the king of *Poland* might send his ambassadors to
Moscow to treat about peace^f. *Sigismund* did so; but their
negociations, after many evasions and delays on the part of
the czar, who was bent upon keeping *Smolensko*, ended only
in a renewal of the truce between the two nations for five
years longer^g.

Basilius then thinking seriously of reducing the *Casan Tar-*
tars, sent an army against them, and killed upwards of
20,000 of their troops^k; but could not force them to sub-
mit. On the contrary, in the year 1533, their allies, the
Crim Tartars, defeated the *Russians* again near the river *Occa*,
and entered their territories, which they laid waste with fire
and sword to a considerable distance^l. By this time the last
truce with *Poland* expired, and *Sigismund*, having again de-
manded and been positively refused the restitution of *Smolensko*,
began to prepare for war: but, naturally averse to all vio-
lence, though in ever so just a cause, he proceeded slowly,
and in the mean while *Basilius* was taken ill, and died, leav-
ing behind him two sons, *John* and *Gregory*, by his wife
Helena.

Oderborn^m, *Petrei*ⁿ, and some other writers, natives of
countries at enmity with the *Russians*, charge this czar with
crimes of which he does not seem to have been guilty. Had

^e HERB. p. 19 PETREIUS, p. 180, & seq. P. ODERB. de
vit Basil. lib. i. p. 251. ^f HERB. p. 113 ^g NEUGEB.
lib. vii. p. 519. ^k LEUEN. de Ber. Moscov. tom. ii. p. 131.
^l NEUGEB. lib. vii. p. 534. ^m LIB. i. de vit. Basil. p.
245, & seq. ⁿ Moscov. Chron. p. 175.

he been so fond of blood as they pretend, he would undoubtedly have put to death both *Gliniski* and *Semetzitz*, instead of only confining them : nor would he have supported the proceedings against his brother *Andrew*, for turning away at the battle on the *Occa* ; for which he was defeated, and probably would have been sentenced to die. That he did not regard his word, a vice common to the people he lived in, and to the *Russians* in particular, at all times, is certain ; as it also is, that he was too weak and pusillanimous to support with honour the weight of a crown not yet well established. The terror with which *Russia* kept its neighbours in awe during the preceding reign, gave way to contempt under this : their territories accordingly, became a prey to their enemies, and would have fallen again into the same confusion as in former ages, had it been again divided ; but fatal experience had shewn the danger of diminishing the sovereign power. *Basilius*, by his will, left it to his eldest son *Ivan* ; expressly excluding his own two brothers, *George* and *Andrew*°, and appointing *Gliniski* and two others guardians to both his children, and to his widow. Even *P. Jovius* acknowledges, that he was beloved and honoured by his people ; and baron *Herberstein* confirms this character of him.

Gliniski
perishes
through
the arti-
fices of his
niece *He-
lena*.

Petreius°, whose account is confirmed by *Reutenfels*°, and several others°, describes *Helena* as a woman of abandoned morals and excessively dissolute behaviour : to which he adds, that her uncle *Gliniski*, now regent, taking upon him to reprove her for her scandalous lewdness, particularly with one *Iwan Ozani* ; she found means to trump up an accusation against him, charging him with a design to send the young princes to *Poland*, and usurp the crown, and to get it so strongly confirmed by persons whom she bribed, that the states and people of *Russia* declared him a traitor, and committed him to a prison, where he ended his days miserably ; but that, seeing their error soon after, they poisoned *Helena*, seized her gallant, tied him to a spit, and roasted him alive.

By the death of *Basilius*, the crown descended to his son *Iwan* or *John Basilewicz* II. (A). an infant, not five years of age.

A. D.
1533.
John Ba-
silowicz
II.

° NEUGE. lib. vii. p. 54. HERB. p. 19. PETREIUS, p. 181. ° De Legat. Moscov. p. 129. ° p. 11. ° p. 183.
° De Reb. Moscov. lib. i. ch. xi & xii. ° ODERB. lib. i. p. 251. HERB. p. 19. NEUGE. BECHMAN, & alii.

(A) The addition of *wits*, among the *Russians*, that the at the end of the name, denotes, person to whom it is given is the

age. His sons, *Andrew* and *George*, endeavoured to wrest the scepter from him, but miscarried in their attempt, thro' the constant vigilance of his faithful guardians ^b.

THE *Poles*, taking advantage of this minority, made themselves masters of *Starodub*, but not of its fortress, and burnt *Smolensko*, though they could not reduce its castle, which was so fortified, as to baffle all the military skill of *the Russians* and those days. The approach of winter obliged them to retire; but the next year, in the middle of that rigorous season, the *Russians* invaded and laid waste *Lithuania*; and the year after, the *Poles* took the castle of *Starodub*, with a great booty, and several prisoners of distinction ^c.

IN the mean time *Basilowitz* applied himself to such studies as might fit him to govern his vast dominions; and as soon as he had entered his nineteenth year, he sent a splendid embassy to the emperor *Charles V.* who was then at *Augsburg*, to desire a renewal of the treaty of friendship which had been concluded between his father and the emperor *Maximilian*, and offering to enter into a league with him against the *Turks*, as enemies to the christian religion; for his farther information in which, particularly in regard to the doctrine and ceremonies of the *Latin* church, he requested that his ambassador might be allowed to send from *Germany* to *Russia* proper priests, to instruct him and his subjects. With these, he likewise desired to have some wise and experienced statesmen, able to civilize the wild people under his government; and also, the better to help to polish them, architects, artists, and mechanics of every kind; in return for all which, he offered to furnish two tons of gold yearly, for twenty years together, to be employed in the war against the *Turks*.

THE emperor *Charles* readily agreed to the czar's desire; and the *Russian* ambassador accordingly engaged upwards of three hundred expert *German* artists, who were directed to repair to *Lubeck*, in order to proceed from thence to *Livonia*. But the *Lubeckers*, who were very powerful at that time, and aimed, as *Puffendorff* observes, at nothing less than engrossing the whole commerce of the north, stopped them, and represented strongly to the emperor, in the name of all

^b HERB. p. 19 & 80. ODERB. lib. i. p. 253. PETREIUS, p. 182. ^c NEUG. lib. vii. p. 539. A. GUARNIN. Comp. Chron. Polon. p. 362. ap. Piff. tom. 3. re. Polon

the eldest son of a very great family, and frequently the presumptive heir to the crown: as here, *Basilowitz*, means the son of *Basil*.

the merchants of *Livonia*, the dangerous consequence of thus affording instruction to the *Russians*, who would soon avail themselves of it to ruin their trade, and the subjects of his imperial majesty. The workmen and others, intended for *Russia*, were easily persuaded to return to their respective homes; and the czar's ambassador was arrested upon his arrival at *Lubeck*, and imprisoned there at the suit of the *Livonians*. He made his escape, indeed, shortly after: but *Basilowitz*, highly incensed at these proceedings, vowed, and soon took, ample revenge on the daring authors of this insolence.ⁿ

*Basilowitz
invades
Casan.*

PRUDENCE, however, prevailed, him to suspend his resentment for a while. He was then at war with those formidable enemies, the *Tartars* of *Casan*, who had made the *Russians* feel the weight of their tyranny. His father, *Basilus*, had begun to break their strength, and he resolved to finish that great undertaking. The territories of *Casan* were conquered, after a war of seven years continuance; but the capital of that name, well fortified, and bravely defended, made such resistance, as quite disheartened the besiegers, and made them think of abandoning their enterprize. *Basilowitz* being informed of this, hastened to them with a considerable reinforcement^p, endeavoured to revive their drooping courage, and exhorted them to push the siege with redoubled vigour. Some listened to him, and prepared to obey his orders; but the greater number, deaf to all remonstrances, after loudly insisting on peace with the *Tartars*, and leave to return home, proceeded to mutiny, and fell upon their comrades, who were for continuing the war. *Basilowitz*, alarmed at this event, rushed in among the combatants, and with great difficulty parted them: but neither menaces nor intreaties, nor even a promise of giving them the whole plunder of the city, if they took it, could prevail on them to continue the war. Their rage went even so far as to threaten the life of their sovereign; who, to provide for his safety, was obliged to make the best of his way to *Moscow*; and the mutineers, no longer regarding any command, likewise returned thither.^q

*His troops
mutiny,
and he is
forced to
return
home.*

*He punishes
the rebels.*

JUSTLY incensed at this daring rebellion, by which the majesty and authority of the prince were set at nought, all discipline subsided, and a door opened to disorders, which,

ⁿ HENNING, Lief. ch. vi. NEUGE lib. vii. p. 569. LEUEN p. 137. CHYT. Saxon. p. 428. ^p Russouw. Lief. Chron. p. 60. ^q ODER. lib. ii. p. 269. ^r Idem, ibid. p. 270.

if suffered to increase, could not but end in the total destruction of the state; *Basilowitz* saw the necessity of inflicting exemplary punishment on the ringleaders of the sedition. Accordingly, a few days after, having selected a guard of two thousand of his best troops, he ordered a great feast, to which he invited his principal nobles and officers, and, according to the custom of the *Russians*, gave them very rich garments. The chiefs of the seditious were clad in black velvet; and, after the dinner was over, he made a speech to the whole company, setting forth the behaviour of his troops in the camp before *Casan*, the contempt of his command, and their conspiracy to take away his life; to which he added, that he was doubly sorry the instigators of such wickedness were to be found among those who were styled, and who ought to be, his faithful counsellors; and that those who knew themselves to be guilty of such atrocious crimes, could not do better than voluntarily to confess their faults, if they wished for any kind of mercy. Most of them immediately threw themselves at his feet, and acknowledged their guilt: upon which, some of the most criminal were ordered to be executed; but the greatest part were only imprisoned.

IMMEDIATELY after this act of justice, *Basilowitz* marched again with a fresh army, and re-invested *Casan*, before the *Tartars* could either expect him, or have recovered themselves. The siege went on again but slowly, and the *Russians* began to be dispirited: upon which the czar ordered his pioneers to undermine the walls of the citadel, a practice then quite unknown to the *Tartars*. This work being completed, he directed his priests to read a solemn mass to his whole army, at the head of which he himself afterwards spent some time in private prayer, and then ordered fire to be set to the powder, which acted so effectually, that great part of the fortification was instantly blown up, and the *Muscovites*, rushing into the city, sword-in-hand, dealt dreadful slaughter around them, and soon made themselves masters of the place; whilst the astonished *Tartars*, crowding out at a gate on the opposite side, crossed the river *Casanka*, and fled into the forests. Among the numerous prisoners taken on this occasion, were *Simon*, king of *Casan*, and his queen, both of whom were sent to *Moscow*, where they were treated with the utmost civility: particularly by the czar himself, whom *Simon* out-lived.

Attacks
the Tar-
tars again.

Takes Ca-
san, with
its king.
A. D.
1552.

° Idem. p. 271. • P. RUSSOUW. Hist. Chron. p. 61. MARG.
Etat de l'Emp. de Russie, p. 2.

and Astracan.

A. D.

1454.

Dorpt and the Livonians agree to terms with Basilowitz;

ENCOURAGED by this success, after leaving an *Casun* a strong garrison of *Russians* only, in order to secure himself a place on which a kingdom depended^b, *Basilowitz* carried his victorious arms into *Astracan*, and soon reduced the capital of that country (A) by the same means as he had mastered *Casun*^c.

THE young czar's ambition began now to expand itself mightily; and the west, which he prepared next to attack, seemed to offer him a fine opportunity to extend his dominions on that side also. The truce which *John Basilowitz I.* had concluded with the *Livonians* for fifty years, was expired: upon which *Jodocus a Reck*, archbishop of *Dorpt*, and canon of *Munster* in *Westphalia*, sensible of the danger he was exposed to by his vicinity to the *Russians*, desired the czar to grant him a prolongation of peace. *Basilowitz* bid him chuse, whether he would have a truce for five years longer, on condition that all the inhabitants of his archbishoprick should pay to him the annual tribute of a fifth part of a ducat for each person, which the people of *Dorpt* had formerly agreed to pay to the grand dukes of *Muscovy*; or for twenty years, on the farther condition, that he and the *Livonians* should rebuild all the *Russian* churches which had been demolished in their territories, at the time of the reformation, and allow his subjects the free exercise of their religion^f. *Jodocus* evaded giving an answer to these proposals, as long as he could: and at last, finding that the affair grew serious, he squeezed out of his people a large sum of money, and fled with it to *Munster*, where he resigned his prebend, and took a wife^h. His successor, whose name was *Herman*, and the deputies from *Livonia*, accepted of the czar's conditions, and swore to observe them, with the addition of this clause, which soon gave great disgust to the *Livonians* in general, but which the prelate of *Dorpt* insisted on, that the priests of the *Romish* communion should be exempted from paying tributeⁱ.

^b PETREIUS, p. 98. HEID. de Bell. Moscov. lib. i. p. 334. RUSSOUW. ubi supra. OLEAR. p. 218. ^c AUTOR. supra citat. OLEAR. p. 241. ^f BRED. Bell. Livon. 229. LEUEN. ap. Pistor. tom. v. reit. Polon. p. 134. NEUGE. lib. viii. p. 577. CHYTR. p. 172. VON CALEN'S. Account of Livonia, p. 92. ^h LEUEN. p. 134. NEUGE. ubi. supra. RUSSOUW. p. 63. ⁱ LEUEN. loc. cit. TH. AN. ad an. 1558.

(A) *Casun* was taken on the 9th of July 1552; and *Astracan* on the 1st of August 1554.

THAT the *Livonians* did not intend to keep to this agreement, even when their deputies swore to observe it faithfully, is evident from their being at that very time in treaty with *Magnus Vasa*, king of *Sweden*, for him to join with them in attacking *Russia*^b. Some differences which had arisen between *Russia* and *Sweden*, owing to the governors of their frontier provinces, who had plundered one another, made *Gustavus* very ready to comply with these solicitations: but *Basilowitz*, who had very early intelligence of their designs, entered *Finland*, under pretence that their king *Magnus* had engaged, in the fourteenth century, to cede a part of that country to the *Russians*, who were come to take possession of it, as the promise had not yet been performed^d. They accordingly laid siege to *Wiburg*, which *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, being applied to by the *Swedes*, promised *Gustavus*, not only that the *Hanse* towns, which had annoyed him greatly, should not molest him during this invasion, but that he himself would send a considerable force to join him in *Finland*, in case he entered that country. Depending on these assurances, *Gustavus* marched thither directly with a numerous army; but neither the *Poles* nor the *Livonians* giving him, in reality, the least assistance, and his men perishing daily, he was forced to conclude a peace with the czar; who, on his side, was equally glad of an accommodation, his troops having suffered greatly, without making any progress^f.

Finland was at this time absolutely governed by *William* of *Furstenberg*, grand-master of the *Livonian* knights, and the archbishop of *Riga*, with some other prelates; a quarrel among whom soon proved an effectual means of seconding *Basilowitz's* designs upon that country. The archbishop, after attempting to set himself above the grand-master, in the direction of civil affairs, to take the precedence of him on all occasions, and to persecute those who had embraced the confession of *Augsburg*, in favour of which *Furstenberg* had distinguished himself greatly, chose for his coadjutor in the archbishopric of *Riga*, *Christopher* duke of *Mecklenburg*; a step from which, joined to the great abilities, and the haughty temper of this lord, the knights of the cross apprehended they had reason to fear the same fate as had befallen the *Teutonic* order in *Prussia*; and which was expressly contrary to the convention of *Valmar*, whereby it was stipulated,

^b NEUGE. p. 561. LEUENCL. ubi supra. ^d PUFFEND. Swed. ^f LEUENCL. p. 131. NEUGE. p. 502. PUFFEND. ubi supra. CHYT. Saxon. ^e LEUENCL. p. 131.

that

that no foreigner should be raised to that high dignity, without the consent of the whole order of the knights of *Livonia*. These discontents were so heightened by letters sent to be intercepted from the archbishop to his brother *Albert*, duke of *Prussia*, inviting this last totally to suppress the order of *Livonian* knights, and to secularise their possessions, particularly in *Finland*, that an open war broke out between the contending parties, and the archbishop was seized and made prisoner; though both he and his brother protested that the letters in question were forged. He was, however, soon released, through the mediation of the emperor of *Germany*, and other potentates, backed by powerful preparations of the *Prussians* and *Poles*, to avenge his cause: but in the mean time *Livonia* was exhausted of its riches, and reduced to great distress, by this unhappy wrangle.

They send
ambassadors
to desire
peace.

A. D.

1557.

MATTERS being somewhat settled at home, the *Livonians* sent to the czar, to know whether he was inclined to receive ambassadors from them, and to conclude a peace. *Basilowitz* answered, that he could not think the *Livonians* meant really to treat of peace, whilst they kept six thousand *German* soldiers in their pay: that it rather looked as if they thought to intimidate him; and that they must therefore begin with dismissing those troops, after which he would hear them. They immediately complied, for the power of resisting was no longer in their hands, and sent a magnificent embassy to *Russia*.

Basilowitz
applies a-
gain to the
Germans
for artists,
&c. but
without
effect.

IN the mean time *Basilowitz* ordered his ambassador at *Vienna* to remind the emperor *Ferdinand*, and the empire, of the letter he had written in the year 1548, to the emperor *Charles*; to repeat the offer he had then made of depositing as much money as should produce two tons of gold yearly, for twenty years, to be employed in a war against the *Turks*, besides furnishing, from the time of commencing such war, some thousands of *Russians*, to be maintained at his own expence: to assure them, that his zeal for the welfare of christianity made him wish, not only to chastise the insolence of those unbelievers, who persecuted the faithful in the east, and wrested from them the empire of that part of the world; but also to bring about an union of the *Greek* and *Latin* churches which his father *Basilius* had endea-

HENN. L. f. Chron. NEUGEB. p. 593, 594. CHYT. Saxon
p. 479. P. LEUENCL. p. 133. BRED. p. 226. LUENCL.
p. 134. NEUGEB. p. 597. ODERB. vit. Basil. lib. ii. p. 275.
THUAN. & BREYER. p. 229. LEUENCL. p. 135. BRED. ubi
supra. NEUGEB. p. 498.

voured

required to effect, as well with the emperor *Maximilian*, as with the popes *Adrian* and *Clement*: that his particular reason for desiring to have *German* artists and officers, rather than those of any other nation, which he could easily procure from *France* and *Italy*, was, that he knew the *Germans* to be an upright, virtuous, and honest people; that they were his neighbours; and that he himself reigned over those very countries in *Saxonia*, which had formerly been the seat of the *Teutons*: that he desired to raise only one battalion of foot, and one squadron of horse, in *Germany*, on the express condition that they should never be employed against any christian power, but only against the *Turks* and *Tartars*; and that he would give twenty-five of the sons of his richest nobles, as hostages for the performance of what he promised. All these arguments were strongly urged, and seemingly listened to; but none of them took effect: the imperial court plainly seeing the czar's real drift, which was, to introduce the arts, and military discipline among his own people.

THE *Livonian* ambassadors were received with great distinction at *Moscow*, and, according to the custom of the Russian court, were entertained there for some time, at the expense of the crown, and even stood godfathers to a son of the czar, before they had an audience. In the mean while *Basilowitz* learnt, that the *Livonians* had at last concluded a perpetual confederacy with the *Poles* against the *Russians*. A few days after, he gave them a pompous audience, at which, upon their applying for peace, he asked them, whether they had brought the *Dorpt* tribute. They answered, that they had searched the records of their country with great care, and could not find that they owed any tribute to the *Muscovites*. *Basilowitz*, incensed at this reply, told them, he wondered how they could so soon forget their late solemn oath; that he plainly saw they depended on being assisted by the emperor, in which they would be mistaken; and that he should order proper people to conduct them back to the frontiers of his dominions. He well knew that any succours the emperor might give them, must be a long while before they could arrive; and, to gain the greater time himself, he artfully ordered the guides, that were to attend them, to

^b J. BASILIDIS EPIST. in Geo. van. Hoff. LEUENCL. p. 135. NEUGE. lib. viii. p. 593. CHYT. Saxon. p. 483, & FLETCHER. ^c HENNING. Chron. f. 9. BRED. p. 230, et ex eo THUAN. ad an. 1558. ^d Account of Li-

A. D. lead them through round-about-ways; which was done so
1558. effectually, that they did not reach their own count. y till the
month of *February* in the following year ^b.

and decla- THE moment these ambassadors had left *Moscow*, and
tion of whilst they were pursuing their journey homeward through
war. long and tedious roads; *Basilowitz* sent a messenger to the
Livonians, by a shorter way, to tell them, that they should
soon feel the weight of his resentment for their perfidious
behaviour, and that he then declared war against them ^c.

The Ruffi- THIS message was immediately followed by an army of
ans ra- 100,000 men, who entered the district of *Dorpt* before the
vage Li- end of *January*, and laid every thing waste before them, with
vonnia. such acts of barbarity, as would be shocking to relate. They
then entered the territories of *Riga*, which they treated with
equal inhumanity, and after glutting both their cruelty and
their avarice, at length retired with an immense booty and a
prodigious number of prisoners; leaving the *Livonians* to repent
at leisure their ill-timed parsimony in refusing
to pay the *Dorpt* tribute, which would not have amounted to
above 50,000 dollars, and would have saved them from in-
finite calamities. *Basilowitz* himself was not in this expe-
dition ^d.

The Livo- A COMET, which appeared about this time, served greatly
nians sue to heighten the fears of the *Livonians*. Their states met at
for peace; *Wenden*, to consider what measures they should take. Those
who had suffered most, were for continuing the war: but
others, who feared the like fate, thought it most advisable
to try to soften the czar, by offering him a present of 30,000
ducats, which would be but a trifle in comparison of what
they might lose by farther hostilities. This advice prevailed;
and the czar, being made acquainted with the result of the
deliberation, agreed to a truce for four months, and declared
his readiness to receive their envoys. Ambassadors were ac-
cordingly sent; but upon their arrival at *Moscow*, they found
the face of affairs entirely altered ^e. The *Livonian* governor
of the city of *Narva*, out of an idle frolick, fired some of his
cannon against *Iwanagrod*, or *Russian Narva*, situated on the
other side of the river, and killed several of the czar's subjects,
who were assembled in an open place, quite unarmed. The
Russians, respecting the truce, did not even attempt to make

but the ne-
gociation is
broken off
by an ac-
cident.

^b BASILIDIS HIST. 2p. LEUENCL. p. 136, & BRED. p. 216.
RUSSOUW. LIEF. Chron. p. 69. ^c HENNING, LIEF. Chron.
BRED. p. 239. THOMAS, 2p. 1558. LEUENCL. p. 137.

^d RUSSOUW. p. 64.

^e Autores

aprisals; but they sent immediate notice of this insult to *Basilowitz*, who, highly incensed at it, told the *Livonian* ambassadors upon their arrival, that he looked upon their nation as a set of perjured wretches, who had renounced all honesty, as well as their old religion: that they might go back with their money and proposals, and let their countrymen know, that his vengeance would soon overtake them.

In effect, the ambassadors were scarcely arrived in *Livonia*, when *Peter*, surnamed *Sifegaleidrii* (A), who had been a famous pirate in the *Erving* sea, entered the district of *Narva*, with an army of 300,000 *Russians*, well provided with artillery and ammunition, took the city of *Narva* in nine days, and, very speedily after, made himself master of *Dorpt*, where he found an immense treasure. The garisons of several other places, intimidated by the approach of these numerous enemies, quitted their posts; so that the *Russians* became masters of great part of *Livonia*, almost without opposition. The duke of *Mecklenburg*, now co-adjutor to the archbishop of *Riga*, attempted, indeed, to stem the torrent, but was not able to stop its progress; and *Gothard Kettler*, grand-master of the knights of *Livonia*, intreated *Christian III.* king of *Denmark*, to take *Riga*, *Reval*, and the countries of *Garnland*, *Wirrland*, and *Esthonia*, under his protection: but the advanced age of that monarch, the distance of the places, and the want of sufficient power to withstand so potent an adversary, made him decline the offer. He, however, assisted them with some money and powder, of which they were in great want.

THE trade which the then powerful *Lubeckers* used to carry on to *Russia*, by the way of *Riga* and *Reval*, being stopped by these wars; *Basilowitz* opened a new channel through *Narva*, by which he was plentifully supplied with all sorts of merchandize and military stores: whereupon *Gothard Kettler*, in the beginning of the next year, applied to the emperor, requesting him to interpose in favour of the *Livonians*, who were greatly injured, while their enemies were extremely benefited, by the trade of the *Lubeckers*; and his imperial majesty, in consequence of this representation, wrote to

* Autores supra cit. HENNING, f. 12, 6. LEUENCL. p. 139. BRED. p. 233. THIAN, ubi supra. NEUGEB. ib. viii. p. 600. h Autores supra cit. & RUSSEW. Lief. Chron. f. 67, 6.

(A) Or *Sif-galeider*: so called from his having commanded seven galleys (1). The author of the account of *Livonia* (2) calls him czar *Sigaley*.

Gustavus king of *Sweden*, desiring him, as master of the eastern sea, to put a stop to the traffic thus complained of. *Gustavus* was grown old, and did not chuse to embark in new quarrels; so that this letter had but little effect. The states^a of *Reval* and the knights of the cross then fitted out ships of their own, to cruise against those of *Lubeck*, some of which they took in their way to *Narva*, and with them some vessels belonging to the *Swedes*. Upon this the *Lubeckers* applied, in their turn, to the emperor, and obtained of him leave to carry all sorts of goods to *Russia*, guns excepted, and a letter to the grand-master *Kettler*, enjoining him to make them satisfaction for the damage they had sustained. *Eric* also, who succeeded to the crown of *Sweden* upon the death of his father *Gustavus*, not only gave the precedence to the *Russian* ambassadors before those of *Poland*, but repeatedly warned the grand-master of the *Livonian* knights to restore what had been taken from his subjects, and not to molest his vassals any moreⁱ: and at the same time the emperor and the empire, after many consultations, sent him word, that they could not possibly assist him with troops, but would give him 100,000 florins in lieu of men. Either piqued at this treatment, or thinking the sum too small, *Kettler* took his resolution, and put himself under the protection of the *Poles*^k.

The Livonian knights put themselves under the protection of the Poles.

Conquests of the Russians in Livonia.

THE *Russians*, this year, returning to *Livonia*, for the third time, with a powerful army, took *Marienburgh*, laid waste the district of *Riga*, destroyed *Garnland*, and penetrated to the very gates of *Reval*. *Felin*, in which was the best artillery of the whole country, became theirs by the treachery of its garrison; and with it they took the old grand-master of the *Livonian* order, *William* of *Furstenberg*, whom they carried to *Moscow*, where he ended his days in a prison set apart for noblemen^m. *Wittenstein* baffled their efforts: but they totally defeated the *Livonian* cavalry, and made most of their principal officers prisonersⁿ. Some writers relate, that when these captives were carried through the streets of *Moscow*, and shown, by way of sight, to the people, the two dethroned kings of *Casan* and *Astracan*, spit in their faces, saying, "This is good enough for you German dogs, who put into the hands of the *Muscovites* the rod with which they first chastised us, and now punish you."

^a PUFFEND. *Id.* p. 842. THUAN. ad an. 1559. ⁱ HENNING, p. 26. ^k RUSS. Lief. Chron. p. 76. ^m NEUGER. lib. viii. p. 602. THUAN. ad an. 1560. CHYT. Saxon. p. 520. HENN. Lief. Chron. p. 72, 73. ⁿ RUSS. Lief. Chron. p. 72.

THE distracted situation of *Livonia*, at this time, made Oesef^{sub} the bishop of Oesel glad to sell his bishopric to Ferdinand king of *Dalmatia*, who exchanged it with his brother, duke Magnus, for a part of *Halslein*. The *Livonians*, and particularly the greatest part of their nobility, readily acquiesced in this agreement; chusing to be governed by a powerful prince, rather than by a helpless grand-master; and Magnus was accordingly received with uncommon joy: but, attempting to carry things with too high a hand, he soon lost the love of his people, who, to the calamities occasioned by a foreign enemy, would have added the horrors of a civil war, had they not been prevented by the friendly interposition of the archbishop of *Riga*, and his coadjutor at *Pernau*. The inhabitants of *Reval*, provoked at the conduct of the grand-master, but equally distressed, *Esthonia* shook off their allegiance to the grand-master of *Livonia*, and put themselves under the protection of the Swedes, as the people best able to assist them, to check the trade of the *Lubeckers* to *Narva*, and to reinstate them in their former commerce with *Russia*; which neither the *Poles* nor the *Danes* could do so effectually, by reason of their greater distance. The nobility of *Esthonia* followed their example, and acknowledged *Eric* for their protector: upon which this monarch of *Sweden* sent an army into *Livonia*, under the command of *Claas Horn*, with orders to attack the grand-master, if he did not give immediate satisfaction in regard to the former demands of that crown; and the Swedish general, upon his arrival, very prudently confirmed the states of *Reval* and *Esthonia* in all their privileges, under the king his master. The grand-master of the knights of *Livonia*, *Gothard Kettler*, finding himself thus forsaken on all sides, accepted the offers of *Sigismund* king of *Poland*, and, in consequence thereof, agreed with him to suppress the order of the cross, of which he was chief, in consideration of his receiving the duchy of *Courland*, for himself and his heirs, as a fief of the crown of *Poland*. The possession of *Reval* would have given *Sigismund* great pleasure; and the new duke of *Courland* besieged it accordingly, as a place belonging to the *Poles*: but the Swedish garrison obliged him to retire.

* NEUGE. & THUAN. ubi supra. CHYT. Saxon. p. 520.
 HENN. Lief. Chron. p. 23. F. DOCCER. de reb. Succ.
 lib. vii. p. 374. PUFFEND. NEUGE. & THUAN. Loc. cit.
 CHYT. p. 521. RUSSOUW. p. 80. 84. RUSSOUW. p. 82.
 p. 603. THUAN. ad an. 1561. CHYT. Saxon. p. 528, et seq.
 PUFFEND. ubi supra.

Policy of
the czar.

Basilowitz saw with pleasure these divisions of the *Livonians*, and the growing quarrels between the *Swedes* and the *Poles* concerning their country; but would not interfere in them: rightly judging, that their thus weakening themselves would soon facilitate the success of his designs against them. The king of *Sweden*, to secure his new acquisitions, sent an embassy to the czar, to propose a treaty of peace, by which he should be confirmed in the possession of *Reval*. Some other potentates likewise interposed to the same effect: but all they could obtain was, a prolongation of the truce between *Russia* and *Sweden*, for two years more, which *Basilowitz* employed in fortifying his own conquests ^a.

The Poles
affront
him grossly.

A Treaty of marriage had been negotiating for some time, between the czar and the princess *Catharine Jagellonica*, sister to *Sigismund Augustus* king of *Poland*; and all the articles of the matrimonial contract were in a manner settled, except one, which the *Poles* unjustly demanded, and *Basilowitz* equitably refused to comply with. They insisted that the children which he might have by this wife, should succeed him, in prejudice to the princes born of his former marriage. This unreasonable condition was rejected with the scorn it merited; but the czar, who was fond of the princess, still continued his suit to obtain her: upon which the *Poles*, rashly resolving to affront him in the grossest manner, sent him a white mare finely caparazoned, with a message, purporting, that such a wife was good enough for him. *Basilowitz*, highly incensed at this outrageous insult, vowed perpetual enmity against the *Poles*, and soon made them feel the weight of his just resentment ^b.

In the mean time *Catharine* was married to *John* duke of *Finland* ^d, who, mistrusting the affection of his brother *Eric* king of *Sweden*, and the friendship of his neighbours, thought to secure himself a retreat by this match, in case he should at any time be overpowered. He had lent his brother-in-law, the king of *Denmark*, 120,000 dollars upon certain castles in *Livonia*; his possessing of which gave great umbrage to *Eric*, who intended speedily to attack the *Poles*: and this disgust being heightened by intelligence which the *Swedish* monarch received, that the *Danes* and *Poles* had entered into a secret alliance against the *Swedes*, at the time of this marriage, and that the duke of *Finland* was also a contracting party with them; *Eric* cited his brother to appear before the states, to

^a RUSSZOW. Hist. Chron. p. 87. CHYT. p. 528. LOCCEN. de reb. Suec. lib. vii. p. 374. ^b PUFFEND. p. 29. ^d Idem, ibid. (HANNING, Hist. Chron. p. 36.

give an account of his conduct: but his summons being disregarded, he seized John, after conquering Abo in Finland, and kept him a close prisoner °.

UPON this alliance of the Danes and Poles, in which the *Lubeckers* were also included, Eric applied to the *Russians*, who had already besieged and taken *Poloczkow* ^p, the main defence of *Livonia* on the side of the *Russian* frontiers, and offered to join them in an alliance against the *Poles*: but the czar, ^{once a-} thinking himself strong enough to deal with them, and ^{gainst the} judging that the many ^{Sweden} adversaries ^{Sweden} had to cope with ^{Poles,} would afford him the fair opening in *Livonia*, declined the proposal ^q.

Basilowitz sent two armies against the *Poles*, but both of them were unfortunate: the first, consisting of 20,000 men, commanded by *Suerski*, was defeated in the beginning of the year 1564, near *Poloczkow*, which he had conquered the year before; and the second, consisting of 60,000 men, ran away upon the approach of the enemy ^r. *Pe. tau*, then in the possession of the *Swedes*, was surrendered the next year to the *Poles*, by the treachery of a *German* garrison: upon which the czar, suspecting they might play the same trick at *Dorpt*, removed from thence to *Moscow* all the soldiers of that nation; who, affronted at this, took a dislike to the *Russian* service, and entered into such cabals against *Basilowitz*, as frequently required his exerting great severity, to stop the progress of the growing evil ^t.

SHORTLY after, *Basilowitz* discovered a very dangerous plot, which required the utmost exertion of his policy and prudence to countermine. He had several illustrious foreigners at his court, and particularly the ambassador of queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, whom he consulted in all public affairs, to whom he communicated his most private thoughts ^u, and on whose approved knowledge and experience he chiefly regulated his conduct ^w. He likewise shewed great favour to the *Lutheran* clergy; and being himself well versed in polemic divinity, he frequently permitted them to discourse before

by whom
his troops
are worst-
ed.

A. D.
1564.

A. D.
1566.
A conspi-
racy a-
gainst him.

° RUSSOUW. Lief. Chron. p. 93. LOCCEN. l. vii. p. 380. PUFFEND. CHYTRÆI, Saxon. p. 242. NEUGEB. l. viii. p. 609. P. PIASECII Chron. Polon. p. 60. PETRIUS, p. 77. HENNING, Lief. Chron. p. 8. RUSSOUW. p. 93. PUFFEND. ubi sup. p. 353. BREDENB. p. 239. NEUGEB. l. viii. p. 611. GUACIN. p. 363. CHYTRÆI, Saxon. p. 557. NEUGEB. l. viii. p. 614. LOCCEN. l. vii. p. 386. HENNING, Lief. Chron. p. 41. 6. RUSSOUW. p. 105. OERB. lib. iii. p. 319. ^w Id. lib. i. p. 258, & lib. iii. p. 217.

him,

The pre-
sences for
it.

him, and heard them with great attention *. This, being a behaviour quite different from that of his predecessors, greatly disgusted the bojars, who incensed, at the preference visibly given to foreigners, expressed their discontents in the most public manner, saying, that *Basilowitz* had forsaken the manners of his fore-fathers, altered their established laws and customs, and introduced foreign sopperies in their room; nay, even *Demetrius Owezinius*, one of the chief ministers of state, scrupled not to aver the same things; for which he soon afterwards lost his head; though the pretended cause of this execution, was his having once publicly refused to drink the czar's health¹. The death of *Demetrius* did not however terrify the male-contents: on the contrary, they openly complained of the injustice of it, as being too severe a punishment for so small an offence²; and levied an army in *Lithuania*, in order to destroy both *Basilowitz* and his family. This put the czar into some consternation; and as the strength of the rebels increased daily, he began to think seriously of the most likely means to avert the impending danger³.

Basilow-
witz
seigns to
abdicate
the crown.

ACCORDINGLY, at a public assembly of the principal nobility and ministers of state, he stript himself of his imperial ornaments; and being asked the reason thereof, declared that as he was deemed unworthy to fill the throne any longer, he willingly divested himself of all his ensigns of royalty, and requested them to nominate some fitter person to reign over them. The next day he sent to the churches for the pictures of their principal saints, which the vulgar among the *Russians* looked upon as the guardian divinities of their country, ordered all his priests to appear in the great church of *St. Mary*, and a solemn mass to be read by the patriarch and metropolitans; after which he took an affectionate leave of them all, and went with his two sons to the castle of *Calujentz*, about a league and a half from *Moscow*, where he remained several days, expecting that the *Muscovites* would solicit him to resume the scepter: but being disappointed therein, he ordered some of his principal bojars to repair to the city, and acquaint the people, that he was determined to go wherever God and his good fortune should direct; and that, notwithstanding their treacherous behaviour to him, he doubted not but a time would come, when he should be able to re-demand his crown in a

* Id. lib. i. p. 238. seq. 267. seq. PETREIUS, 2. 252.
† ODERB. lib. ii. p. 203. PETREIUS, p. 200. GUAGNIN. Descrip. Mosc. p. 184. ¹ Authores citati. ² ODERB. ubi sup.
³ HENNING Lief. Chron. p. 49.

proper manner. This message occasioned a very submissive answer from the citizens: and *Basilowitz* suffered himself to be persuaded to pardon them; but ordered the principal priests and bojars to attend him in the *Alexandrian sloboda*, whither he had retired. They accordingly assembled there, and represented to him in the most respectful terms, how sorely he had afflicted his people, and how much the state was exposed to the outrages of its enemies by his abdicating the crown in such a manner: wherefore they most earnestly besought him, as a good shepherd, still to watch over his flock; and promised, that if any persons should be found guilty of fomenting the present unhappy differences, they should be delivered up to the most exemplary punishment; begging, that, for the errors of a few, he would not forsake them all, but return to his vacant throne, and continue his grace and favour to those only who should appear to deserve it.

THIS pathetic address threw *Basilowitz* into some perplexity. He was not willing absolutely to refuse their request; but wanted at the same time to secure himself from the like conspiracies for the future. He therefore desired a day's time to consider of their proposal; and accordingly the next morning he acquainted them, that they could not be ignorant of the behaviour of their ancestors to their former sovereigns, nor how treacherously they had always acted towards them: that the annals of the empire would effectually prove this, and their own consciences would convict them of the blackest designs against him, whom they had attempted to murder before his father was well dead, in order to advance the race of *Saladin Garbata*, one of their own stamp, to the imperial throne (A). In fine, that as they must be sensible of the many attempts which had lately been made to destroy him, his empress, and his two sons; to conclude a secret and scandalous league with *Poland*, and to introduce the *Turks* and *Tartars* to prey upon the vitals of the kingdom; he wondered how they could advise or request him to entrust his own life, and the lives of his family, in the hands of so treacherous and blood-thirsty a people; since the consequence of such an imprudent step must needs be his utter destruction, of which he should be in continual danger.

[AN HOFF. ODERB. lib. ii. p. 283. PETRIUS, p. 202.

(A) We do not find the transaction here alluded to, mentioned by any historian; and therefore are at a loss for the particulars of it.

NOTWITHSTANDING this unfavourable reply, the people still warmly pressed *Basilowitz* to comply with their request; and he, pretending to yield at last to their great importunity, consented to re-ascend the throne; and accordingly, a few days after, he returned to his capital.

Basilowitz had no sooner resumed the reign of government, than he proceeded to take some necessary precautions for his future safety. In the first place, he caused the principal ringleaders of the late conspiracy to be executed^m, and then raised a body-guard of two hundred men, who were chiefly collected out of the most distant provinces, and were obliged to take an oath that they would be true and faithful to their prince, and that they were no ways allied or related to his ministers or bojarsⁿ. This guard, which was distinguished by the name of the *Aprisma*, or chosen people, proved a great nuisance to the people; for being wholly composed of men of low birth and education, and destitute of all generous sentiments, they frequently committed great outrages; which the czar, who by no means approved of them, was often obliged to overlook, in order to secure their fidelity^p.

A. D.
1569.
Sends an
ambassy to
England.

IN the beginning of this year, *Basilowitz* sent two ambassadors to *England*, to propose an alliance with queen *Elizabeth*, and establish a treaty of commerce with this nation. Captain *Richard Chancellor* having, a few years before, discovered a passage to *Muscovy* through the *White Sea*^q, by which means *Russia* was likely to be supplied with foreign goods, by the way of *Archangel*, without the assistance of *Narva* or the *Poles* (A). The czar granted to the discoverers of this new channel many exclusive privileges; and particularly, that

^m GEORGE VAN HOFF. ubi sup^{ra}. ODERB. ubi supra. PETR. p. 203. ⁿ Autorescitat. ^p G. VAN HOFF. ^q CAMBR. p. 125.

(A) In the year 1553, in the reign of queen *Mary*, three ships were fitted out from *England*, at the public charge (1), for the discovery of the north-east passage to *China*, and the *Indies*. They were commanded by Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, who, departing from the *Thames*, sailed to the *North-Cape*, where one of his ships left him, and returned home. The other two proceeded farther northward, and discovered that part of *Greenland*, which the *Dutch* have since called *Spitzberg*: but the severity of the cold obliging him to return to the southward, he was forced, by bad weather, into the river *Arxina*, in *Muscovite Lapland*, where, not being able to come out, he was found the next spring frozen to death with all his ship's company; having the notes of his voyage, and his last

(1) Burchett's *Naval History*, p. 341.

will,

that none but the incorporated company of *Muscovite* merchants in *London*, should bring any goods to or from *Archangel*, or

will, lying before him, whereby it appeared that he lived till *January*. But *Richard Chancellor*, in the third ship, with better success, in the mean while entered *Wardbuis*, where he waited some time for his companions, to no purpose; uncertain whether they were lost, or driven farther by stress of weather. He held a council on what he should do; whether to return, or pursue his voyage. Whatever danger might be in the last, every one agreed to it, that they might not seem to have less courage than their captain. They therefore set sail, and in a few days found themselves in a sea where they could no longer perceive any night. This ship, wandering about, entered soon after into a large bay or gulph. Here they cast anchor, in sight of land; and while they were examining the coast, they discovered a fishing boat. *Chancellor*, getting into his sloop, went towards it; but the fishermen took to flight. He followed; and overtaking them, shewed them such civilities as conciliated their affections to him; and they carried him to the place where now is the famous port of *St. Michael the Archangel*. These people immediately spread through all the coasts an account of the arrival of these strangers, and people came from several parts to see them, and ask them questions. They, in their turn, examined the others, and found that the country they were in was *Russia*, governed by the

mighty emperor *John Basilowitz*. They learnt also, that an express had been already sent to this prince, to inform him of their arrival, and receive his orders concerning them, which came a few days after; when guides were appointed to conduct them to *Moscow*, where captain *Chancellor* soon had an audience of the emperor, whose court and riches had in them a magnificence beyond any thing he could have imagined. He found *John Basilowitz* distinguished in majesty from an hundred and fifty *bojars*, who encompassed his throne; hardly any thing was to be seen in his great hall, but gold and precious stones; and in another, where the czar invited him to a sumptuous repast, all was of silver, except the buffet, in the middle, in the form of a large pyramid, covered with vessels of gold, of such a prodigious size, that it seemed to bend beneath the weight of them. Here were placed the hydromel, wines, and strong liquors, for the czar's own use.

The favourable reception that captain *Chancellor* met with, encouraged him to make a second voyage thither, four years after; when he brought back with him an ambassador from the czar, with presents to queen *Mary*, and an invitation to settle a trade to those parts: but the ship was cast away on the coast of *Scotland*, where *Chancellor*, in favouring the ambassador, was himself unfortunately drowned.

The History of Russia.

carry on any traffic whatsoever in that place.⁹ Besides this embassy, which was only to confirm what had been granted before to the subjects of queen *Mary*, *Basilowitz* gave private instructions to *Anthony Jenkinson*, an *Englishman*, then in his dominions, to conclude an alliance offensive and defensive with queen *Elizabeth*, by which she was to supply him with sailors, shipwrights, and ammunition, in case of need; and if he should ever be forced from his throne, either by foreign enemies or domestic rebels, to afford him and his family an asylum in her dominions; which last clause he desired her to confirm with an oath. But *Elizabeth*, to the czar's great mortification, deferred giving any answer to this proposal.^r

WHILE *Basilowitz* was thus planning the means of a retreat to *England*, in case he should be driven from his throne; the unfortunate *Eric*, king of *Sweden* (A), was soliciting an asylum

⁹ CAMB. ubi supra. CL. ADAMI Navigat. Angl. ad Moscov. int. Script. rp.: Moscov. p. 142. LORD CARLISLE's Embassy.
^r Idem. ibid.

(A) This prince, as we observed before, had lately solicited the czar to enter into a league with him against *Poland*: but before *Basilowitz* would consent to it, he demanded of *Eric* to deliver up to him, *Catharine*, his brother duke *John*'s wife. *Eric* refusing to comply with so scandalous a request, as his brother was still alive, though in prison, the treaty was suspended for awhile (1). But after the massacre at *Upsal*, in which *Eric* killed several of his nobles with his own hands, he wrote a private letter to the czar, and consented to his demand. *Basilowitz* thereupon sent an ambassador to *Stockholm*, to conclude the proposed alliance between the two crowns, and bring *Catharine* to *Moscow*. Upon the ambassador's arrival, *Eric* was greatly perplexed how to dispose of the duke his brother; but hearing that the *Danes* had penetrated into *Sweden*, and be-

ing apprehensive of a civil war if he should keep him any longer in prison, he ordered him to be removed from *Grypsholm* to *Wes-teholm*, where he solemnly engaged to be true to the king his brother (2). *Eric* had no sooner got rid of the *Danes*, than he repented of his conduct to duke *John*, and his other brothers, and resolved to assign them certain lands in *Livonia*, in lieu of their patrimonial districts in *Finland*; apprehending that he should live more securely by their absence from *Stockholm*, and that they, from motives of interest, would the more effectually defend those places against the *Russians*, *Poles*, and *Danes*: but his brothers not acquiescing in this proposal, he resolved to sacrifice them all to his interest, and particularly to oblige the czar by giving him *Catharine*. The dukes, having intelligence of this resolution, did all they could to prevent its taking

(1) *Puffend.* p. 287.

Loccen. p. 398. 400. *Puffend.* p. 386.

effect;

asylum at *Moscow*; and *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, had invaded the frontiers of *Russia*, with a numerous army, and invaded *Russia*.

effect; and, tampering with the relations of those who had been massacred at *Upsal*, formed a design to dethrone *Eric* (3). They accordingly betook themselves to arms, but were soon after informed by *Eric's* favourite, *Peerfon*, that the king intended to plunder *Stockholm*, and set it on fire, to embark both himself and his treasure for *Narva*, and from thence to proceed to *Moscow* (4). This information made them the more eager to advance towards the capital; into which they obtained an easy admittance, thro' their interest with the principal citizens, who perceived the bad situation of *Eric's* affairs. The soldiers, thinking to please their general duke *John*, began immediately to plunder the house of the *Russian* ambassador; but duke *Charles* put a stop to their proceedings, and ordered immediate restitution to be made of everything they had taken (5). The next day *Eric* was dethroned, and succeeded by *John*; who immediately wrote a letter to *Basilowitz*, informing him of this revolution, and that he intended to conclude a peace with *Denmark*, if he was disposed to do the same; adding, that he had carefully protected both the person and effects of his ambassador from the fury of the soldiers, though his errand thither was of a very bad nature; no less than that of depriving him of a loving wife, and his children of

an affectionate mother. *Basilowitz* was not a little chagrined at this unfavourable event; especially as it frustrated all his hopes of gaining *Catharine*: but, however, he returned the new king a very civil answer, in which he congratulated him upon his accession to the crown, and assured him that he never had any intention of making *Catharine* his consort; but being informed she was a widow, and had no children, his design was to send her from *Moscow* to the king of *Poland*, her brother; and that if he really desired to treat of peace, he might send his ambassadors to *Moscow* for that purpose, after releasing his minister, who had been so long detained at *Stockholm*; which he insisted should be done immediately. After the coronation of *John*, the *Russian* ambassador was dismissed with rich presents, and returned home, accompanied by the *Swedish* ambassadors, who were sent to negotiate the proposed peace: but the moment *John's* ambassador arrived at *Moscow*, *Basilowitz* ordered them to be carried to a prison, and to be detained there just so long as his ambassador had been confined at *Stockholm*. This last transaction, having been represented by most of the writers of those times, as a manifest violation of the law of nations, we have given this minute detail of the whole affair, in order to do justice to the character of *Basilowitz*.

(3) *Puffend.* p. 390. *seq.* *Henning Lief. Chron.* p. 43. *Russow. Lief. Chron.* p. 110. (4) *Puffend.* p. 398. (5) *Id.* p. 400. *Loccen. lib.* vii. p. 403.

Another
conspiracy
against the
czar.

possessed himself of the castles of *Ula*, *Sala*, and several other places. Upon this, *Basilowitz* marched in person against the *Poles*, and entrusted the government of his dominions to a nobleman, called *Iwan Petrowitz*: but upon his return, being informed that *Petrowitz*, together with some boyars^e, had intended to prevent his entrance into his own dominions, and to maintain by force the authority he was invested with; the czar, according to the then *Russian* custom of the sovereign's being himself the executioner of his decrees, ordered *Petrowitz* to be dressed in robes of royalty, and seated upon the throne; where, after an ironical congratulation on his having obtained what he so earnestly wished, and making a sham profession of allegiance and fidelity, he stabbed him to the heart, and left him, weltring in his gore, to the fury of the guards, who soon made an end of him and all his adherents.

A prodigious army
of Turks
and Tartars
invade his
dominions;

THESE troubles were scarcely over, when *Basilowitz* received intelligence, that a considerable armament then making by the *Turks*, was designed against him. *Selim*, the son of *Soliman*, the magnificent, and *Roxelana*, had succeeded his father in the year 1565. This prince formed the vast design of subduing all *Tartary*, to wipe off the disgrace of the imprisonment of the sultan *Bajazet*, who had been defeated, and taken in the plain of *Ancyra*, by the famous *Timur-Beck*, or *Tamerlane*, great khan of the *Tartars*. To this end, *Selim* made an alliance with some princes, who were to send him succours by way of the *Caspian* sea, and raised himself an army of 300,000 men, in which was the flower of the *Janissaries*. These troops embarked at *Constantinople*, crossed the *Black Sea*, and the *Palus Mæotis*, and landed at *Azoph*, where the *Crim Tartars* joined them, with a reinforcement of 40,000 archers^f. This formidable army marched directly towards *Astracan*, where the sultan had made his soldiers expect to find all the treasures of *Armenia*, *Persia*, and *India*; and had given them such an idea of the weakness of all the places in *Tartary*, that they imagined their bare appearance before them would be sufficient to make them surrender.

But are totally
defeated.

Zerebrinow, who commanded for the czar, was alarmed, and at first somewhat terrified at this multitude of enemies. But collecting together as many troops as he could, among which were several of the *Casan Tartars*, he fell upon them unexpectedly in a defile, where their numbers served only to embarrass them, put them to flight, pursued them a great way, and took all their artillery and baggage. To compleat

^e GUAGN. Descr. Mosc. p. 186. ^f LEUENCL. p. 141.

their misfortune, their allies were not to be found at the time or place appointed, which last was near the mouth of the *Volga*. The *Russians* and their *Tartars* becoming bold, in proportion to the weakness and timidity of their enemies, followed them on all sides, and obliged them to make a shameful retreat towards *Azoph*, where they found a new subject of sorrow; that great city having been almost entirely overthrown by the blowing up of a magazine of powder. *Zerebrinow* then attacked their ships there, of which he took several with their provisions, and sunk the rest. Thus *Selim* got nothing from this grand enterprize, but loss and disgrace; for almost all his troops that had escaped the *Russian* and *Tartarian* soldiers, perished, either by hunger, or by storms, in crossing the *Black Sea*.

This joy occasioned by the news of this victory, was heightened by the arrival of M. *Randolph* at *Moscow*, in quality of ambassador from queen *Elizabeth* of England. *Basilowitz* received him with great distinction, and dismissed him with many rich presents, attended by *Andrew Progorowitz Saviena*, as his ambassador to the queen of England, to whom he was to tender a treaty in the *Russian* language, and afterwards swear to the performance of it; and to request that she would send an ambassador to *Moscow* to see it confirmed by *Basilowitz*, with the usual ceremony of kissing the cross. Queen *Elizabeth* agreed to this treaty, with the restriction of its not being contrary to the tenor of the engagements she had entered into with other powers; and farther assured *Saviena*, that in case the czar, his master, should ever be reduced to the disagreeable necessity of leaving his empire, he should meet with a safe retreat in *England*, be received and provided for in a manner suitable to his dignity, enjoy the free exercise of his own religion, and be permitted to depart whenever he should think proper. This agreement she sealed, and promised to perform, in the presence of the czar's ambassador.

The *Russian* minister returned to *Moscow* shortly after; but queen *Elizabeth* did not send any one with him to witness the czar's confirmation of the treaty: an omission of ceremonial, which *Basilowitz* took so ill, that he wrote the queen a long letter concerning it; telling her, how sensible he was of the slight she had put upon him, and reminding her of the many unsolicited privileges and immunities he had already granted to her subjects; adding, that he could not help ascribing her present behaviour into great ingratitude; and that

if he was disposed to resent it as he ought to do, he might easily annul all those advantageous concessions which he had formerly made in her favour. This letter produced an answer from *Elizabeth*, which she sent by *Anthony Jenkinson*, and was couched in such terms as satisfied *Basilowitz*, and cemented the good understanding of the two crowns ^b.

His severe punishment of Novogrod. *Van Hoff*^a, *Reutenfels*^k, and several other writers, too violently prejudiced against *John Basilowitz II.* and determined, at all events, to make him pass for the very worst of tyrants, have imputed to mere caprice, and a love of cruelty, the signal punishment which he inflicted about this time on the city of *Novogrod* and its dependent district. History does not, indeed, absolutely point out the particulars of their offence: but an impartial reading of other authors, of at least equal authority, gives great room to think, that, during his absence in his wars, and more especially whilst other plots and conspiracies were forming against him, *Novogrod*, *Pleskow*, and some other places, had resolved to put themselves under the protection of the *Poles*; that the archbishop of *Novogrod* had spirited them up to this revolt; and that the czar's brother, *George*, had encouraged them in it, in hopes of re-establishing the grand-duchy of *Novogrod*, and of obtaining that dignity for himself^l. That a plot of this kind was actually formed, appeared from the confession of doctor *Bromelius* (A), an *English* physician then at *Moscow*, and concerned in itⁿ; and in consequence of this discovery, the czar's brother and his children were put to death^o. Some writers relate that his end was poor and wretched, whilst others make him die with a noble intrepidity. *Van Uhlefeld*, who was at *Moscow* a few years after, says he perished by poison^p. *Reutenfels* asserts his innocency, and also that of the archbishop of *Novogrod*^q.

To punish *Novogrod* for this intended perfidy^w, *Basilowitz* marched thither with 15,000 men, ravaged the whole coun-

^b Idem, ibid. ^c Hist. J. Basilidis. ^k De reb. Moscovit. lib. i. c. 12: PURCHAS, p. 739. JACOB. AB UHLEFELD, Hodœpor. Ruthen. ⁿ ZIEG. ex JER. HORSEY's treatise of Russia, p. 213. ^o PETR. p. 220. HEIDENST. de bell. Mosc. lib. i. p. 335. inter script. rer. Moscov. LAUR. MULLER, Pol. Lief. Chron. p. 114. ^p Hodœpor. Ruthen, p. 14. ^q Ubi supra. ^w UHLEF. ibid. p. 26. HEID. ubi supra.

(A) *Van Hoff* calls him *Pharmelinus*; and says, he had been a poison-mixer to *Basilowitz*, to help him to destroy his subjects: but, as we observed before, no great credit is due to so embittered a writer.

try round about, forced his way into the city, and gave his soldiers, who were headed by one of their generals, called *Malute*, a man remarkable for his savage disposition, free leave to plunder it; in consequence of which they ransacked every house, church, and cloyster, and committed the most outrageous acts of barbarity. The archbishop was seized, stripped of his church-garb, and clad in a harlequin's dress, in which attire he was seated upon a grey mare, led through the streets as a shew to the populace, and afterwards sent to *Moscow*, where he was imprisoned for life. Some say, that near 3000 people were butchered on this occasion: whilst others, to make the greater shew of cruelty, reckon the number of the slain at upwards of 25,000. Several other places, deemed equally guilty, shared the same fate; and a famine, which came on immediately after, rendered their situation inexpressibly deplorable^b.

Bastoun's attention was next turned to *Livonia*, for the possession of which the *Swedes*, the *Danes*, and the *Poles*, had been engaged in a long and bloody war. The *Swedish* commander at *Reval*, *Claas Kursell*, endeavoured to get possession of the *Doorn*, under pretence that he and his soldiers had large arrears of pay due to them; and by the assistance of duke *Magnus of Holstein*, and some of the *Livonian* nobility, he was admitted into the citadel, where he soon overpowered the garrison, and made the governor *Gabriel Oxenstiern*, with his wife and children, prisoners. The next day the chief magistrate of *Reval* sent to him, desiring to know the meaning of his proceeding: to which *Kursell* answered, that he was determined to keep the place, till he and his troops should be paid all their demands. Upon this an agreement was concluded, that he should remain in possession of the castle till the *Whitsunday* following; and that in the mean time application should be made to king *John*, concerning the arrears which he pretended to be due to him and his troops^c. These differences were politicly fomented by the czar, who, well knowing that the *Livonians* would never submit to the *Russian* yoke, nor suffer themselves to be governed by a *Swedish* prince, promised to give their province to duke *Magnus of Holstein*, to declare him king thereof, and to content himself with the bare title of protector: but his

A. D.
1570.
The
Swedes
become mas-
ters of
Reval.

^b G. VAN HOFF. ubi supra. ^c PETR. p. 210. GUAG. p. 100. ODERB. lib. ii. p. 284. ^c RUSSOUW Liefl. Chron. f. 116. b. 109. LOCCEN. lib. vii. p. 408. PUFF. p. 406. CHYT. Saxon. p. 549. NEUGER. lib. vii. p. 628. HENNING. Liefl. Chron. p. 50.

Basilowitz real design was to facilitate his own conquest of that country; declares when the Swedes and Danes should have withdrawn their the duke of forces.

Holstein
king of Li-
vonia ;

THIS proposal had the desired effect : it pleased the *Livonians* very much ; and duke *Magnus* himself was so rejoiced at it, that, having received from *Kurfell* the strongest assurances of his surrendering the citadel to him upon his return, he repaired in person to *Moscow*, in order to settle this important affair¹. On his arrival there, *Basilowitz* received him with great friendship, publicly acknowledged him king of *Livonia*, and concluded a treaty with him, by which, for a small annual tribute, he promised to rest satisfied with the title of protector only, to deliver up to him all the castles in his possession, to drive the *Swedes* away, and to protect him in his new kingdom, against all enemies whatsoever : to which he added, that he would renounce his former friendship and alliance with the *Roman* emperor, and shew the greatest favour to all the *Germans* in his kingdom : that *Magnus* should keep *Livonia* as an inheritance to him and his heirs male ; and that no *Russian*, of what rank or degree soever, should at any time have any authority, or command therein ; and that, in case *Magnus* should die without male issue, the crown should be transferred either to the next branch of the house of *Holstein*, or to that of *Denmark*, and to no other person^m.

WHILE this treaty was in agitation, the soldiers in the town, having discovered that *Kurfell*'s real intention was to sell that place either to the *Russians* or *Danes*, which ever should offer most, endeavoured to recover possession of the doohm. To this end *Nils Dublare*, one of their captains, having gained over part of the garrison, and found means to make the centinels drunk, on a day appointed, introduced his men through a hole in the wall, and made himself master of the citadel. *Kurfell* and his adherents were put to death, and the old *Swedish* governor was re-instatedⁿ.

THE league between *Basilowitz* and king *Magnus* being concluded, the latter sent advice thereof to the *Livonian* nobility, promising them great favours if they would amicably acknowledge him their king, and submit to his government ; and threatening them with the severest punishment in case

Of which
he prepares
to put him
in possession
by force.

¹ RUSSOUW. Liefl. Chron. p. 119.

^m PUFFEND. p. 408.

HENNING. Liefl. Chron. p. 51.

ⁿ RUSSOUW. Liefl. Chron. f. 119, & seq. LOCCEN. ubi supra. PUFFEND. p. 467. ЧИТ, ubi supra. HENNING. Liefl. Chron. p. 50, & seq.

of refusal. But neither his threats, nor his promises, proving effectual, *Basilwitz* assembled a great army to dislodge the Swedes, chastise the *Livonians*, and put *Magnus* in possession of his new kingdom, by force. With this army *Magnus* immediately set forward, and attacked *Reval* and *Wittenslein* with great fury; but in the mean time thought fit to write letters to the burghers and inhabitants of *Reval*, informing them, that his only intention was to free them from the Swedes and Poles, and to unite their scattered provinces under a German prince: that the czar had solemnly invested him with sovereign authority over them, and had sent him with a proper force to drive away their worst of enemies; and that he therefore desired them to surrender peaceably to him, as to a German duke; for that otherwise he should be under a necessity of establishing himself, by means which would inevitably ruin their country. Though this requisition was seconded by several letters from such of the *Livonian* nobility as were in *Russia*, advising their countrymen at *Reval* to acknowledge duke *Magnus* for their sovereign, no answer was returned to it; the commandant *Gabriel de Mörby*, and most of the principal inhabitants, having agreed to defend the place to the last extremity, rather than submit to the czar, or any other person whom he should nominate: thinking that he would use them in the same manner as his father *Basilus* had treated *Michael Gliniski*, after the conquest of *Smolensko*. They, therefore, sallied out upon the besiegers several times, with great success; and, being well supplied with all necessaries by king *John*, the siege advanced but slowly; so that *Magnus*, after having lain a considerable time before the place, and lost a great number of his troops, was at last obliged to raise the siege, set fire to his camp, and depart.

THIS bad success was followed by misfortunes of still worse consequence; for about this time a terrible pestilence raged over the *Russian* dominions, and swept away vast numbers of people^c. An attempt was also made by some of the *Livonian* nobility, whom *Basilwitz* had advanced to considerable posts, to seize the strong city of *Dorpt*; but being repulsed in the execution of their enterprise, they fled into *Poland*: and the *Crim Tartars*, by the persuasion of the

but is obliged to raise the siege.

A. D.

1571.
Russia de-
solated by
the plague.

^b Russouw. Lief. Chron. p. 124, & seq. Loccen. p. 409. CHYT. ubi supra. HENNING, Lief. Chron. p. 51. ^c CHYT. p. 557. — Loccen. p. 410. HENNING, Lief. Chron. p. 52. Russouw. Lief. Chron. p. 124, & seq. ^f ODERB. lib. iii. p. 292. ^g CHYT. ubi supra. HENNING, Lief. Chron. p. 52. Russouw. p. 137.

Invasion
by the
Crim
Tatars,

who plun-
der and
burn Mos-
cow.

The Tar-
tars retire,
and Basi-
lowitz
makes a
truce with
Poland.

Poles, suddenly invaded *Russia* with an Army of 70,000 men: The *Russians* might, indeed, have prevented their passing the *Volga* and *Occa*; but their commanders in those parts not having orders to that effect, the *Tartars* pursued their march, and the *Russians* retreated, till they came within eighteen leagues of *Moscow*; where, making a stand, they were totally defeated^h. When *Basilowitz* heard of this, he packed up his most valuable effects, and, together with his two sons, took refuge in a well fortified cloister; which the *Tartars* were no sooner informed of, than they entered the city of *Moscow*, plundered it, and set fire to several churches. A violent storm, which happened at the same time, soon spread the flames all over the cityⁱ, which was entirely reduced to ashes in less than six hours, though its circumference was then upwards of forty miles^k. The fire likewise communicated itself to a powder-magazine at some distance from the city, by which accident upwards of fifty rods of the city-wall, with all the buildings thereon, were also destroyed; and by the concurrent testimony of the best historians, upwards of 120,000 citizens were burnt, or buried in the ruins, besides women, children, and foreigners^l. The castle, however, which was strongly fortified, held out to the last; and the *Tartars*, for want of proper materials, could not attempt to reduce it by force^m. The distressed *Basilowitz*, upon hearing this dismal news, thought proper to retire from the cloister to *Jaroslau*; and the *Tartars*, being soon after informed, that duke *Magnus* was coming against them with a numerous army, would not venture to penetrate any farther into the country, but retired, laden with immense riches and many prisoners of great distinction; having first sent a naked sabre to the czar, with this message, that he should look upon it as a token left him by an enemy, whose revenge was still unsatisfied, and who would soon return again to compleat the work which he had as yet scarcely begunⁿ.

AFTER the retreat of the *Tartars*, *Basilowitz* held a council of war, to enquire into the conduct of his officers and troops during the late invasion; and those generals who had declined facing the enemy, were ordered to be put to death, their estates confiscated, and the troops under their command

^h G. VAN HOFF. ubi supra. ⁱ HORSEY's treatise of Russia. CHYT. Chron. Livon. p. 133. G. VAN HOFF. ubi supra. THUN. ad an. 1571. RUSS. Lief Chron. p. 135. ETCCH. p. 157. ^k PETR. Mosc. Chron. p. 7. ^l VAN HOFF. ubi supra. ^m CHYT. Saxon. p. 603. ⁿ VAN HOFF. were

were disbanded ¹. These accumulated misfortunes did not, however, depress the spirits, or subdue the courage of the czar. On the contrary, having concluded a three years truce with his mortal enemy *Sigismund* king of *Poland* ^k, he rejected, with disdain, the overtures of a peace made to him at the same time by *John* king of *Sweden* ^m; who, being apprehensive that, as the *Tartars* had retreated from *Russia*, the czar would turn his arms against *Sweden*, caused the imprisoned king *Eric* to be removed from *Abo* to *Grypsholm*, and from thence to *Oerby*, where he placed a very strong guard over him, and ordered him to be narrowly watched, to prevent *Basilowitz's* rescuing him from his confinement ⁿ.

Basilowitz intending to make some farther use of duke *Ravages Magnus* in his design upon *Livonia*, sent for him to *Moscow*, Finland with a splendid retinue, in order to concert a proper plan of operations ^o. The truce he had lately concluded with the *Poles*, together with the death of their king *Sigismund*, which happened shortly after, seemed greatly to favour the execution of his scheme, as there now was little reason to apprehend any disturbances on the side of *Poland* for some years ^p. Under these favourable circumstances he resolved to employ the utmost of his force against the *Swedes*; and having assembled two very powerful armies, he sent one to invade *Finland*, and the other to attack *Livonia*. The former of these armies ravaged the country without opposition, and returned home laden with spoils; whilst the arrival of the other in *Livonia* was so sudden and unexpected, that *Basilowitz*, who headed it, soon became master of the important fortresses of *Wittenstein*, where he put the whole garrison to the sword ^q. He did the same at *Nenkoff*; and having conquered *Karchusen*, he returned, with part of his army, to *Novogrod*. The rest, to the number of 10,000, marched into *Esthonia*, where the *Swedish* general, *Claes Ackeson*, with only 600 horse and 1000 foot, attacked and routed them, killed 7000 of their men, and forced the survivors to retire, after losing all their baggage ^r. Takes Wittenstein, and several other places: but is defeated by the Swedes.

THIS defeat had such an effect upon *Basilowitz*, that he wrote a very mild letter to the king of *Sweden*, expressing a

¹ HORSEY, & CHYT. ubi supra. ^k GUAG. p. 365. ap. Pistor. tom ii. ^m HEID. de bello Mosk. v. p. 414. ⁿ PUFF. p. 414. ^o HENN. Lief. Chron. p. 54. RUSS. Lief. Chron. p. 140. ^p HENN. ubi supra. NEUGEB. lib. viii. p. 640. ^q CHYT. Saxon. p. 618. HENN. Lief. Chron. p. 54. LOCCEN. p. 413. ^r PUFF. 416. LOCCEN. p. 413. HENN. Lief. Chron. p. 147.

Magnus married to a relation of Basilowitz.

The Swedes continue to harass the Russians.
A. D. 1574.

desire to make peace^p. In the mean time he concluded a match between the pretended king of *Livonia*, *Magnus*, and *Maria*, a relation of his at *Novogrod*; and was so well pleased at the celebration of these nuptials, that he is said to have sung part of the ceremony himself, and to have beat time to the musicians by striking on their backs¹. The Swedish monarch, however, being somewhat elated with the success of his troops, and willing to rid himself effectually of so dangerous an enemy as *Basilowitz*; not only refused to listen to the proposed peace, but sent *Pontus de la Gardie* into *Livonia*, with 5000 Scots, who harassed the czar to such a degree, that he again applied for peace, and desired a truce in the mean time^k. But the two kings differing about the place where their ministers should meet, the czar insisting on *Novogrod*, and *John* on the borders of *Soesterbuck*, the war was begun afresh, and each side acted with the utmost vigour.

Who take Pernau and other places in Livonia.

The Livonians sell some fortresses to the Danes.

THE Swedes laid siege to *Wesemburgh* and *Tolburch*; but after losing a great number of men, they contented themselves with plundering all the places they could, and then retired. The *Lubeckers*, who had formerly assisted *Basilowitz* in the affair of *Narva*, were particularly punished; *John* taking from them sixteen of their largest and richest ships. On the other hand, the Russian troops attacked the Swedish and German dragoons in their camp, and made a great slaughter of them, ravaged *Livonia*, and made themselves masters of *Pernau*, which they treated with such lenity, as induced several other places to submit to king *Magnus*^l.

DURING these transactions, the nobility of *Livonia*, in conjunction with the German dragoons, sold to the Danes, the castles of *Hafel*, *Lobe*, and *Lehal*, which the king of Sweden had given the dragoons as a security for the payment of 80,000 florins, due to them for arrears of pay^b; and in consequence of this sale *Nicolas Van Ungarn*, the Danish

^p PUFFEND. ubi supra. ¹ HENNING. Lief. Chron. p. 56. RUSSOUW. Lief. Chron. p. 148. ^k PUFFEND. p. 416. LOCEN. p. 413. CHYT. ubi supra. RUSSOUW. p. 149. ^l HENN. Lief. Chron. ubi supra. PUFFEND. p. 418. RUSSOUW. p. 166. ^b CHYT. Saxon. p. 622.

(A) *Laur. Muller* is mistaken of *Andrew*, nephew of *George*, in saying, that she was the who was brother to *Basilus* the daughter of *Basilowitz's* brother *Blind*, which last was the grandfather (1). She was the daughter father of *Basilowitz* (2).

(1) P. 114. (2) *Cbytr. Genalog.* p. 618. *Petræus. and Henning.* p. 147.

stadholder at *Oesel*, took possession of them. About the same time, duke *Magnus* of *Saxe-Lauenburgh*, who had married *Sophia*, sister to the king of *Sweden*^m, arrived at *Sonenburgh*, of which he took possession as a fief from his brother-in-law. This occasioned a dispute between him and the *Danish* governor of *Oesel*, whom the duke imprisoned, but released soon after. The *Swedes* not attempting to retake *Pernau*, the *Russians* remained possessors of the place, and granted to such of its inhabitants as chose to withdraw, passports for themselves and their effects: but duke *Magnus* of *Saxe-Lauenburgh*, under pretence that they had not acted properly in the defence of the city, plundered them, and sent them prisoners to *Stockholm*ⁿ.

Basilowitz now desiring peace more than ever, agreed that his ambassador should treat with those of *Sweden* at *Saeserbeck*; but several difficulties arising, the congress ended in concluding a truce for two years, in favour of *Finland* only. This no ways displeased the czar; as having nothing to fear from that quarter, he had the better hopes of conquering *Livonia*. In the mean time, the emperor *Maximilian II.* whom some of the *Poles* had elected for their king, sent ambassadors to *Basilowitz*, to offer his mediation in regard to the proposed peace between *Russia* and *Sweden*: but the *Swedes* were so peremptory in their demands, that nothing could be done^o. The czar, in consequence of the truce for *Finland*, turned his arms against the *Danes*, and took from them the lately acquired castles of *Hafel*, *Lohe*, and *Lebal*, with several other places. The king of *Denmark* complained bitterly of the injustice of this action; but was answered by *Basilowitz*, that as those castles belonged to his enemies the *Swedes*, he thought himself sufficiently warranted in his proceedings against them^p.

ABOUT this time, the *Poles* elected *Stephen Battori*, chief magistrate of *Siebenburgen*, a man of a warlike disposition, for their king: and to prevent the emperor *Maximilian's* counteracting this election, they hastened the coronation as much as possible^q. This event was highly pleasing to *Basilowitz*, who, by espousing the emperor's claim, hoped to reap considerable advantages in his designs upon the *Swedes*. He therefore sent ambassadors to *Maximilian*, offering to assist

A. D.
1576.
A truce
concluded
in favour
of *Fin-*
land.

Basilowitz
takes the
fortresses
lately ceded
to the
Danes.

Stephen
Battori
chosen king
of *Poland*.

^m PUFFEND. p. 393. J. RUSSOUW. Lief. Chron. p. 166.
HENNING. Lief. Chron. p. 51. CHYTR. Saxon. p. 625. THUA.
ad An. 1575. p. 51. edit. Germ. ° HENN. p. 57. P CHYTR.
Saxon. p. 625. ° NEUGEB. lib. ix. p. 633. HENN. p. 58.

him against the new elected king of *Poland*, who, he said, having obtained the crown by means of the grand enemy of the christian powers, the *Turk*, was not worthy to wear it; desiring him to take the *Poles* under his protection, and offering to restore part of *Livonia* to him on that account. This embassy was very acceptable to *Maximilian*, who thankfully acknowledged the czar's generosity, and promised to return the favour whenever it should be in his power. The advantage which the emperor proposed to himself by this connexion with *Basilowitz*, was, that if he attacked the *Poles* with one great army, and the czar should second him with another, king *Stephen* would be unable to withstand their joint forces, and be the more easily induced to resign his crown. On the other hand, the czar imagined that the *Poles*, being engaged with the emperor, would be able to frustrate his intention of conquering *Livonia*.

Sends an embassy to the czar, to propose peace.

SOON after, king *Stephen* sent an embassy to *Moscow*, to notify his election to the *Polish* crown, and either by an absolute truce, or a protracted treaty, to keep the czar from attempting any thing against *Livonia*; intimating, that whatever differences subsisted between them, might be then amicably compromised, if *Basilowitz* was as pacifically disposed as he was. *Basilowitz* answered, that though the emperor, with whom he was in league, had been chosen king of *Poland*; yet he was no ways averse to living in peace with *Stephen*, and should therefore be glad if he would send ambassadors to examine into, and accommodate the differences between them; and that in the mean time he would refrain from all acts of hostility against the *Poles*.

The Russians invade Livonia.

In the mean while, he sent a body of 1500 *Tartars* into *Finland*, to make a false alarm in that country, and an army of 50,000 men into *Livonia*, to besiege *Reval*; to frighten the inhabitants of which, he caused it to be reported, that he himself was at the head of his troops. The *Russians* accordingly invested the city, and continued to bombard it for six weeks: but the besieged, who were well supplied with necessaries, made a brave and resolute defence; and by their frequent and successful sallies, so weakened the *Russian* army, that they were obliged to raise the siege; which they were the rather induced to do, as their general *Iwan Koltzoff*, who had sworn to the czar, that if he did not gain possession of

Ragat, he would never see his face again, was unfortunately killed by a cannon ball from the garrison^k.

NOTWITHSTANDING this bad success, the czar was re- *Agreement*
solved not to close the campaign without gaining some ad- *between*
vantage; and therefore, putting himself at the head of his *the czar,*
army, he encamped near *Pleskow*, from whence he sent for *and Mag-*
king *Magnus* to meet him. This new sovereign of *Livonia* *of*
was suspected of having treacherously endeavoured to per- *Livonia.*
suade the king of *Poland*, and the princes of *Prussia* and *Cour-*
land, to engage in a war against *Basilowitz*, who, being in-
formed of it, severely reproached *Magnus* with ingratitude;
but this last having found means to appease him, he not
only treated him with great distinction, but entered into an
agreement with him, that the places which they should re-
spectively conquer, should be equally divided; that *Magnus*
should have the city of *Wenden*, and all that lay on the other
side of the *Aal*, and that the czar should have the rest; but
that in case any other places should surrender to *Magnus*, he
should have no right to them without the czar's consent.
Soon after this agreement, *Magnus* returned to *Livonia*,
where he was informed, upon his arrival at *Ermiss*, that the
city of *Wenden* was willing to surrender to him, as it ac-
cordingly did soon after, and that day he took possession of
the castle and city, and received an oath of fidelity from the
inhabitants^l.

IN the mean time *Basilowitz* broke up his camp before
Pleskow, and treated all the places he passed thro' with great
mildness, except such as belonged to baron *Van Dauben*, who
was one of those that attempted to seize *Dorpt*, but upon
meeting with a repulse, had taken refuge in *Poland*. While
the czar was thus engaged, the inhabitants of *Kackenhausen*,
sent to king *Magnus*, desiring to put themselves under his
subjection. *Magnus* being sensible, that, according to the
late treaty concluded with the czar at *Pleskow*, he could not
comply with this request without his consent, sent a mes-
senger to *Basilowitz*, to acquaint him therewith, and receive
his directions: but before he had any answer, he ventured
not only to grant their request, but also published a writing,
which he distributed there and in the adjacent places, warn-
ing them against the designs of the *Russians*, and informing
them, that he acted solely for the benefit of the kingdom of
Poland, and the grand duchy of *Lithuania*, to whom those
places properly belonged, upon which they readily received
his garrisons, and threw themselves upon his protection.

*Which the
latter vio-
lates.*

^k Id. p. 179, 186. ^l HENNING. Lief. Chron. p. 61.

*Basil-
witz's re-
venge.*

*His noble
behaviour
towards
Magnus,*

*and just
indigna-
tion a-
gainst the
people of
Wenden.*

*Their des-
perate re-
solution.*

Basilowitz being acquainted with these proceedings before the arrival of *Magnus's* messenger, who was dilatory in his journey, set out immediately for *Kackenhausen*, where he imprisoned the burghers, and put to the sword those whom king *Magnus* had sent thither, but permitted the *Lithuanians* to depart quietly. In the mean time, some of *Magnus's* troops had taken one of the czar's officers, named knez *Alexander Polubensky*, who had a large sum of money with him, and detained him prisoner. *Basilowitz* sent several expresses to *Magnus*, to demand this nobleman, but in vain; whereupon he marched from *Kackenhausen* to *Wenden*, and represented to the inhabitants how ill *Magnus* had used him, and how manifestly he had violated the treaty of *Pleskow*: but they endeavouring to excuse their master, the czar immediately laid siege to the place, till, at the earnest request of the citizens, *Magnus*, with only a few attendants, went into the czar's camp, and falling on his knees, begged pardon for himself and the city. *Basilowitz* no sooner saw the king of *Livonia* thus prostrate before him, than he dismounted from his horse, and desired him to rise, returned him his sword, and after reproaching him with the ingratitude of his late conduct, freely pardoned him and the city, and assured them of his future protection. At this instant, a cannon-ball from the castle narrowly missed killing the czar; which so incensed him, that he mounted his horse and rode away directly, swearing by *St. Nicolas*, that for this fresh instance of perfidy, every person in *Wenden* should suffer death. *Magnus* was then put under arrest in a farm-house, and obliged to sign an obligation, by which he engaged to pay the czar 40,000 *Hungarian florins* by the next *Christmas*, as a satisfaction for the money taken from *Polubensky*; and in case of failure of payment at that time, to forfeit double the sum, and remain a prisoner at *Moscow* till the whole should be discharged. This account, delivered by a writer of veracity, shews the falsity of what has been asserted by others, who, out of enmity to *Basilowitz*, say, that *Magnus* was forced to creep upon his knees upwards of a thousand paces, before the czar would look at him; that this last spit several times in his face; and that the *Russians*, afterwards, beat him unmercifully with sticks. The troops in the castle of *Wenden*, alarmed at *Magnus's* not returning, and imagining that *Basilowitz* was meditating some fatal design both against him and them; assembled, received the sacrament, and then

^y HENNING. Lief. Chron. p. 62.

^z HENNING. p. 65.

blew

blew up the citadel and all that were in it°. *Wolmar* and several other places submitted soon after°. In the course of this campaign, *Basilowitz* made himself master of all the towns north of the *Duina*, except *Riga*, *Treyden*, and *Reval*. After this success, *Basilowitz* returned to *Dorpt*, where he told the imprisoned *Magnus*, who was brought before him, that he had formerly entertained the highest esteem for him, and as a proof of it, had given him one of his relations in marriage; but that, by his late perfidious behaviour, he had forfeited that esteem, and did not deserve the least indulgence: notwithstanding which, he would still permit him to go to his consort at *Kackenhausen*, and advise him to be more faithful for the future°. After *Magnus* was thus dismissed, the czar returned to *Moscow*, being apprehensive of another visit from the *Tartars*°.

• THIS retreat gave the *Livonians* fresh spirits, and they exerted their utmost strength to recover the places which the czar had garrisoned. *Wenden* was taken by surprise, and the *Russian* troops were treated with great barbarity. *Dun- burg*, and several other castles in the neighbourhood, shared the same fate°, which so intimidated the *Russians* in *Over- palen*, that they voluntarily surrendered that city: but soon after, recollecting the risk they run from the resentment of their master, they again made themselves masters of it. The *Swedes* then fell upon the *Russians*, who had laid siege again to *Wenden*; and with the assistance of the *Poles*, under the command of *Andrew Sapieha*, killed above 6000 of them, took a great number of prisoners with all their baggage, and obliged the rest to seek their safety by flight. This so incensed *Basilowitz*, that he resolved to carry his arms not only into *Livonia*, but also into *Curland* and *Prussia*°. To this end he concluded a truce with the *Tartars*°, and accommodated all differences between him and the *Danes*; though the *Danish* ambassador so far exceeded his commission in this affair, that upon his return to *Denmark*, he was disgraced°. These affairs being settled, *Basilowitz* assembled an army of 100,000 men, which he sent against *Platow*; and in the

The Li-
vonians.
Swedes;
and Poles
gain ad-
vantages
over the
Russians,

° HEID. lib. i. p. 327. ODERB. lib. i. p. 255. PETR. p. 190. P LAUR. MULLER, Pol. Hist. p. 46. Account of Li-
vonian. ° HENN. p. 66. PETR. p. 190. ° HENN. p. 67.

° JACOB AB UHLEF. *Hodæporicon Ruthenicum*, p. 13. °

° HEID. de *bell. bello*, lib. i. p. 328. HENN. p. 61. LAUR.

MULLER, Pol. & Liefl. Hist. p. 45. & seq. ° PUFF. p. 439.

HEID. p. 67. HEID. p. 338. NEUGE. lib. x. p. 673. ° PUFF.

ubi supra.

mean time, *Magnus* perceiving that his affairs in *Livonia* were in a very precarious situation, went over to the king of *Poland*, in order to engage him to enter *Russia* with a powerful army, and thereby oblige the czar to withdraw the greatest part of his forces for the defence of his own dominions. King *Stephen* desired *Nicola Radziwil*, the chief magistrate of *Courland*, to treat with *Magnus*, and assure him of the friendship of *Poland*, on condition that he should hold his castles as fiefs from its king, or exchange them with him for other places^a. This treaty being concluded, *Stephen* attacked the *Russian* frontiers; and though the czar sent ambassadors to him to prevent his farther proceedings, yet because they would not make a formal enquiry after *Stephen's* health, before they entered upon business, the *Polish* ministry would not treat with them; so that they returned back to *Moscow* without success^a.

1579.
Against
whom the
Poles de-
clare war
in an ex-
traordi-
nary ma-
ner.

In the beginning of the next year, *Stephen Battori*, having made a treaty of alliance with the *Swedes*, by consent of the diet of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, raised an army to attack *Russia* in earnest; to retake what *Poland* claimed; and to put an end to this war, which had lasted too long. His hopes of success were raised by a reverse of fortune. Which the czar had just experienced in *Livonia*; where the *Swedes*, assisted by some *Germans* and *Polanders*, had retaken *Wenden*: an event which greatly dispirited the *Russians*. However, not to do any thing irregular, *Stephen* determined first to demand satisfaction from *Basilowitz*, by an embassy; and, in case of refusal, to declare war in form against the *Russians*, before he attacked their territories.

Basil Lapctinski was chosen ambassador for this purpose, and sent with a numerous train of nobility^b. He was received on the frontier with all the honours due to his character: but when he was advanced farther into the country, and his errand known, he had much ado to get safe to *Moscow*. When there, having declared that he should go to his audience with a drawn sabre before him, and being told that an attempt to enter the imperial palace, in that manner, might cost him his life; he answered, that the czar was master of his life, but that nothing should hinder him from acquitting himself of his duty with the utmost exactness. Accordingly, when the day of audience came, he was

^a JACOB AB UHLEF. Epist. ad Goldastum. — BAYLE Dict. Hist. & Brit. sub. voce Uhlefeld. ^a HENN. f. 68. HEID. lib. i. p. 332. NEUG. lib. x. p. 671. ^b HEID. lib. i. p. 338, 340. NEUG. lib. x. p. 674.

conducted to the palace, his master of the horse carrying his sabre naked before him. The czar, cloathed in a robe covered with diamonds and pearls, received him in a magnificent hall. *Lapotinski*, after saluting him in the *Polish* manner, made a speech, in which he demanded reparation for all the injuries done to *Poland* by the *Russians*; adding, that, in case of refusal, the king, his master, would be obliged to do himself justice: with which words, he presented to the czar a letter from *Stephen*, to the same effect, and a scymeter.

Basilowitz, after reading this letter, which was written in the *Russian* language, and sealed with a seal of gold, answered, that he was not so susceptible of fear, as at the sight of such menaces, to abandon his dominions to *Poland*; and that those who had so often vanquished the *Poles* and the *Lithonians*, who had subdued the *Tartars* of *Casan* and *Astracan*, and triumphed over the forces of the *Ottoman* empire, would make king *Stephen* repent of his rash undertaking. He then took leave of the ambassador, and ordered him to be treated with the respect due to his high station. So true it is, that virtue commands respect, even in an enemy: for the czar regarded the law of nations less than the noble intrepidity of *Lapotinski*.

WAR being thus declared, each side made great preparations. The czar, besides augmenting his troops, reinforcing his garrisons, and erecting magazines in all necessary places, excited the *Crim Tartars* to invade *Poland*: but *Stephen* was first in the field, with volunteers of all nations, who were willing to learn the art of war under so renowned a commander.

THE stress of the war was directed against *Poloczkw*, the avenues to which *Stephen* took possession of, whilst his general *Radzivil* sent a trumpet to summon the *Russian* garrison to surrender. No regard was paid to this message; and, in the mean time, the *Polish* troops, while they waited his return, began to seize on *Kosian*, *Sura*, and *Krasny*. The king arriving soon after with the heavy artillery, opened the siege of *Poloczkw*. Their conquests.

THE czar, more intent upon defending his possessions than aiming at new conquests, was encamped under *Pleskow*; from whence, however, a detachment of *Russians* crossing the *Duina*, made an unexpected incursion into *Semigallia*, where they took a prodigious booty. On the other hand,

^c ODERB. in vit. Basilid. lib. iii. p. 294. HEID. ubi supra. NEUGEB. p. 674. ^d HENN. p. 69. NEUGEB. lib. x. p. 677.

The History of Russia:

the *Poles* sent parties into *Russia*, on the side of *Smolenskow*, where they put all to fire and sword, and even burnt the suburbs of that city. A detachment, commanded by *Ostrowski* and *Michael Wiefnowicki*, passed the *Dnieper*, and made an irruption as far as *Petzop*, *Radhost*, and *Starodub*, from whence they carried off considerable plunder.

IN the mean time the siege of *Poloczkw* was pushed with considerable vigour, and the besieged made an equally brave defence. *Basilowitz*, from time to time, sent several detachments, which endeavoured to throw themselves into the town, but with little success. The trenches had been open eighteen days, when *Stephen* ordered fire to be set to all the out-works of the place. This order was executed with such determined bravery, that many of the *Polish* soldiers rushed through the flames to attack the enemy. The *Russians*, astonished at this resolution, made a feint of capitulating, in hopes of gaining time to throw up a new intrenchment, whilst the flames concealed them from the besiegers: but *Stephen*, who penetrated their design, ordered that no respite should be given them, day or night. At length, seeing all their works destroyed about the town, and the *Poles* in possession of an eminence which commanded them, they beat the chamade. *Stephen*, who wanted not to shed blood, and who had an interest in preserving this fortress as entire as possible, granted its inhabitants life and liberty, received into his troops such as were willing to enlist with him, and permitted the rest to retire to the *Russian* army. A great quantity of cannon and ammunition was found in the place; and with it were taken some prisoners of distinction, who had opposed the surrender of the town: among these was the archbishop of *Wielkiluki*.

THE taking of *Poloczkw* was followed by the submission of *Turowla*, *Susa*, and *Socola*. The two first surrendered immediately, upon offering the garrisons liberty to retire with their arms and baggage. *Sokol*, a fort situated between the *Dreyse* and the *Neyse*, in the way from *Poloczkw* to *Pleskow*, made some resistance. Besides the usual garrison, *Theodore Basilowitz*, *Czeremetow*, who had attempted in vain to throw himself into *Poloczkw* with a detachment of troops, and several *Russian* lords, was retired into this fort, and two thousand well disciplined militia remained under the cannon of the place. The *Poles*, however, made their approaches in form, and by throwing a few red-hot bullets into the

town, all the buildings and fortifications of which were of wood, set it on fire in several places. The flames spread with such rapidity, that the garrison and people, reduced to the dismal alternative of perishing by fire, or opening themselves a passage through the besiegers, attempted this last, but were forced back into the midst of the conflagration, where they made signals to surrender, and demanded quarter: but the German soldiers not understanding their language, and the Poles, irritated by the late obstinate resistance of the garrison of *Poloczko*, refusing to listen to them, they made a fresh sally, and were again repulsed by their enemies, who followed them quite into the place. At that instant, a centinel upon the gate let fall the port-cullis, by which means both parties were shut up in the town, in the midst of the flames. A dreadful battle then ensued: 4000 *Russians* perished in the fort, which was reduced to ashes, and almost as many were taken prisoners, among whom were *Czeremetow*, and several other officers of distinction. The Poles then entered the *Russian* territories, where all submitted to king *Stephen*; who at length put an end to this campaign, in order to assist at the diet of *Warsaw*.

Basilowitz, beginning to despair of success in this war, *Basilowitz* retired to *Novagrad*, from whence he made some of his principal nobles write to the palatine of *Wilna*, to sound him, if there might not be some means found to bring the king to listen to terms of peace; to accelerate which he offered, though contrary to the custom of his ancestors, to send ambassadors to *Poland*. *Stephen* was also desirous of peace, but could not, with honour, consent it, while the *Russians* kept *Livonia*; especially as, besides the cession made of that province to the crown of *Poland* by the knights of the cross, king *Magnus*, who had put himself under the protection of the Polish monarch, had likewise transferred to him all the rights he had to it, either by the investiture of the czar, or by the oath its inhabitants had taken to him. It was therefore resolved in the diet, though not without strong opposition, that the war should be continued against *Russia*.

THE Polish army, with the additional strength of two considerable bodies of German and Hungarian auxiliaries, took the field early in the next year, and laid siege to *Wielkiluki*, one of the keys of *Russia*, situated on an eminence in the midst of marshes, covered on one side by a lake, and on

§ HEID. ubi supra. NEUGE. p. 674. lib. x. p. 694.

NEUGE.

the other by the *Lovat* (A). This city, in which was a numerous garrison, well provided with all sorts of stores, could not be reduced without setting it on fire, by which means most of its people perished: its governor was massacred by the *Hungarians*, and all the country round about was laid waste; the licentious soldiers thinking themselves authorised to commit every kind of barbarityⁱ. *Wielisz* and *Ujwiath*, two important posts on the *Duna*, were taken with less difficulty. The garrison of *Torpiecz* surrendered, on condition that they should retire to *Novogrod*; but those of *Sawolocz*, a fortress on the *Wielka*, between *Wielkiluki* and *Pliskow*, refusing to capitulate, were put to the sword. *Zickwysseza* was delivered up to the *Polish* general, *Radzivil*, upon his offering its inhabitants leave to retire elsewhere. Thus the *Poles* extended their conquests as far as *Porckow* and *Opolskow*, which are but about seventy wersts from *Pliskow*; and *Stephen* had also a great inclination to attack this last place: but not being sufficiently provided for an enterprise of such importance, and the season being by this time far advanced, it was thought more advisable to defer this siege till the next campaign, and in the mean time to assemble the diet again, in order to obtain the necessary succours.

*Fruitless
project of
the Poles
to seize the
czar's
treasure.*

ABOUT this time some *Poles* proposed, with the help of the *Swedes* and *Danes*, to surprise the monastery of *Bielezar*, on the *White Sea*, where the czar's principal treasure was kept, and which they were informed was but weakly defended^b. *Laurence Muller*, whom we have frequently had occasion to quote, and whose account^b we follow here, was sent in this view to both these nations, the latter of which declined the proposal, on account of their not being at war with the *Russians*. The king of *Sweden*, whose brother-in-law, *George John*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, had tried before to embark him in the same expedition, at first listened to it readily, and offered ships and troops: but, upon farther consideration, thinking the distance too great, or the expence too large, or the success doubtful, or having, perhaps, other uses for his

ⁱ NEUGEER. 699, 734.
Resp. Moscow. 333.

^b Account of Livonia, p. 129.
Pohl. Lief. Hist. p. 51.

(A) *Wielkiluki* lies in the province of *Rzeva*, 120 wersts on the north of *Wityrsk*, and at the same distance south from *Novogrod Wliski*, from which it is separated by forests, sandy plains, and the great lake *Ilmen*. *Pliskow* is 180 wersts distant from it on the north-west.

marine,

marine, he altered his mind; so that nothing came of this project.

Basilowitz, sensible that his troops were not so well appointed as those of the *Poles*, whom he hoped to weary out by avoiding a decisive battle, contented himself with putting good garrisons in such places as he judged they would attack, in order to make them lose time in those sieges, whilst his emissaries endeavoured to sow dissensions among them in their own country, and to spirit up an insurrection in *Lithuania*. This scheme failing, he returned to *Moscow*, where, to divert the attention of the people from his misfortunes, and make them think that the *Polish* war gave him but little concern, he spent his time in feasts and diversions, was married for the seventh time, and assisted at the nuptials of his eldest son *John Iwanowitz*.^d

HE was, however, mistaken, both in imagining that he could blind his subjects, and in thinking that the republic of *Poland*, unable to support the expences of the war for any length of time, must either continue it so faintly that he should find himself in a condition to fall upon them, or that they must at last desire a peace, which he would agree to on their own terms, in order to make war again, when a more favourable opportunity should offer; for the fatal consequences of an agreement entered into by the *Swedes* and *Poles*, stipulating, that they should act separately, and keep for themselves what each other should conquer, soon shewed the *Russians* the dangers they were threatened with; and *Basilowitz* received such advice from his spies in *Poland*, a set of men by whom this czar was always remarkably well served, as fully convinced him, that *Stephen* would not be satisfied with any thing less than the recovery of *Pleskow*, and that he was making all necessary preparations to carry his point. The king of *Sweden*, on his side, sent a large army under the command of his son-in-law, *Pontus de la Gardie*, who, late as it was in the year (A), invested *Kexholm*, and made himself master of that strong fortress and its dependencies^e; after which, entering *Livonia*, he reduced the castle and abbey of *Padis* to such distress of hunger, that the *Russian* garrison was so enfeebled as to be scarcely able to meet him at

League between the Swedes and the Poles.

The Swedes gain great advantages over the Russians.

^d NEUGER. p. 735. THUAN. ad an. 1580. ex HEID. lib. iii. p. 382. ^e PUFFEND. p. 443. LAUR. MULLER, p. 56. PUFFEND. ibi. supra. LÖCCEN. p. 422.

the gates to make their surrender°. *Wesenberg, Telsburgh, Lode, Tichel*, and several other places, submitted to him with little resistance; and early in the spring he invested *Narva*, which the king his master had attacked, to no purpose, some years before. This general, by promising his soldiers the plunder of it for twenty-four hours, induced them to assault it with so much fury, that they soon carried it, and cut seven thousand *Russians* in pieces. From *Narva* they went to *Iwanogorod*, which surrendered by capitulation. *Jumogorod* and *Coporio* did the same°. The *Swedes* afterwards going towards *Novogorod*, turned on a sudden upon *Wittenstein* in *Livonia*, which they took; and from thence proceeded to *Pernau*, to which they laid siege¹.

Basilowitz
fires the
mediation
of the
pope.

Basilowitz, thus distressed, and knowing the pope's zeal to repair the breaches which *Calvin* and *Luther* had made in the church of *Rome*, applied to *Gregory XIII.* for his mediation, and promised, that, if he made peace between him and *Poland*, he would submit the church of *Russia* to the Holy See. This bait was too tempting for the pope not to bite at. The jesuit *Possévin* was ordered to go immediately to the king of *Poland*, and endeavour to oblige him, by the obedience he owed to the church, to put an end to the war with the czar¹.

The Poles
take Riga,

BEFORE the arrival of this legate from the pope, the king of *Poland* had begun his third campaign with the conquest of *Riga*, the inhabitants of which surrendered to him, upon his promising to confirm to them, as he did, their privileges and freedom of religion¹. He then drew towards *Pleskow*, the possession of which had so long been an object of contention between the *Russians* and the *Poles*. This city, remarkably well fortified for those times and that country (A),
was

° HENN. *Licfl. Chron.* p. 70. a OLEAR. P PUFFEND. p. 444. HENN. p. 70. 2. CHYTR. 693. NEUGB. p. 710. HEID. lib. iv. p. 388. I. MULLER, p. 56. LOCCEN. p. 422. ° ODERB. lib. iii. p. 292. HEID. lib. iii. p. 403. 415. ° POSS. *Comm. de Mosc.* ° NEUGB. p. 713. THUANUS, ad an. 1581. p. 67. ex HEID. lib. iv. p. 393.

(A) *Pleskow* is about six miles in circumference, situated on the river *Welika*, which washes its walls on the south, at the distance of five wersts from the lake *Peipus*. The north side of it was fortified by a wall of stone, within which the czar, after the taking of *Polocznow* and *Wielkiluki*, had raised a broad terrace. All around the town were stone-towers;

was then, through the care of *Basilowitz*, who foresaw the enemy's design, defended by a garrison of 7000 horse and 50,000 foot, including the burghers who were fit for service, and extremely well provided with all necessaries for a long siege.^b The generals who commanded in it were *John* and *Basil Zwirski*, *Coroschin* and *Plesceioff*, men of approved valour and great abilities; and the czar had placed round the town several bodies of *Cosaks*, commanded by a brave *Circassian*, in order to hinder the *Poles* from ravaging the country.

KING *Stephen* being informed of the state of *Pleskow*, both by some deserters from thence, and by the people of the country, began to hesitate whether he should attack a place so likely to baffle his efforts. His troops were not sufficiently numerous to form a line of circumvallation, nor had he infantry enough for the assault and the trenches; besides which, he was in want of powder, his magazine at *Susa* having been blown up by accident, and his difficulties with respect to provisions seemed insurmountable. However, thinking his own honour, and that of his nation, interested in the prosecution of what he had begun, he determined to exert his utmost endeavours to reduce this important place. His leaving it, after having approached so near, would have given fresh courage to the dejected *Russians*, and his taking it would crown him with renown.

THE siege being resolved on, the next point to be considered was, where to begin the attack. This was controverted for some time between the King and his General, late his Chancellor, *Zamoisky*; till at length it was agreed, that it should be at the eastern side of the city. *Zamoisky* was disliked by the *Poles* in general, who said he was better qualified to shed ink than blood, and quite unacquainted with the management of war.^d The *Polish* forces were divided according to their different nations: the *Poles*, *Lithuanians*, *Hungarians*, and *Germans*, had their respective posts, in which they endeavoured to surprise each other. Without entering into a detail of the particulars of this famous siege, we shall only say, that the besiegers and the besieged did

^b NEUGE. p. 713. THUANUS ad an. ex HEID. lib. iv. p. 393. ^d LAUR. MULLER, p. 52. HEID. lib. iii. p. 404.

towers; but as there were ancient works, whose flanks could not well defend each other, *Basilowitz* had added, in the intermediate spaces, good works of turf, and furnished them with artillery.

every

every thing that could be expected from the most warlike people; till at length the former, beginning to want powder, were not able to batter the place so strongly as before. On the other hand, no endeavours were omitted by the *Russians* of *Ingria* and *Novogrod* to throw additional succours into the town; but the *Polish* king and his generals, who flew incessantly from place to place, frustrated every attempt of that kind.

The pope mediates a peace between the Russians and the Poles.

DURING this siege, the king of *Poland* received several ambassadors, and among the rest one from the grand signior, to demand certain *Tartars* who had deserted, and at the same time to congratulate him upon his conquests, and offer him considerable succours; which were neither accepted nor refused. The jesuit *Passevin*, invested with the dignity of legate from the pope, arrived also in his camp, from the court of the czar, with whom he had conferred about the conditions of a peace, which he was to mediate in the name of his Holiness^f, who hoped by that means to bring *Russia* over to the *Romish* communion. *Passevin*, at an audience which he had immediately, told the king, that his czarish majesty was desirous to make peace upon the terms he had proposed during the siege of *Polczkow*: to which *Stephen* made no reply; but gave the mediator to understand, that peace could not be made unless the czar yielded all *Livonia* to the crown of *Poland*. The jesuit, upon this, sent a courier to *Basilowitz*, who immediately named *Zapolicia*, a town about ninety wcrsts from *Pleskow*, for the conference to be held in, under the mediation of the pope^h.

THE czar's real design was to draw the negotiation out in length, in hopes that the cold, which began to be very violent, and to which the troops that composed the *Polish* army had not been accustomed, would oblige their generals to decamp. He knew that *Pleskow* wanted for nothing, and was satisfied of the bravery and fidelity of those who were to defend it. *Stephen* was obliged to go to *Warsaw*, to assist at the diet; and it was well known, that *Zamoisky* was not beloved by the troops. The *Poles* being informed of all these circumstances, by a person in the train of the *Russian* plenipotentiaries, and who was in the secret of the embassy, redoubled their attacks upon *Pleskow*, and detached a party to besiege the monastery of *Pezzura*, which, lying in the

^f POSSEV. Comm. de Moscov.

^h POSSEV. ubi supra. ODERB. lib. iii. p. 313. NEUGEE. p. 728. PUFFEND. p. 446. HEID. lib. v. p. 415. CHYTR. p. 703. THUAN. ad an. 1582.

road between *Pleskow* and *Riga*, and being fortified and filled with troops, incommoded the forages of the *Polish* army. What added greatly to the hopes of the *Polanders*, was, an information which they received from one *Suturma*, secretary to the governor of *Pleskow*, and taken prisoner by them, purporting, that the provisions and ammunition of the town, were almost exhausted; whereupon *Zamoisky* made ail the necessary dispositions to oblige it to surrender by famine.

WHILE the siege of *Pleskow* was thus carrying on, and the *Russian* ministers tried all ways to gain time, by sending couriers continually to the czar, and protracting their negotiations, in hopes that the severity of the weather would oblige their enemies to decamp; a large detachment of the *Polish* army, commanded by *Christopher Radziwil*, *Kmita*, and *Haraburda*, ravaged the borders of *Russia* towards *Mobilow*, *Skolw*, and *Toropiecz*, and advanced very far into the province of *Rzeva*, where two foragers falling into their hands, alarmed them with an account, that a body of 15,000 men were not far off, and that the czar was with his court at *Starica*, where he had another still greater army^m. *Radziwil*, however, advanced as far as the *Wolga*, beyond which he sent his *Tartars* out in parties, and would have followed them himself, and have advanced towards *Starica*, if one *Murfa*, an officer of the czar's household, who threw himself purposely in the way of the *Poles*, had not spoken with such confidence of the numerous troops, at the head of which *Basilowitz* was, at *Starica*, that the *Polish* general believed him, and thereupon turned back. The truth was, that the czar had then only eight hundred men about his person, and that he had retired with precipitation as soon as he heard that the *Poles* had crossed the *Wolga*; so that it would not have been difficult for *Radziwil* to have taken him prisoner, if he had marched directly to *Starica*, instead of amusing himself with sending parties to destroy the country in the way to *Moscow*. The *Polish* detachment, after missing this stroke, retired by the province of *Rzeva*, and encamped at *Chebm* on the *Lowat*, from whence they advanced toward *Stara-Russia*, continually plundering the *Russian* territories on every side.

THE *Swedes*, in consequence of their late convention with the *Poles*, over-ran *Livonia*, and took so many of its places, that *Stephen* could not help saying, they caught the game whilst he beat the bushⁿ. It seemed, indeed, as if in *Livonia*.

^m ODERB. lib. iii. p. 293. HEID. lib. iii. p. 416. ⁿ CHYTR. p. 693. PUFFEND. p. 446. LOCCEN. lib. vii. p. 423.

Basilowitz suffered them to proceed in their conquests, purposely to breed a jealousy between them and their new allies: and if that was his view, he did not entirely miss his aim; for the *Polish* troops, disliking their general, wanting to return home, and envying the acquisitions obtained by the *Swedes*, whilst they were fruitlessly employed in a tedious siege, began to murmur greatly: a circumstance which the legate *Possévin* laid hold of, to dispose *Stephen* the more readily to peace^o; which was at length concluded at *Zapolicia*, on the 15th of *January*, in the year 1582^p.

1582. By this treaty the czar agreed to deliver up to the *Poles*, all that part of *Livonia* which bordered on *Lithuania*, and contained thirty-four towns and castles, together with *Poloczkow* and its dependencies: in consideration of which, *Wielkiluki*, *Sawolocz*, *Nowilla*, *Ostrow*, and several other places in their neighbourhood, were receded to him^q. This peace was to last ten years, if both parties should live so long; but in case either of them died, the survivor was to be at liberty to attack immediately the territories of the deceased; and these conditions were soon after sworn to by the ambassadors on both sides^r. *Basilowitz*, however, had still the advantage of having despoiled *Livonia* of all its best treasure and artillery, and of surrendering it poor, divided, and ruined^s.

No mention was made of the *Swedes* in this treaty: but not thinking it proper to quarrel with the *Poles*, they raised the siege of *Pernau*, and sent as their ambassador to *Stephen* one *Dominic*, an *Italian*, originally a cook, who had the assurance to ask a cession of *Narva*, *Wesenburg*, *Telsburg*, *Wittenstein*, *Lode*, *Lehal*, *Hapsal*, and *Reval*. So shameful a demand, made by such an ambassador, was treated as it deserved.

SHORTLY after this the *Swedish* commander, *Herman Fleming*, in the absence of *Portus de la Gardie*, laid siege to *Notteburgh*, without orders, and, not being able to gain his point, made deep incursions into *Russia*, which the *Tartars* were then attacking on the opposite side^t.

Basilowitz would undoubtedly have exerted himself to revenge this insult, if a dreadful accident which befell him,

^o NEUGE. p. 428. & 722. HEID. lib. ii. p. 357. & 404. ^p Autores supra citat. ^q Autores supra citat. & Tractat. de Russor. & Moscov. Relig. p. 276. ^r L. MULLER, Pohl. Liefl. Kist. p. 59. HEID. lib. vi. NEUGE. lib. x. ^s LOC- GEN. lib. vii. p. 423. LAUR. MULLER, p. 90. MARGARET. ^t PUFFEND. p. 448. NEUGE. p. 730. HENN. f. 71. b. HEID. lib. v. & ex eo THUAN. ad an. 1582. LOC- GEN. lib. vii. p. 424. L. MULLER, p. 66. & seq.

just before the conclusion of the peace of *Zapolicia*, had not given a quite different turn to all his thoughts. The *Russians*, though persuaded that their czar had good reasons for remaining inactive, as he had done for sometime past, while the *Swedes* on one hand, and the *Poles* on the other, made every day fresh conquests, and the last, in their progress, committed the greatest disorders; yet could not forbear murmuring at a conduct, in which there appeared to them more pusillanimity than prudence. Several of the nobles, joining together, made their remonstrances to the czar, threw themselves at his feet, offered him their lives and fortunes, and conjured him to wipe out the stain which so long an inactivity would bring upon the whole *Russian* nation; adding, that he had only to command it, and he should soon see an army on foot as numerous as the leaves of a forest; and that if he would put his eldest son at their head, his presence would inspire them with courage to surmount the greatest difficulties ^b.

Basilowitz, incensed at this address, which he looked upon as a reproach of cowardice, answered, that since his subjects wanted a sovereign who would obey their wills, and be accountable to them for his conduct, they might chuse one where they would. The *Russians*, afraid of the wrath to which they found they had provoked their prince, prostrated themselves again at his feet, protesting, that it was not through any disaffection to him that they had taken this step, which they saw was displeasing to him; assured him, that they were very sorry for what they had done, and conjured him to continue to govern them at his own good pleasure. He then insisted on their discovering the authors of this rash undertaking, that he might punish them for their boldness; and suspecting that his son had intelligence with those who demanded him for their general, he reprimanded him very severely. The innocent young prince, extremely concerned to find himself suspected by his father, begged that he might be permitted to justify himself: but the czar, to silence him at first, struck him on the head with a staff he had in his hand, tipped with an iron ferril, and unfortunately hit him on the temple, so that he dropt down motionless at his father's feet. Instantly penetrated with grief at this dreadful sight, *Basilowitz* passed at once from anger to the most piercing sorrow, threw himself upon the body of his son, embraced him, pressed him to his bosom, and spoke to him with all the fondness of a loving and afflicted parent.

^b ODERB. lib. jii. p. 310. PETR. p. 235. HEID. lib. v. p. 411. ex quo NEUGER. p. 427. et THUAN. ad an. 1581.

The prince recovered so as to be able to assure his father, that there was no conspiracy; that he was incapable of harbouring such a thought; and that, far from having ever had any such design against him, he besought the Almighty to give him the empire of the universe, and to add to his life the days that had been taken from his own. He died four days after, to the inexpressible grief of his father, whose affliction had like to have brought him also to the grave; for it was with great difficulty that he was prevailed upon to take any nourishment, or change his dress, even for a considerable time; nor could he ever after hear the prince mentioned, without immediately shedding tears (A). He caused a most magnificent

(A) All authors of credit acquit *Basilowitz* of any intention to hurt his son, and agree that the blow which occasioned his death was quite accidental; tho' they differ a little in regard to the circumstances which provoked the czar to this excess of anger: some saying, that the young prince, unable to bear his father's inactivity, whilst enemies were over-running his country, told him, he thought the courage and bravery of the king of *Poland*, who had taken and destroyed so many of his provinces, a much greater treasure than all his boasted riches, which had not been able to protect them (1): and others, that he had attempted to plead too warmly in favour of the czarina, who had displeased *Basilowitz* by an indecency of dress (2); or that he had expostulated too freely with his father concerning the state of the empire, which he said his successors would not thank him for, if he left it in its then distressed situation, surrounded by as many enemies as it had neighbours (3). Which ever of these was the case, or whether it was owing to the cause mentioned above, *Basilowitz*, intending only to make a sign to the prince to be silent, and stretching out to that end his staff, which was an ensign of his dignity (4); whilst he chanced to turn his head aside, to speak to some other person, and his son was bowing, had the misfortune to hit him upon the temple; and, which the generality of writers do not relate rightly, the prince, stunned with the blow, fell down in strong convulsions, which were followed by a fever that carried him to the grave (5). Other authors, again, say, he did not die of the blow, but of the violence of his passion (6): and captain *Margaret* declares positively (7), that he died on a pilgrimage after he had received this stroke. Be that as it may,

(1) *Neugeb. p. 725. Thulin. ad an. 1581. ex Heidenst. l. v. p. 40.* (2) *Possevin. comm. 2. p. 17. Cbytr. p. 752. Trägad. Moscov. ex cod. p. 5.* (3) *Henning, p. 73. L. Müller, p. 114.* (4) *Possevin. comm. f. 34. à Clem. Adam. Navigat. Anglor. ad Moscov. p. 148. Margaret.* (5) *Neugeb. ubi supra.* (6) *Neugeb. & Heidenst. ubi supra.* (7) *Etat del' Empire de Russie.*

magnificent funeral to be made for him : and to expiate his crime, if it could be expiated, sent 77,000 florins to the patriarch of *Constantinople* and *Alexandria*, and to the monks that watched the holy sepulchre, that they might pray without ceasing for the soul of his son^b. What added to the loss both of the czar and the state, was, that this prince, born of *Basilowitz's* first consort, *Anastasia*, was deservedly the object of all their hopes ; his second brother, *Theodore*, being of a weak understanding ; and the third, *Demetrius*, an infant.

THE news of the peace was immediately carried to *Plesk* ^{the siege} *now* ; where it occasioned an universal joy, as well as in the ^{of Pleskow} army of *Poland*. General *Zamoisky* recalled all his detach- ^{raised, in} ments, and the siege was raised, in the course of which both ^{consequence} parties had sustained very great losses, and acquired nearly ^{of the} equal glory ; for if the *Poles* had shewn an invincible per- ^{peace,} severance to accomplish so difficult an enterprize ; the *Russians* had given proofs of an extraordinary valour, and an inviolable fidelity to their sovereign, in supporting this siege so long, without receiving any succours, or having the least prospect of being relieved.

THE *Swedes*, who, as we observed before, were not in- ^{and a} cluded in the treaty, and found themselves menaced with a ^{truce made} war from *Poland*, which claimed all *Livonia*, sought to ^{with the} make peace with the czar : but as they could not agree up- ^{Swedes.} on their respective pretensions, a truce only was concluded for two months, which was followed by another for two years ; before the expiration of which, the czar *John Basilowitz* died. After the death of his son he fell into a deep melancholy, which did not suffer him to enjoy any part of the short remainder of his life.

THE jesuit *Possévin*, having succeeded in what the czar *Basilowitz* desired of him with respect to the peace, demanded, in his ^{witz e-} turn, the accomplishment of that prince's promise, to re- ^{vades the} unite the church of *Russia* to the see of *Rome* : but *Basilow-* ^{demands} *witz* answered, that this was an affair which could not be ^{of the pope's} effected in a short time ; that he thought it not just to force ^{legate.}

^b ODERB. lib. iii. p. 311. et ex co PETR. p. 238. THUAN. ad an. 1582. ex HEID. lib. vi. p. 424.

certain it is, that his father had no design to kill him, as *Mat Reutenfels*, and some other writers, who have endeavoured to display their oratory in blacken- ing *Basilowitz*, should have followed, particularly on this occasion, the concurrent testimony of historical truth.

the conscience of any christian in matters of religion, and that therefore time, and the insinuations of the clergy, must do the work; towards which he would lend his assistance, and send his holiness an account of the progress that should be made. *Possevin* was dismissed with evasive answers of this kind, and honourably conducted to the frontiers of *Bologna*. That legate has himself given many reasons why his negotiation failed ^h; and what he says, is confirmed by *Heidenstein* ⁱ and *Thuanus* ^k: but a particular circumstance which gave the czar a great dislike to the pope, was, his being informed by the *English* ambassador, then at the court of *Moscow*, that the pontiff of *Rome* was an haughty prelate, who suffered even kings to kiss his slipper ^o.

Worsted
by the Tar-
tars, he
makes
peace with
them.

SHORTLY after the conclusion of the peace with *Poland*, the *Tartars* began to make incursions into *Russia*; upon which *Basflowitz* assembled a considerable army, under pretence of attacking the *Swedes*, and marched suddenly towards *Casan*. The enemy, guessing his design, lay in wait for him among the mountains he was obliged to pass over, and, aided by a deep snow, which disabled the *Russian* cavalry and heavy armed troops from acting, destroyed a very great number of his men ^p. The czar thereupon made peace with them, and returned to *Moscow*; where death, soon after, put an end to all his farther designs.

1584.
The death
of John
Basilow-
witz.

SENSIBLE that his end approached, without shewing the least concern on that account, he turned his thoughts particularly to the welfare of his people; to promote which, he employed the remainder of his life in endeavouring to correct numbers of abuses that had been introduced into his empire during his long wars. Many acts of great clemency confirmed this beneficent disposition. Two days before his death he was carried in a chair to his treasury, to which he made a sign with his hand to *Jerome Horsey*, then resident from queen *Elizabeth*, and who was present when he died, to follow him. All his jewels were then spread before him, and he talked of the nature and properties of each kind of stone, according to the notions of those times. Returning to his apartment, he sent for his son *Theodore*, and his counsellors, and chose out of these last four in particular, as persons on whom he relied for the guidance of their future sovereign. He then desired his son to set at liberty all the prisoners in

^h POSSEV. de Comm. de Moscōv. passim.

ⁱ P. 423.

^k Ad-an. 1582.

^o Ld. Carlisle's embassy.

^p CHYTR.

p. 752.

NEUGEER. lib. x. p. 746. ex quo THUAN. ad an. 1584.

his dominions, to abolish several new taxes, to restore every estate that had been unjustly confiscated, and, as much as possible, to keep peace with his neighbours¹. A bath was then got ready, by his order; and, on coming out of it, he went to bed, rested a little while, and then called for a draught-board; but, in playing, he fell back and expired (A).

In this prince *Russia* lost the greatest monarch she had ever known. He was a profound politician, well acquainted with the interests of his neighbours, and his own; valiant, and almost always successful in war, till king *Stephen* of *Poland* took the field against him; from which time, through some unaccountable notion he had conceived, he constantly avoided a decisive battle; contenting himself with several little flying camps, which were at too great a distance from one another. By these, indeed, he covered *Novogrod* and *Moscow*, but did not hinder parties of the enemy from plundering several places on his frontiers. Knowing the genius of the *Poles*, he concluded from thence, and anyone equally well acquainted with that nation would have been apt to think the same, that they would never have consented to continue the war so long as they did. But there are conjunctures in which the multitude give way, and a brave people will sacrifice even their vices to the valour of their master, or to reasons of state.

John Basilewicz was learned for the times he lived in, and particularly in matters of religion; for which reason he would never suffer any to be persecuted for their belief: knowing that conviction must come from reason and conscience, and not from violence and tortures, which may make men hypocrites, but cannot render them good christians. In this, however, we except the Jews, whom he could not endure; his sentiments, with respect to them, being, that those who had betrayed and killed the Redeemer of the world, ought not to be trusted, or even tolerated, by any prince who professed himself a christian; and in consequence of this he obliged them, either to be baptised, or to quit his dominions². He was naturally very hasty and passionate; but could check his anger, as the jesuit *Possévin* experienced, when, in one of their conversations touching

¹ CHYTR. ubi supra. THUAN. ubi supra. L. MULLER, Pohn. & Lief. Hist. p. 114. ² ODERB. p. 319. PERR. p. 252.

(A) He died on the 26th of March 1584.

the church of *Rome*, to which great efforts were made to bring over this prince, the czar not allowing the pope's lineal succession from *St. Peter*, or his being justly entitled to the appellation of sole head of the universal church; *Possévin* answered, that he might as well deny his own succession from *Volodimir*; and that, if he questioned the justice of the papal authority, he wondered why he, and his predecessors, had ever sent an embassy to *Rome*. *Basilowitz* thereupon started up, and told the legate, that he must surely think he was talking to an ignorant peasant. Every one present began to tremble for *Possévin*: but the czar, sitting down again a moment after, kissed him, as a token of reconciliation, changed the discourse, and desired they might never more meddle with matters of religion, lest something worse should unguardedly escape him: and the next day, he again made excuses for his warmth^p. In such passions *Basilowitz* may, undoubtedly, have done many things that cannot be excused, and which he himself was afterwards sorry for; as appears by his endeavouring to curb the natural violence of his temper. His enemies have endeavoured to represent him as a hypocrite in religion; but he certainly shewed, on many occasions, that his devotion was unfeigned; being frequently the first at church, one of the most fervent there (A), and always ready to set an example to the monks, whom he hated on account of their idleness^q. Persuaded that kings were sovereign pontiffs of their own dominions, he would often officiate in person in that quality; and at such times retire to the monastery of *Alexandrowa*, to prepare himself for those holy functions, which he performed with a patriarchal dignity^u. The charge of avarice, which several writers have alledged against him, is refuted by the many pensions he granted to foreigners, the many churches he built, the great expence at which he carried on his wars, particularly against *Poland* and *Livonia*, and the vast magnificence of his court; such as no idea had ever been formed of before. His collecting uncommon quantities of jewels, was, probably, more for the sake of grandeur, than out of avarice; and to shew

^p POSSEV. Comm. p. 34, 38. ^q ODERB. p. 320. ^u Idem, ibid

(A) *Milton* observes of him, who used to beat their foreheads against the ground (1) in bloody and full of sores; owing their prayers. *Olearius* says to the custom of the *Russians*, the same.

(1) P. 262.

other nations, that he was in no want of wealth. He found himself in circumstances, wherein the welfare and glory of his state required enterprizes more difficult than any of his predecessors had been engaged in: besides which, he was determined, if possible, to civilize his people, by introducing among them the manners and arts of other nations: a great undertaking, which one of his successors completed in our days, but which raised many murmurs against *Basilowitz*, as the author of strange innovations (A). The very nature of his people rendered severity necessary; and their manners required, that the punishment should be great and exemplary; for no other means could keep them within bounds, or secure his life^b. He was, therefore, inflexible in his sentences, and insisted on their being executed with the utmost rigour. At certain stated times, persons of every rank, who thought themselves aggrieved, were admitted to his presence, and allowed to present petitions, which he received with his own hand, read over himself, and answered immediately. If any one of these contained complaints against his ministers or governors, and they were found to have injured or oppressed even the meanest of his subjects, they were sure to be punished, according to the nature of the offence, either corporally, or with forfeiture of their estates, or even with death: a proceeding which displeased all his nobles, and made them ready to enter into any plot against him^c. The

^b Apologia pro Joanne Basilde II. c. i. § xii.
 ODERB. p. 317. PETR. p. 247.

Ibid. &

(B) A most extraordinary instance of the obstinate attachment of the *Russians* and their neighbours to their old customs, happened in the time of this czar, and undoubtedly, influenced him not a little in the severity with which he found it necessary to treat them. The king of *Poland*, *Stephen Battori*, having recovered *Livonia*, as well by the treaty of *Zapolicia*, as by convention made afterwards with the king of *Sweden*, went himself into that province, to establish a new form of government. According to the constant custom there,

when any peasant, all of whom were treated as slaves, had committed a fault, he was whipped with a rod till the blood came. The king was willing to commute this barbarous punishment for one that was more moderate: but the peasants, insensible of the favour designed them, threw themselves at his feet, and intreated him not to make any alteration in their ancient customs, because they had experienced, that all innovations, far from procuring them the least redress, had always made their burdens sit the heavier upon them.

severity

severity of these punishments, generally much heavier than were inflicted in any other nation, for such the very genius of the *Russians* made it necessary that they should be, has induced most writers to represent this prince as the cruellest of men, and worst of tyrants : but if they had considered the circumstances of things, and the nature of the people over whom he reigned, we believe they would, with some more judicious authors ², have been less full of rancour, virulence, and partiality ; to obviate all suspicion of which last, or of a love of singularity in this attempt to vindicate the much injured character of a great prince, truth requires our declaring, that, with all the virtues we have here given him, virtues which we think his just due, though denied him by the generality of historians, he had his vices, and those very great ones. His passions were violent ; the natural ferocity of his country prevailed in him to the very last ; he was impatient of controul, and is said to have been so much addicted to women, as to have had several concubines, besides seven lawful wives ¹ : though we cannot think he ever went so far as to have naked women placed on the high-ways to gaze at as he passed by, which some have pretended ; or that he carried his resentment so far, as to think of putting all the women in *Moscow* to death, because some of them had affronted one of his mistresses : and much less can we believe what others say, of his making his concubines common to his sons. No writers of any credit aver these things ; nor indeed does baron *Ublefeld*, who resided a considerable time at the court of *Moscow*, in quality of ambassador from the emperor of *Germany*, and who has been pretty particular in his account of *John Basilowicz II.* accuse him even of incontinence.

WE cannot close the character of this prince without observing farther in his favour, that neither solicitations nor interest could ever influence him in the disposal of offices or employments, which, to the best of his knowledge, he always gave to the most deserving ; sure to punish them severely, if ever they deceived him ^m. Scarce any prince was a greater lover of justice and order. Detesting drunkards, whom he rightly judged capable of doing the most wicked things during their intoxication, he commanded that they should be imprisoned for a time proportionate to their degree

² THUAN. ad an. 1584. SCHURTZFL. Diff. Hist. t. i. Diff. xlv. p. 8. EAR. DE MEYERB. Itiner. Moscov. p. 57. APOL. pro Joanne Basilide II. 1712. 4to. ¹ APOLOG. ubi supra.

^m ODERB. p. 254.

of ebriety, especially if they transgressed on days set apart for abstinence : and looking upon people who ran in debt, without being able to pay, as men of bad principles, and dangerous to society, he ordered them to be publicly stigmatized and banished ; saying, that none were fitter to become traitors to their countryⁿ. This prince first composed a body of law, for the use of his subjects, collected from many precedents and customs, and called it *Suderaja Kniga*, which, in the *Russian* language, signifies the *Book of Justice*. This book, which he delivered to his judges, was always observed, and made the standard in all law-proceedings, though not printed till the reign of *Alexis Michaelowitz*.

John Basilowitz II. underwent the fate of most great conquerors, in seeing almost all his acquisitions taken from him, or on the point of being lost, even in his lifetime : but he bore this reverse of fortune with uncommon fortitude ; even affecting to seem gayest when things were at the worst, in order still to retain his authority over his subjects. The last rebellion of the *Tartars*, and the bad success of his wars against the *Poles*, the events of which he studiously concealed from his people, afforded striking proofs of his great firmness of mind^o.

His person was tall, robust, and well-proportioned^b ; and his countenance comely and majestic, without any thing fierce or disagreeable in his looks^c. His eyes were small and lively, his nose aquiline, and his complexion ruddy^f. *Oderborn* and *Petreius* say^g his memory was so great, that he could tell the names of all his officers, and of every prisoner he had taken ; to which they add, that his penetration and judgment, particularly in political affairs, were equally strong. His crown was deemed inestimably rich : his robe was purple embroidered with jewels, and his shoes were set with diamonds of very great value. In his right-hand he carried a globe, enriched with precious stones, and in his left a scepter, embellished in the same manner^w ; whilst his fingers were covered with the finest jewels the *Indies* could produce. When he appeared in public, the arms of the empire, finely embroidered upon a spread-eagle, which his father *Basilius* first assumed, and magnificently adorned with

ⁿ Idem, p. 317. PETR. p. 247. . . ODERB. p. 270. HEID. lib. i. p. 339. ^b ODERB. p. 316. PETR. p. 246.

^c Genealog. Mag. Mosc. Duc. Scriptoribus rerum Moscov. praemissa. Adami Navigat. Angl. ad Moscov. p. 148. ^f ODERB. & PETR. ubi supra. ^g Ubi supra. ^w PERNEST. Epist. in Honor. Thesauro, par. i. p. 281. J. AB UHLEF. Hodæpor. Ruthen. p. 38.

jewels, were sometimes carried before him : a piece of state which helped to command respect^b.

HE left two sons ; *Theodore*, who succeeded him, and *Demetrius*, an infant, whom he placed under the tutelage of his great favourite, the knez *Bogdan Bieliski*, a man of vast genius, but excessively haughty, very cruel, audaciously bold and enterprising, and ready to sacrifice every thing to his unbounded ambition.

1584. *Theodore* was twenty years of age when he came to the throne. His person was engaging, and his temper amiable ; but his understanding so weak, that, particularly whilst his father lived, he preferred the conversation of monks, and such sort of people, to the company of great men, and ministers of state, and made ringing of bells his chief amusement ; which displeased *Basilowitz* so much, that he used frequently to say, he was fitter to be the son of a sexton, than a prince. All historians^c agree in giving him this character ; except *Oderburn*, who, for what reason, or upon what ground, we cannot divine, extols his wisdom and conduct, saying^f, that he only affected simplicity during his father's lifetime, in order to avoid jealousy and suspicion. Certain it is, that mildness and moderation, of which he had a greater share than of resolution, knowledge, or discernment, were by no means sufficient alone to qualify him to govern so untractable a people as the *Russians*.

*Bieliski's
ambitious
projects.*

THE aspiring *Bieliski*, sensible of this want of capacity in *Theodore*, thought it would be easy for him to seize on the sovereignty, if, by excluding that prince as incapable of governing so vast an empire, he could place his pupil on the throne. To this end he took great pains to have it reported among the people, even before the death of *Basilowitz*, that *Theodore* was too weak and simple ever to be fit to reign ; and after his emissaries had industriously propagated this opinion among the lower class, he himself began to sound the nobles. In the mean time *Basilowitz* died, *Theodore* was crowned, and his very first acts^e of authority endeared him to his subjects ; for he immediately abolished some very heavy taxes, discharged several prisoners, who had been confined so long, that they despaired of ever more seeing the sun, and broke

^b UHLEF. ubi supra. ^c L. MULLER, Pohlen. Lief. Hist. p. 114. PETR. Mosc. Chron. p. 356. MEYERB. Itin. Mosc. p. 58. MARGARET, f. 6. STAN. LUBIENSKI, Opera posthum. p. 28. SANDRAT. Mosc. p. 139. TRAGÆD. Mosc. p. 5. LUNDORP. Sleisjan. contin. tom. iii. p. 6. THUAN. ad an. 1605. ^f P. 221.

the late czar's new raised body-guards, whose insolence and licentiousness had rendered them extremely odious. The grandees of the empire, to whom *Bielski* had applied in order to learn their sentiments concerning *Theodore*, perceiving that, under the specious pretext of consulting the welfare of the state, and being a faithful guardian to the young prince committed to his care, he, in reality, aimed at making himself sole master of the realm, vigorously opposed his designs. Finding himself thus disappointed, he endeavoured to effect by force what he could not compass by fraud. He raised forces, bribed some of the troops in *Moscow*, took possession of the castle of that city, and began to act with a despotic authority. The nobility, alarmed at these proceedings, soon made the people sensible, that this haughty minister aimed at nothing less than usurping the throne: upon which they immediately besieged him in the castle, and reduced him to such straits, that he attempted to escape in disguise; but falling into the hands of the besiegers, they gave him his choice, either to renounce the management of affairs, or suffer death. He chose the former, and banished himself to one of the most remote parts of the empire, in the kingdom of *Casan*.^b

His designs are frustrated, and he is banished.

Theodore had married the sister of the knez *Boris Gudénov*, grand-master of his horse (A). This man, knowing how to take advantage of the incapacity of his brother-in-law, had already found means to seize insensibly on all his authority. To a distinguished birth, he joined an insinuating behaviour, which rendered him capable of undertaking and executing whatever he pleased. He had greatness of soul, but was naturally cruel; and could put on an air of meekness and popularity, which concealed an immoderate ambition. He endeavoured, at first, to gain the people and the nobles, by repeated acts of beneficence; was accessible to all; and had the art of throwing the blame on others, when he was forced to send any person away dissatisfied: in short, all his actions seemed calculated for the public good. By these means he raised himself to the post of prime-minister, commander in chief, and co-regent of the empire, with universal approbation.^f

Character and rise of Boris Gudénov.

^b ODERB. de vit. Basilid. lib. iii. p. 321. ^f PETR. p. 25. LUBIENSKI, p. 78, & Op. posth. p. 28. KOBIERZ. Hist. Uladisl. p. 55.

(A) Captain *Margaret* says (1) she only passed for his sister, but was in reality his daughter. Her name was *Irene Udovia*.

(1) Fb. vi.

*Embassy
from Po-
land.*

DURING the disturbances which attended the beginning of this reign, *Sapieha* arrived at *Moscow*, in quality of ambassador from *Stephen* king of *Poland*: but as his credentials were addressed to the late czar *Basflowitz*, he deferred delivering them, till such time as he should receive fresh instructions from his court. Under pretence of sending for these, he wrote his master word, that the situation of the *Russians*, and the weakness of their prince was such, as offered him a fine opportunity to recover *Smolensko*, from whence he might easily proceed to *Moscow*; but *Stephen* nobly ordered *Sapieha*, to use his utmost endeavours to reunite the *Muscovites*; adding, that the czar had sent him an embassy to that effect^o. At the same time the *Swedes*, with whom the truce was now expired, desired to make a perpetual peace with *Russia*. *Theodore* received their ambassadors graciously, but insisted on keeping all his possessions in *Livonia*, and on being reimbursed the expences of the late war. The *Swedes* objecting to these conditions, the intended peace was converted into a fresh truce for four years^p. A new congress was held soon after, in which the subject of a perpetual peace was again resumed: but upon the king of *Sweden*'s being desired to treat with the chief magistrate of *Novogrod*, which he looked upon as inconsistent with his dignity, the negotiation broke off, with only confirming the late truce^q.

*A fresh
truce with
Sweden.*

1587.
*Boris en-
deavours
to obtain
the crown
of Poland
for Theo-
dore:*

Stephen Battori, king of *Poland*, dying soon after this, *Boris Gudenow* endeavoured to obtain that crown for *Theodore*; promising the *Poles*, that, if they would elect him for their sovereign, he would do his utmost to bring about an union of the monarchies of *Russia* and *Poland*, from whence many considerable advantages would arise. The *Polish* nobility, knowing the temper and disposition of *Theodore*, were greatly inclined to come into this scheme^r, by which they hoped, at least, to recover *Smolensko* and *Livonia*, and free the *Livonians* from all their troubles, without the hazard or expence of war; besides, perhaps, having a share in the chief direction of affairs. However, when the diet met at *Warsaw*, the majority of its members voted for *Sigismund*^s, prince of *Sweden*, the son of *John*, and nephew, by his mother's side, of *Sigismund Augustus*, who had reigned in *Poland* immediately before *Stephen*: the rest elected *Maxi-*

*but it is
given to
Sigismund*

^o Vid. ipsas literas *Sapiehae*, ap. L. MULLER, Pohl. & Lief. Hist. p. iii. & ODERB. ubi supra. ^p LOCEN. Hist. Suec. lib. vii. p. 427. PUFFEND. p. 454. CHYTR. p. 760. ^q LOCEN. ubi supra. ^r PIASEC. Chron. p. 70. CHYTR. p. 783. ^s CHYTR. p. 784. PUFFEND. p. 457.

milian of Austria. This division drew the latter into *Poland*, at the head of an army, which was defeated by general *Zamoiski*. *Maximilian* was taken prisoner, and purchased his liberty by renouncing the crown.

It was now to be feared that the kings of *Sweden* and *Poland* would make an alliance, so much the more fatal to *Russia*, as the *Crim Tartars* threatened its provinces with an irruption: and, indeed, they shortly after executed their design; though it was not attended with the ill-consequences that had been apprehended, because *Boris Gudonow* opposed them with troops, which, if they were not capable of attacking and driving them away, harrassed them in their progress, and prevented their penetrating far into the country. *The Tartars are checked by Boris.*

Theodore's disappointment in not obtaining the crown of *Poland*, was soon after compensated by the total reduction of the vast districts of *Siberia*, many of which had before been tributary; but all of them now became absolutely subject to the czar, without costing the life of a single man, through the means of one *Stobinow*, or *Stragenow*, a native of that country, as we have already related.

The truce with *Sweden*, which had been so often renewed, drawing again towards an end, commissaries were appointed on both sides, to meet on the frontiers of the two states, to convert it into a peace. The very name of war alarmed the czar *Theodore*, and *Gudonow* had very good reasons for endeavouring to preserve tranquillity: for in the midst of arms, and the embarrassment of a war wherein he must have appeared in person, he could not form a party to put the last hand to the plan he had been laying down so successfully hitherto. The *Russian* ministry were therefore ordered to purchase peace, if it could not be obtained otherwise; and to offer considerable sums to the *Swedes*, if they would, in changing the truce to a treaty of peace and alliance, restore to the czar *Iwanogorod*, *Jamogorod*, *Coprie*, *Kexholm*, and the other places which they had conquered in *Ingria* and *Carelia*, about nine years before. The *Swedes* were deaf to the proposal; and all that could be settled was, that the truce should be prolonged for three months, and that the commissaries should meet again at the expiration of that time. *Fruitless negotiations for peace with the Swedes.*

Gudonow then altered his proceedings with the *Swedes*. Not to be their dupe, and at the same time to shew them that if he was willing to pay for a peace, it was not through

^b HENNING'S Observations on A. Von Brandt's Travels, p. 393.

^d Page 81.

The Russians burn Jamogrod ;

take Iwanogrod, and besiege Narva.

A truce concluded for a year.

1591. The Poles refuse to assist the Swedes.

want of power to obtain it otherwise, he caused the next *Russian* ambassadors to be followed by an army capable of giving weight to their demands^o. They entered into conferences (A), because the *Swedes* were come to the place appointed ; but soon broke up, when it was known that the *Russian* troops had sacked and burnt *Jamogrod* (B) ; though the *Russian* plenipotentiaries protested that these hostilities were committed unknown to them.

Both sides had now taken the field. *Theodore*, and *Boris* who commanded under him, appeared with an army of 100,000 men ; which the *Swedes* were no sooner informed of, than they recalled the troops they had sent to make incursions into *Russia*. This gave the czar an opportunity of marching on without interruption to *Iwanogrod*, which soon surrendered (C). He next invested *Narva* (D), before which he formed eight camps, and forced the *Swedish* army, commanded by *Gustavus Banner*, to retire to *Wesenberg*. The *Russians* carried on their attacks with great spirit, but were vigorously repulsed by the besieged, though with the loss of half their men : and in the mean time the *Tartars*, whom *Theodore* had secured by dint of money^p, laid *Finland* waste : upon which *Charles Horn*, governor of *Narva*, plainly foreseeing the straits he was likely to be reduced to, and solicited by all the citizens and the garrison, not to expose them to the last assault, which the enemy was preparing to give, and they could not resist, agreed to give up to the *Russians* all their conquests in *Ingria*, and to sign a truce for a year, on condition that they should raise the siege. These proposals were readily accepted ; though a dispute, which lasted two days, arising from the *Russians* insisting that the title of their czar signified more than king, which the *Swedes* would not allow^q, was very near putting a stop to it. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, *Theodore* made his public entry into *Iwanogrod*, and after staying there only one day, he returned to his army.

The next year, at the meeting of the states of *Poland*, the *Swedish* ambassador desired the assistance of the *Poles* against the *Russians* : but upon their receiving letters from *Theodore*, expressing his desire of peace, they refused to afford the *Swedes* any succours, and recommended to them to

^o CHYTR. p. 810. ^p LOCCEſſ. p. 438. ^q PUFFEND. p. 470.

^r CHYTR. p. 806. ^t MARGARET, f. 5.

(A) On the 7th of January.

(C) On the 26th of January.

(B) On the 12th of January.

(D) On the 4th of February.

put an end to the war ^f. The *Swedes*, however, were still averse to an accommodation; and though the plague raged violently among them, and swept away great numbers, they still continued to harass the *Russian* territories, and, with the assistance of the *Tartars*, penetrated to the gates of *Moscow*: but they were soon entirely defeated and dispersed ^g.

The ambitious *Gudenow*, unable to bear even a nominal superior, for he exercised in fact all the functions of the sovereign authority in the name of the czar *Theodore*, whom he governed, as he pleased, now resolved to make himself sole master of the throne of *Russia*. To this end, under pretence of rewarding their services, by giving them governments, and other considerable employments, he removed to a distance from the court those whom he thought capable of seeing through, or obstructing his design. Every thing seemed to favour his wish. King *John* of *Sweden* was more intent upon religion than war; and a misunderstanding which subsisted between him and his brother duke *Charles* would scarce allow him to intermeddle with the affairs of his neighbours. The *Poles* were not pleased with his son *Sigismund*, who, contrary to the oath he had taken when he accepted the crown, had not yet reunited *Livonia* to *Poland*; and the czarina, his sister, who had never brought *Theodore* but one child, a daughter, which died in her third year ^h, began now to be reputed barren; insomuch that the states of *Russia*, in pursuance of an ancient custom, demanded that she should be divorced, and shut up in a convent, and that the czar should marry the sister of knez *Floro Iwanowitz Tizelphouschis*. This *Boris* strongly opposed: and by artfully insinuating to the patriarch, who was the only person that could prevent a compliance with the accustomed requisition, that if the czar should have heirs by a new consort, and the young *Demetrius* should come of age, it would necessarily create great disturbances in the empire; he so far gained him over to his interest, that the head of the *Russian* church ordered *Floro's* sister to be sent directly to a convent ⁱ. He then endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the people by several popular acts; particularly by surrounding *Moscow* with a wall of stone, which was before only of timber; making many improvements at *Smolensko*, and erecting several castles between *Casan* and *Astracan*, two of which became afterwards the towns of *Borisgorod* and *Czadargorod*.

^f CHYTR. p. 823.

^g Idem, p. 826.

^h MARGAR.

f. 6.

ⁱ PATR. p. 258.

^j MARGAR. f. 6. PETR.

p. 283.

He causes
the czar's
brother
Deme-
trius to be
assassina-
ted.

The young *Demetrius*, pupil of *Bogdan Bielski*, was now almost the only obstacle to *Gudenow's* design. The czar *John Basilowitz II.* had him by his last wife, and at his death had given him the city of *Uglitz*, 180 miles distant from *Moscow*, with its dependencies, for his appenage. This prince, scarcely nine years of age, was brought up under the care of the czarina-dowager his mother, who employed her whole time in his education. *Boris Gudenow* resolved to sacrifice this innocent victim to his ambition, and trusted the execution of his wicked plot to an officer, to whom he promised a reward proportioned to the service he expected from him. This man soon found an opportunity to perpetrate his cruel orders: but *Gudenow*, who knew that if he was capable of committing such a crime, he must be also capable of divulging it, had him way-laid on the road from *Uglitz*, and assassinated.

Some have said, that this officer belonged to *Boris Gudenow*; others, that he was an officer in *Demetrius's* own house. The clearing up this point would dissipate many doubts concerning this murder, than which we know not a more intricate event in all the *Russian* history (A): for if the assassin

(A) *Petrei* (1), *Olearius* (2), *Lundorpius* (3), *Lubinski* (4), *Ludolphus* (5), and several other writers say, that *Boris* hired four noblemen, by promising them great rewards, to kill *Demetrius*; that they actually killed the real *Demetrius*, and afterwards set fire to the house, to conceal their crime; and that they then made the best of their way to *Moscow*, where *Boris*, to smother all proofs against him, had them put to death privately. *Grevenbrusk* and *Margret*, contemporary writers, the latter of which was captain of the guards to a *Demetrius*, whom he believed to be the son of *John Basilowitz II.* as appears by his own account (6), say, that the

son of a diak, or the son of a priest, who resembled *Demetrius* in age, size, and countenance, was substituted instead of the real prince, and murdered. The judicious *Thuanus*, after weighing the arguments on both sides, leaves the point undetermined (7). What induces us to suppose that the true *Demetrius* was assassinated at *Uglitz* by the procurement of *Boris Gudenow*, is the authority of the czar *Peter I.* who speaks of it as a fact known to the *Russians*, in his manifesto, or motives for declaring war against *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*, drawn up in the year 1716, and published by authority at *Petersburgh* in the year 1717.

(1) *Mosc. Chron.* p. 260 & seq. (2) p. 116. (3) *Skidan. contin.* t. iii. p. 668. (4) *Op. posth.* p. 28. (5) t. i. p. 143. (6) *Etat. de l'Empire de Russie.* (7) *Ad an.* 1605. et seq. *Descript. Rus.* *Elzevir.* p. 117 et seq.

was an officer of *Demetrius*, there is little likelihood that he could be deceived; but if he belonged to *Gudenow*, the mother of the young prince, informed in time of his criminal design against *Demetrius*, might, as several authors say she did, substitute in his stead another boy of the same age, and thereby save his life. This would have been difficult in any other country than *Russia* or *Turky*; but that difficulty will disappear to those who are acquainted with the manners of the *Russians*. The great people there are absolute masters of their vassals, and the peasants are born their slaves, whom they dispose of as we do of the brute-animals about our estates and houses; so that it could be no difficult matter for the czarina to find a child whom she might sacrifice to save her son.

THE news of this murder soon reached *Moscow*. The author of it was not named, tho' he was sufficiently suspected. The dowager-czarina made great complaints of it to the czar, from whom she demanded justice; and *Gudenow* himself gave orders for discovering the assassin: but those who knew him were not deceived by such appearances. He understood that his name was whispered about, and was sensible of the necessity of endeavouring to stifle the report. The expedient that seemed to him the most likely to answer this end, was to turn the thoughts of the people to something more immediately interesting to them. To this purpose he caused *Moscow* to be set on fire in several places in the night-time; and during the conflagration, which could not but rage with extreme violence in a vast city, where all the buildings were of wood, he appeared remarkably active in endeavouring to suppress the flames: his looks and actions seemed to express infinite concern. The next day he sent for the principal citizens, and others who had sustained the greatest damage, and after a long and pathetic lamentation for so dismal an accident, he promised them, not only to obtain from the czar a sum of money sufficient to compensate their losses, but that he would rebuild their houses with stone, at his own expence; and then dismissed them, possessed with the highest admiration of his unexpected generosity, and the most cordial satisfaction at having such a man as *Boris* at the head of the government. At the same time he sent troops to *Uglitz*, to raze the castle to the ground, and drive away the inhabitants; because, said he, they had suffered this murder, and harboured assassins.

Sets fire to the city of Moscow.

His artful generosity to its inhabitants.

THE death of king *John* of *Sweden*, which happened this year, seemed to offer the *Russians* a fair opportunity to

1992.
John king of Sweden dies.

Negotiations
for peace
with
Sweden.

conclude the long-wished-for peace with that kingdom, the states of which were at variance among themselves concerning his successor. *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, was the next heir, as son of the deceased monarch; but his great zeal for the *Romish* religion, and his being already possessed of the crown of *Poland*, made most of the *Swedes* think *Charles* a fitter person to ascend their throne. *Sigismund*, however, obtained leave from his subjects to repair to *Sweden*, in order to assert his right to that crown; but upon the express condition, that if he did not return to them within a year, they should consider him as having abdicated his government, and proceed to the election of a new king^t. In the mean time *duke Charles*, who acted as regent, sent commissaries to treat with the *Russians* on the proposed peace^u, and ordered the commanders in *Esthonia* to provide themselves with all proper necessaries, in case either the *Russians* or the *Poles* should attempt any thing against them before the succession was properly settled^v. These commissaries concluded a truce with the *Russians* for two years, but postponed the peace to a farther treaty.

1593.
The Russians
send
an embassy
to the pope.

DURING this treaty the *Russians* sent an embassy to pope *Clement XII.* in order to obtain his recognition of *Theodore* as a king, and that his ambassadors might be treated at *Rome* in the same manner as those of other crowned heads: but his holiness would not agree to this, unless *Theodore* would embrace the *Roman catholic* religion, and subject the church of *Russia* to the see of *Rome*. This refusal did not, however, much chagrine the *Russians*, as their czar was already acknowledged a king, not only by the emperor of *Germany*, but by the sovereigns of *England*, *Denmark*, *Persia*, and several other potentates^y.

1595.
Peace concluded
between the
Russians
and the
Swedes,
at Teuslin.

THE negotiation between the *Russians* and the *Swedes* was again renewed in the beginning of the next year; and in the year after, 1595, a treaty of peace was concluded between the two nations, at *Teuslin*; though the *Poles* exerted their utmost efforts to prevent it. The *Russians* renounced *Esthonia* for ever; and the *Swedes* gave up *Kexholm*, and a part of *Carelia*. The commerce of the north was likewise opened by this treaty, after having been interrupted by a war which lasted thirty-seven years^z.

^t PIASEC. Chron. p. 120. ^u LOCCE. lib. vii. p. 442. PUFFEND. p. 485. ^v PUFFEND. p. 479. ^w LOCCE. lib. vii. p. 441. ^y HERB. CONF. MARGARET, f. 5. ^z LOCCE. p. 442. PUFFEND. p. 801. CHYTR. p. 595. MEYER. p. 501.

Soon after the conclusion of this peace, *Theodore* sent a *Theod* solemn embassy to the emperor *Rudolph II.* which was one *sends an* of the last public acts of this prince. The *Russian* writers *embassy to* are silent on the subject of this embassy: but we may guess *the emperor* its purport from the emperor's answer, in which, after thank- *Rudolph* ing the czar for his offer of assistance against the *Turks*, and *II.* expatiating largely on the renown he would thereby gain from all the christian powers, he told him, that he could say nothing positive with respect to the proposed confederacy of principal potentates of *Europe*; the king of *Spain* being then antient and infirm, and greatly embarrassed, not only by *France* and *England*, but with his own disaffected subjects.

He promised, however, to promote this affair, both at the *Spanish* and papal courts; and in the mean time advised *Theodore* to continue in friendship with the pope and the sopher of *Persia*, as a point which nearly concerned the peace and tranquillity of christendom in general. He thanks *Theodore* for having gained the *Tartars* over to his interest, and tells him, that ever since the conclusion of the late treaty of peace with *Sweden*, he had constantly kept ambassadors at this last court, as well to testify his friendship for the czar, as to induce the *Swedes* to be more ready to comply with his desires*.

Not long after this, *Theodore* was taken ill; and it being 1597. apprehended that his disease was mortal, the chief of the no- *Is taken* bility requested him to name a successor; which he told *ill,* them he would do, by delivering his staff to the person he thought most proper. Accordingly, when he found his end draw near, and the priests had dressed him up in a monk's cowl, according to the then custom of the *Russians*, he held out his staff to *Theodore Nikititz Romanow*, who was his cousin by his mother's side, and his next heir: but *Theodore*, refusing to accept it, presented his brother *Alexander*, who, likewise declining it, presented a third brother named *John*; who, in his turn, presented a fourth called *Michael*, and this last presented a knez, not related to the family: upon which *Theodore*, in a passion, threw his staff upon the floor, saying, that whoever took it up should have the throne. *Boris Gudonow* then stepped forward, and took it, to the great mortification of all the *Russian* nobility¹.

Theodore died after a reign of twelve years, not without *and dies* violent suspicion of his having been poisoned by his brother-

* CHYTR. p. 934.
THUAN. lib. cxx.

PETR.

CHYTR. p. 934.

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in-law. The czarina seemed so sensible of this, that she strongly reproached her brother *Boris Gudénow* with the murder of her husband, and would never speak to him afterwards.

IN this prince ended the line of *Ruric*, which had governed *Russia* upwards of seven hundred years.

S E C T. II.

From the extinction of the lineage of R^{URIC}, to the accession of the now reigning family of ROMANOW.

*Artful
manage-
ment of
Boris.*

WHEN the six weeks of mourning for *Theodore* were expired (A), *Boris* assembled the nobility and principal citizens of *Moscow*; and having surrendered the staff of their late czar, declared, that he had no inclination to reign, and therefore desired them to appoint whatsoever person they thought fit to ascend the vacant throne^k. He then withdrew, and retired to a monastery about three miles off, leaving the astonished assembly in the utmost perplexity how to behave. Some of his creatures, taking a proper opportunity, then observed, that their meeting was scarcely numerous enough to determine so important an affair, and that it would be better to convene deputies from all the cities and provinces of the empire. This advice was approved of, and *Boris* was pitched upon: but he still artfully refused the crown, and at the same time caused a report to be spread, by some of his emissaries, that he was going to be shaved, and to take the habit of a monk; and by others, that the *Tartar* khan was marching with an incredible force to invade *Russia*, whilst it was destitute of a sovereign. The people, who loved him, alarmed at these tidings, ran in crouds to the convent, where, throwing themselves on the ground, tearing their hair, and beating their breasts, like men in the utmost despair, they vowed they would never quit the place, till he had promised them to be their czar. Pretending then to be overcome by their intreaties, and saying, that if it was the will of Providence that he should be their prince, he must be so; he put it

^k/PETR. 264, & seq.

^A The Russians used to mourn but six weeks.

upon

upon the issue of his conquering the *Tartars*, who were advancing towards *Moscow*, to which end he desired all the nobility and militia to meet him at *Zirpokow*, in the ensuing month of *June*^m. He accordingly repaired thither at the time appointed, and found 500,000 men assembled, ready to obey his orders. With this prodigious army he took the field: but instead of meeting the numerous enemies that had been talked of, only an ambassador from the *Tartars* appeared, with about an hundred attendants, who was going to *Moscow* to treat with *Boris*, as this last well knew. Countersuiting, however, great mystery and surprise, he ordered his army to be drawn up in two columns, and his artillery to be ranged properly and fired, whilst the *Tartars* were led through the troops, to shew them the strength of *Russia*; after which they were dismissed with rich presents. A year's pay was then ordered to the *Russian* soldiers, and proper gratuities were presented to each of the nobles: upon which they all declared *Boris Gudenow* their czar, and immediately took the oath of fidelity to himⁿ. He then displayed his magnificence, by treating daily near 10,000 men at a time, for six weeks running, always under rich tents, and served in nothing but plate, according to the account of captain *Margaret*^q, who was one of *Boris*'s officers. In the mean time proper persons were sent to *Moscow*, with an account, that the *Tartars*, intimidated by the new czar's wife and vast preparations, had not dared to advance against him. The people, believing it, came in throngs to meet him, and conducted him with great joy to *Moscow*, where he was solemnly crowned by the patriarch^w, on the then new year's day of the *Russians* (A).

Who is proclaimed czar by the troops,

and crowned.

Boris, at his coronation, made a vow not to shed any blood within five years, nor inflict any heavier punishment upon criminals, than banishing them to *Siberia*, or some other distant place. Numbers of the nobility, who were not absolutely in his interest, soon experienced this last

First action and behaviour of Boris, when

Idem, p. 265. MARGARET. OLEAR. p. 116. Descript. Russ. Elzevir. p. 116. THUAN. ad h. a. MARGAR. f. 8. PETR. p. 269. F. 20. MARG. f. 8. PETR. p. 270.

(A) The 1st of September, 1597. The *Russians* used to date the commencement of their year from the first day of September; because, said they, God certainly created the world

in the autumn, when the corn was in full ear, and the fruits of the earth fit to eat. The Great Peter corrected this, among several other abuses, as will be observed in his life.

fate,

fate^f, under various pretences; whilst others, particularly those who had any sort of claim to the crown, were forbid to marry. *Theodore Nikititz Romanow*, to whom the late czar had first offered his staff, by way of designating him for his successor, was imprisoned, and separated from his wife; after which, both of them were forced into different convents, and obliged to take orders and change their names. That of *Philaret* was given to *Theodore*, whose posterity soon after came to, and now fill, the throne of *Russia*, notwithstanding all the endeavours of this usurper to derive them of the sovereignty. A total alteration of manners ensued, from obsequious, popular, and easy of access, which he was before; he now became haughty, reserved, and excessively suspicious.

HE had a daughter, whom he hoped to settle advantageously, both for her and himself, by marrying her to *Gustavus Ericson*, natural son of *Eric XIV.* king of *Sweden*. In this view he sent to *Gustavus*, who had retired to *Thorn* in *Prussia*, where he led a private life, and invited him to *Moscow*, with pompous promises of doing great things for him^b. *Gustavus* accepted the invitation, and was received with the utmost magnificence, loaded with presents, and treated with extraordinary splendor. But this profusion of liberality was of short duration; for *Boris*, finding that he was so strongly attached to a mistress he had, as to decline all thoughts of marriage, and that his genius was not equal to any great enterprize^c, bribed one of his servants, and thereby procured the passport he had granted him for his safe-conduct, then took away all his presents, stopped his pecuniary allowance, and at last banished him to the duchy of *Uglitz*, with a revenue of 4000 rubels for his support^d.

1600.
He concludes a
peace with
the Poles:

THOUGH *Boris* was thus disappointed in his designs of making *Gustavus* subservient to his views, as *Magnus* had been to those of *Basiliowitz*; yet the *Poles* were so far alarmed at these proceedings, that they sent a grand embassy to *Moscow* to conclude a peace, which was at length agreed upon for twenty years, and the *Polish* ambassadors were dismissed with great pomp and rich presents^e.

1601.
And an
alliance
with the
Danes.

THE hostile intentions of *Boris* against the *Swedes* still subsisting, he first attempted to gain possession of the important city of *Narva* by treachery^f; but being disappointed therein, he endeavored to cultivate the friendship of *Chris-*

^f PETR. p. 271. MARGAR. f. 29. ^h PETR. p. 282.
MARGAR. f. 29. ^u PETR. p. 275. ^w Idem, ibid. ^y MARG.
f. 30. ^z PETR. p. 277.

ian IV. king of *Denmark*, who wanted only a proper opportunity to attack the *Suedes*^b; and having entered into an alliance with him, he proposed a match between the king's brother, and his daughter^c.

WHILE these treaties were negotiating, a terrible famine reduced *Moscow* and the adjacent country to such extremity ^{Moscow} distressed, that the most shocking cruelties were committed, ^{desolated} by the nearest relations, upon one another, to stop their torturing hunger. Thousands of people lay dead in the streets and highways, with their mouths full of hay, straw, ^{by famine.} and even the most filthy things, which they had endeavoured to eat. In many houses, the fattest person was killed, to serve for food to the rest. Even parents were said to have eaten their own children, and children their parents, or to have sold them to buy bread. *Petreius* says^e, that he himself saw a woman bite several pieces out of a child's arm as she was carrying it along; and captain *Margaret* relates^f, that four women having ordered a peasant to come to one of their houses, under pretence of paying him for some wood, killed and ate both him and his horse. This dreadful calamity lasted three years; in the course of which, though *Boris* tried all possible means, and spent immense sums to alleviate it, upwards of 500,000 persons died in the city of *Moscow* only^h.

IN the midst of this inexpressible misery, duke *John* of 1602. *Denmark* arrived at *Moscow*, to celebrate his marriage with *Duke John* *Axinia Borissowa*, the czar's daughter. He was received with *of Den-* the utmost cordiality, and entertained with as great magnificence, as the then deplorable condition of the country *mark ar-* would admit of: but he had not been there above a month, *rives at* *Moscow*, when he was taken ill, and died, to the great grief of *Boris*, *and dies* who visited him daily during his sickness, and mourned for *there.* him three weeksⁱ.

SOON after the death of duke *John*, an embassy arrived at *Moscow* from the *Ottoman Porte*, with large presents to the *Boris re-* czar, in order to conclude with him a treaty of friendship *jects an* and alliance: but *Boris* refused the presents, and dismissed *embassy* from the the ambassadors with contempt, telling them, that he should *Turks.* ever be an enemy to the *Turks*, because they were enemies to the christians, and then at war with his brother the *Roman* emperor^k.

^b PUFFEND. p. 546.

PETR. p. 275.

^c P. 292.

^f Ubi supra.

^h PETR.

294.

MARG. ubi supra.

^k PETR. p. 2620

Grants
privileges
to the Lu-
beckers,
English,
and
Dutch.

1604.
Deme-
trius said
to be alive;

and in Po-
land.

Boris at-
tempts to
murder
him.

ABOUT the same time the *Lubeckers* applied to him for renewal of their privilege to trade to *Pleskow*, *Novogrod*, and *Moscow*, and sent him several valuable presents of plate, with a large spread eagle finely gilded, and filled with ducats. Their request was granted, and the same indulgence was extended to the *English* and *Dutch*¹.

A melancholy gloom, which had hung upon *Gudenow* for a long while, was now visibly increased by a report that *Demetrius* was still alive, and that another child had been murdered in his stead. This information gave him great uneasiness, and many persons, who were suspected of being in the interest of that prince, were put to the rack, in order to extort a confession; but nothing positive could be discovered: others were banished, and privately murdered upon the road; and *Demetrius's* mother was removed to an obscure place, six hundred miles from *Moscow*. At length positive intelligence was brought to *Boris*, that two monks had escaped from a monastery, and gone into *Poland*; that one of them was called *Griska Utropeja*; but that the name of the other, who was supposed to be *Demetrius*, could not be learnt; and that they were then in the service of *Adam Wiesznowieski*, chief magistrate of *Kiow*. This news threw *Boris* into the utmost consternation. He tried every means to prevail upon *Wiesznowieski* to deliver up to him the person supposed to be *Demetrius*; but all his efforts proving ineffectual, he sent a party of *Cossacks* to murder him; in which he also miscarried. This proceeding naturally confirmed the belief, that the person said to be *Demetrius*, was really such; as no other motive could make *Boris* be so desirous to take away his life; for an impostor, if disregarded, must of course soon sink into his primitive obscurity.

WHETHER this *Demetrius* was really the person he pretended to be, or only an impostor, is, as we observed before, a point more difficult to be cleared up, than perhaps any other in all the annals of *Russia*. Those who believe the latter (A) say, that *Griska Utropeja* was himself the man who personated *Demetrius*, and give the following account of him. He was born at *Jaroslaf*, of a noble family, but not rich, and had been thrust into a monastery on account of his extravagance and debaucheries. His person

1 Dem, p. 133.

(A) In which *Petrus* (1) has been implicitly followed by many writers.

(1) *Gron.* 284.

wa

was handsome, he had much wit, and was just of the age that *Demetrius* would have been; circumstances which an old monk, of the same monastery, took advantage of, in order to set him on the throne of *Russia*. The better to carry on his design, he sent him into *Lithuania*, where he was received by *Wiesnowieski*; into whose favour he soon insinuated himself by his diligence and ingenuity; but one day, his master being angry with him, called him *Bledin*, or son of a whore, and struck him. *Griska*, taking advantage of this disgrace, burst into tears, and told him, that if he knew who he was, he would not call him by that name, nor treat him in such a manner^m. The curiosity of the *Polish* lord made him insist on his explaining himself; upon which the other answered, that he was the legitimate son of the czar *John Basilowitz* II.[†] that *Boris Gudenow*, in the reign of the late czar *Theodore*, his brother, would have murdered him; but that the misfortune fell upon a priest's son, very like, whom his friends had substituted in his place, while he was conveyed awayⁿ. Then, shewing a cross of gold set with diamonds, which, he said, was hung about his neck at his baptism, and adding, that the fear of falling into the hands of *Boris Gudenow* had kept him from discovering himself till that instant, he threw himself at *Wiesnowieski's* feet, and begged his protection; enlivening his story with so many circumstances of his being concealed in a monastery, and his actions with such shew of sincerity, that the *Polish* lord, believing him, immediately ordered him cloaths, horses, and a retinue suitable to his supposed birth, and, not thinking him safe at his house, because it was too near the borders of *Russia*, sent him into *Poland*, to *George Mnieski*, palatine of *Sandomir*, who received him with great kindness, and promised him all the assistance in his power, to restore him to his throne, upon condition that he should tolerate the *Roman* catholic religion in *Russia*, as soon as he had established himself thereon. *Demetrius*, continue our authors, not only to this condition, but promised to marry the palatine's daughter, whose name was *Mariana*^o. The hopes of so glorious an alliance, and *Mnieski's* great zeal for his religion, made this palatine engage his own credit, and that of all his friends, in his favour, with a promise to interest the republic in it, if there should be occasion.

His reception in Lithuania.

From whence he is sent into Poland.

MARGAR. f. 48. *Idem*, f. 58. TRAGOED. MOSCOV. GREVENS. p. 11. PETR. p. 184. et cetera. OLEAR. p. 116, & LUNDORP. Sleid. contin. tom. ii. p. 666. PETR. p. 280. OLEAR. p. 117. LUBIENSKY op. posth. p. 23. KOBIERZ. Hist. Uladisl. p. 57.

NAME

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SOME authors, who have treated all this as a fable, say, they cannot see with what design, or to what advantage, this old monk, whose name is never mentioned, should put *Griska* upon acting this part: and other cotemporary authors assure us, that they had seen *Griska Utrapeja* in his cloister, and that he never stirred from thence till the knez *Zufki*, who had an interest in giving an air of truth to this invention, brought him to *Moscow*, from whence he disappeared on a sudden, and it was never known what became of him.

*The Poles
espouse his
cause.*

BE this as it may, the republic of *Poland* entered strongly into the interest of *Demetrius*, the proofs of his birth were examined in the diet (A), he was acknowledged as the legitimate heir of the crown of *Russia*, an army was raised to set him on the throne of his ancestors, and he was presented to the king, whose assistance he requested in a very pathetic manner, representing, that many other princes had laboured under great misfortunes, and that even his majesty himself had been born in prison, though he was then happily and justly king; a circumstance which could not but induce him to pity the unfortunate P.

Sigismund, sensible that he might possibly reap from this affair, in case he should place *Demetrius* on the throne of *Russia*, at least the recovery of *Esthonia* and *Finland*, if not that of the crown of *Sweden*, which his nephew, *Charles IX.* had usurped from him the year before, listened to the proposal; but, seeing the difficulties that attended it, declined giving any positive assurances of success, and only promised to do something when a proper opportunity should offer; at the same time hinting, that the nobles of his kingdom might do, in the mean while, what they thought proper, at their own expence. Upon this, the palatine of *Sandomir*, allured by the prospect of the stipulated alliance, raised a considerable number of men, in order to establish *Deme-*

P Trag. Moscov. p. 12. LUBIENSKY, ubi supra. LUBIENSKY, Sleid. contin. t. iii. p. 669. Descript. Russ. Elzevir. p. 118, & seq. ex TRUAN. PUFFEND p. 548. LUBIEN. ubi supra.

(A) Two very extraordinary circumstances in this pretended *Demetrius*, as he is generally called, are, that one of his arms was shorter than the other, and

that he had a wart on his cheek; both which had been observed of the young *Demetrius* at *Uglich* (1).

(1) Descript. Russ. Elzevir. 118, ex Truano.

trius upon the throne. While this was doing, an embassy arrived from Boris, to remind Sigismund of the peace which then subsisted between him and the czar; to insist on his delivering up the pretended Demetrius, dead or alive; and to warn him that his assisting that impostor, as he called him, would draw upon him a war, which he might have cause to repent. Sigismund answered, that he had not the least intention to infringe the peace of the two nations, and therefore had not given any sort of assistance to the unfortunate Demetrius, who, he could not help thinking, really deserved it: but that if any of his nobles should chuse to risk their fortunes in order to procure him redress, he could not hinder their so doing^w.

THE grandees of Poland, no ways intimidated by the czar's menaces, raised 4000 men, at the head of which they put Demetrius, who marched directly into the province of Moscow, where Czernichev, Putivol, and several other places, declared directly for him^v. This success, together with the dreadful miseries of the still raging famine, and the appearance of some extraordinary phenomena in the air, threw the Muscovites into the utmost consternation^z, and made them reflect on the several circumstances of the supposed murder of Demetrius at Uglitz, and the late conduct and behaviour of Boris, who, excessively alarmed, assembled an army of 200,000 men, but, distracted with suspicions, knew not whom to intrust with the command of it; and, as to foreign assistance, he had but little reason to expect any. The king of Sweden was not able to help him much; and neither the emperor nor the king of Denmark, to whom he applied for troops, could be brought to any fixed resolution.

WHILE Boris was thus distressed, racked by the remorse of his conscience, and looking upon every one as his enemy, Demetrius advanced to Novogrod, which he besieged (A), and, with a handful of men, defeated 5000 Russians^b. Fortune was less favourable to him in the next engagement (B), in which, though his army had been very considerably increased, numbers of malecontents, who resorted to him daily,

^w LUTTEN. op. posth. p. 30. Trag. Moscov. p. 14. PIASEC. Chron. p. 265. D. THORP. Sleid. contin. t. iii. p. 670. Descript. Rus. Elzevir. p. 120. ex THUAN. P. PETR. p. 298. MARG. & Descript. Rus. Elzevir. p. 111. & seq. ^z P. PETR. p. 296. PIASEC. Chron. p. 264. ^b MARGAR. 35. P. PETR. p. 209. KOBIERZ. Hist. Uladisl. p. 60.

(A) On the 21st of Decembe. (B) On the 21st of January. he

Boris a-
gain at-
tempts his
life.

he lost 8000 men, and all his cannon. The victors might then easily have retaken all the places he had conquered, if they had pursued their advantage, and been unanimous: but, either through discord, or treachery in some of their commanders, they lost three months before an insignificant town called *Crom*, and did not take it at last. This delay gave *Demetrius* time to recruit his shattered army, reinforce his garrisons, and take the field again, as well as to kill several of *Gudenow's* principal officers^c; in which he succeeded so far, that the *Russian* generals gave their troops leave to go home for a time, under pretence of their having already endured sufficient hardships. *Boris*, who had imprudently given the chief command of them to *Zufki*, in whom he at the same time had no confidence, and who did not like him^k, hearing this, sent orders to them to stay; but the consequence was, that they remained inactive for a long while. He then had recourse to stratagem, sending to *Putilov* two old bojars, who promised the burghers, and other chief people of that city, great things, if they would deliver *Demetrius* either dead or alive, and produced a letter from the patriarch, threatening to excommunicate those who should espouse his cause, or give him the least assistance; but the conspirators were detected, and to avoid punishment, not only made a full discovery of the whole transaction, but joined *Demetrius*, and wrote to the nobility at *Moscow*, assuring them, that the rival of *Boris* was really the son of *John Basilowitz II*^l.

Death of
Boris Gu-
denow.

SEVERAL other attempts of the like nature, at length determined *Demetrius* to treat the czar in his own way. To this end, he applied to one *Bosmanoff*, an officer (A), who, going to *Moscow* with a feigned account of a victory gained over *Demetrius*^m, took an opportunity of conveying so strong a poison to the czar, that, very soon after (B), whilst he was giving audience to the *Swedish* and *Danish* ambassadors,

^c P^{ER}TR. p. 302. MARGAR. f. 36. LUND. Sleid. contin. t. iii. p. 671. ^k MARGAR. f. 37. ^l Trag. Moscov. p. 124. LUND. Sleid. contin. t. iii. p. 672. Descript Russ. Elzevir, p. 104. ex THUAN. ^m P^{ER}TR. p. 303.

(A) He had been governor of *Novogrod*, according to *Lubienstke* (1).

(B) On the 23d of April.

(1) Op. post.

he dropped down, and immediately expired, the blood gushing outⁿ from several parts of his body (C).

SUCH was the end of *Boris Gudenow*, a man of strong parts, great courage, and a perfect master in the art of dissimulation. He was naturally formed to govern; and had it not been for his cruel and tyrannical temper, no prince could have stood fairer in the affections of his subjects. His body was buried privately, in the church of *St. Michael*, near the remains of the former czars. *His character.*

As soon as *Boris* was dead, his widow sent for *Zusky* and *Theodore Mitiskousky* from the army; whereupon they repaired immediately to *Moscow*, and placed the late czar's son, *Theodore*, witz czar. upon the throne. This young prince, who was but fifteen years old, had been educated amidst a crowd of flatterers, who sought only to gain his favour by soothing his passions. His behaviour was very brutish and insolent, and his disposition tyrannical; circumstances which some writers look upon as a strong presumption, that the chief part of the nation did not believe the legitimacy of *Demetrius*, whose character was quite the reverse.

THE army was not yet informed of *Gudenow*'s death, when *Bosmanoff*, who is thought to have poisoned him, arrived with orders to take upon him the chief command, and administer to the soldiers the usual oath of fidelity to the new czar. But instead of discharging, he betrayed his trust: for, having gained most of the troops to his interest, he, in conjunction with the *Cossacks* that were in *Crom*, fell suddenly upon the remainder of the *Russians*, commanded by the late czar's brother, *John Gudenow*, put them to flight, and took all their artillery and ammunition; after which, crying out, that *Demetrius* was the only lawful heir to the crown, and that those who had the good of their country at heart should follow him, he immediately went over to *Demetrius*'s general, *Zapotski*, with most of his troops, and upwards of five *Defection of the Russian troops in favour of Demetrius.*

PIASEC. Chron. p. 265. Trag. Moscov. p. 19. LUND. Hist. contin. t. iii. p. 672. KOBIERZ. Hist. Ulad. p. 61.

(C) her writers say, that whilst he was giving audience to the ambassadors of the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, who, as enemies of *Poland*, had sent to offer their assistance against king *Sigismund*, he fell into so violent a passion in speaking against this last prince, that he was seized with a bleeding at the nose, which could not be stopped, and of which he died a few days after. *Strahlenberg* says (1), that driven to despair by *Demetrius*'s success, he poisoned himself.

(1) CH. iv. p. 106.

hundred persons of distinction. *Demetrius*, who was then at *Putivol*, received them with such affability, as completed their attachment to him; whilst *Gudenow*, abandoned by his army, fled, with a small number, but was pursued and taken; and upon his refusing to bow to *Demetrius*, to whom he was carried, he was committed to prison.

THIS defection of the army was soon known at court, where it occasioned the utmost consternation. Every one immediately resolved to follow the path which interest pointed out, and the name of *Demetrius* resounded through the whole city of *Moscow*. At the same time *Michael Solitkoff*, one of the prisoners who had been delivered up to *Demetrius* by *Bosmanoff*, and who wanted to recommend himself to his new master, went to the village of *Crasna-cella*, within a quarter of a mile of *Moscow*, told the inhabitants of that place, that their lawful sovereign was actually coming to take possession of his crown, and published manifestos from *Demetrius*, declaring, that those who should espouse his cause, would meet with every sort of favour and affection; but that his opponents must expect no mercy. These declarations had the desired effect, in stirring up the whole city to revolt. The people went in a body to the castle, which they forced and plundered, and then thrust the young czar, with his mother, sister, and other relations, into prison.

The Muscovites revolt, and imprison Theodore and his family.

Death of Theodore and his mother.

Demetrius, who was at *Thula* when he received the news of this great change, sent *Basilius Galitzin* immediately to *Moscow*, to receive the oath of fidelity of that city; and at the same time ordered one *John Bogdanoff*, a diack, to repair thither with all speed, and strangle *Theodore* and his mother in their prison, but not hurt his sister. *Bogdanoff* executed his orders, and gave out that they had poisoned themselves: but *Petrcius* says, that he himself saw the marks of a cord round their necks, after they were dead (A).

° Descript. Russ. Elzevir, p. 126. ex THUAN. MARGAR. f. 34. PETR. p. 306. Trag. Moscov. p. 22. KOBIERZ. Uladisl. p. 61. P. PETR. p. 309. MARGAR. f. 38. LUBIENSK, op. posth. p. 31. MARGAR. f. PETR. p. 311. LUBIEN. p. 32. P. 313.

(A) They were killed on the 10th of July. Captain *Margaret* (1), *Lubiensky* (2), *Kobierzicko* (3), and *Ludolphus* (4), agree with *Petrcius* that they were strangled. *Thuanus*, and the Elzevir Description of Russia (5), where he is copied, seems to think they poisoned themselves.

(1) F. 39.

(4) t. i. p. 175. (5) P. 128.

A few

A few days after (B), *Demetrius* made his public entry into *Moscow*, and was declared sovereign of all the *Russias*, czar of *Moscow*, *Novogrod*, &c. and king of *Astracan* and *Casan*, proclaimed with extraordinary pomp and grandeur. A detachment of *Polish* horse began the procession, with their kettle-drums and trumpets at their head: after them marched a band of musqueteers, in the middle of which was *Demetrius's* coach drawn by six horses richly caparisoned: next came the clergy with their banners, preceding the bishops, who carried pictures of the virgin *Mary* and *St. Nicolas*, the patron of *Russia*; and after them came four archbishops, who preceded the patriarch. At some distance came *Demetrius*, mounted on a fine white horse, and surrounded by a great number of the principal men of the empire. In this state he went first to the church of *St. Mary*, and from thence, after having paid his devotions, to that of *St. Michael*, where the czars are interred. He stopped some time to look at the tomb of his father, as he called him, *John Basilowitz II.* and being informed that *Boris Gudenow* was also buried in that place, he ordered the body of this last to be taken up, and carried, with those of his wife and son, to a common church-yard without the city^a. Passing afterwards by his palace, he turned his head another way, and commanded that it should be pulled down to the ground^b.

DEMETRIUS was solemnly crowned on the 29th of *July*; immediately after which, to silence those who might doubt his legitimacy, he sent *Mitiskouski* and *Zuski*, with numerous retinue, to fetch the widow of *John Basilowitz II.* from the convent to which *Boris Gudenow* had banished her, upwards of six hundred miles from *Moscow*; and upon her approaching that city, he himself went out to meet her at a considerable distance, attended by great numbers of his nobles. To give the greater, and more public marks of respect, he alighted as soon as he perceived the coach she was in, went up to her on foot, and embraced her with all imaginable transports of joy and affection, which she returned with every demonstration of equal tenderness. In this manner, still on foot, and bare-headed, and surrounded by all the lords of his retinue, whose behaviour was the same, he conducted her to *Moscow*, where he assigned the grand duke's

^a PERR. p. 314. MARGARET, ubi supra.
Moscovit. p. 26. LUNDORP. Heid. contin. tom. iii. p. 675.
Descript. Russ. Elzev. p. 130. et THUANUS.

^b Tragced.

(B) On the 15th of July.

The people
are dis-
pleased.

He sends
an ambas-
sador to
Poland,

palace for the place of her residence, and behaved to her on all occasions with the deference and duty of a son, visiting her every day, and being received with all the fondness of a loving mother^d. This conduct regained him the public esteem, which he had in a great measure forfeited, by debauching the daughter of the deceased *Boris*, and then shutting her up in a convent^e. But their regard for him did not continue long: for besides abolishing many of their ancient customs, of which they were extremely tenacious, and degrading, as they thought, the dignity of czar by appearing too much in public^f; his caressing some jesuits sent to him by *Antony Longinus*, the Pope's nuncio at the court of *Poland*, and ordering them the best house in *Moscow* for their habitation, indisposed every one in *Moscow* against him. The religion of their forefathers was menaced by the arrival of these visitors, and the priests of the country took care to magnify the danger. Another subject of discontent, immediately upon the back of this, was his sending his chancellor *Offernaci Iwanowitz Vetaci* (A) to *Poland*, in quality of his ambassador, with a very pompous retinue, and several rich presents taken out of the treasury.

The purport of this embassy was, to return the king and the republic of *Poland* his sincere thanks for the signal services they had done him; to propose a treaty of the strictest alliance; to make war upon the *Turks*, and not only drive them from the frontiers of *Poland*, and out of all *Hungary*, but totally from the *Holy Land*, which he saw with grief in the hands of those infidels; and lastly, to desire *Sigismund's* leave, for the czar to marry the daughter of his generous benefactor, the palatine of *Sandomir*. This last article in particular, as well as the stripping of the treasury of some of the crown-jewels, which were sent to *Poland*, was excessively displeasing to the *Russians*, who hated the *Poles*, and detested their religion, both of which they feared would be forced upon them in consequence of this marriage^m.

Sigismund answered *Demetrius's* ambassador, that he was very sensible of the acknowledgments of the czar his master that he commended his zeal against the *Turks*, and should

^d PETR. p. 318. MARGARET, ubi supra. Traged. Moscov. p. 28. LUNDORP. Sleid. cont. tom. iii. p. 677. Descript. Russ. Elzev. p. 134. ex THU. NO. ^e PETR. ubi supra. ^f Idem, ibid. ^m PETR. p. 321. MARGARET, PIASEC. Chron. p. 266. LUNDORP. tom. i. p. 201.

(A) Others say, his treasurer *Athanasius Iwanowitz Roslow*.

very willingly accept his alliance; but that he must first deliberate thereon with the republic: and that as to the marriage of the czar with the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir, he not only consented to it, but should be greatly rejoiced at it. Upon this the ambassador married *Mariana Mnieski*, in the name of the czar his master. The ceremony was performed by the bishop of *Cracovia* (B); and *Sigismund*, who gave away the bride, recommending to her at the same time to continue her love for the *Poles* and the *Romish* religion, made a very grand entertainment, at which the new czarina appeared with a magnificence suitable to her rank; *Demetrius* having sent her jewels to a vast value.^c

*who mar-
ries the
daughter
of the pa-
latine of
Sandomir,
by proxy
from the
czar.*

Demetrius received homage from all the lords of the empire at his coronation, and gave them, in general, leave to marry^d, which the late usurper had forbid: but very soon after, according to the custom in *Russia*, where the crime of one person commonly involves all his relations and friends, he banished near seventy families, because they were allied, or had been attached to that of *Boris*. This act of justice, as it would have been called in any other prince in that country, was much condemned in him, on account of his having imprudently shewn greater confidence in the *Poles* than the *Russians*, even in the first days of his reign. The people murmured loudly, and scrupled not to say, that these families were banished, merely to enrich strangers with their spoils; which would draw others into the country, likewise to be rewarded at the expence of those who should commit the least fault.

*The people
grow dis-
contented.*

These discontents were heightened every day by the artful management of knez *Theodore Basilus Zuski*, a man of distinguished birth, who, seeing that none were left of the late czar's family, thought he might ascend the throne without much difficulty. To this end, he and his two brothers put themselves at the head of the disaffected party, declared that *Demetrius* was an impostor, an upstart raised from the dust, whose design was to extirpate the nobility, overturn the religion of *Russia*, and render them all slaves to *Poland*; to prevent which, it was necessary that they should take away his life. *Demetrius*, having timely notice of the plot, ordered the three *Zuski*'s to be seized and tried. The eldest

1606.
*Zuski
heads a
conspiracy
against
Deme-
trius.*

^c LUDOLPH. p. 334. Traged. Moscov. p. 29. PIASEC. Chron. 266. LUNDORP. Slesv. cont. 16m. iii. p. 678. KOBIERZ. Uladisl. p. 64. ^d MARGARLT. fo. 40. ●

Is con-
demned to
death, but
pardoned.

was condemned to be beheaded, the two others to be banished; and extraordinary preparations were made for the execution, as if it was intended that this example should strike a lasting awe in every malecontent: but it was only to render the czar's clemency to the criminal the more conspicuous: for when he was upon his knees on the scaffold, and waited only for the stroke of the executioner, whose hand was already lifted up, a pardon was proclaimed, and his sentence commuted into banishment with his brothers^m. *Demetrius*, injudiciously, recalled him soon after from his exile, and restored to his favour a wretch who rested not till he had destroyed him.

The dif-
contents of
the people
increase.

THIS conspiracy, and its well known causes, ought to have rendered *Demetrius* extremely circumspect and cautious in his behaviour to the *Russians*. He took, indeed, some steps which they seemed to approve of; such as, dismissing several of the *Poles* who had accompanied him into *Russia*, and used to be continually about his person; and coining a great quantity of new money, then much wanted, out of the immense treasures which *Boris* had amassed: but his fondness for two of the jesuits before-mentioned, *Nicholas Cnemiow* and *Andrew Lowitz*; his being blindly guided by them, even so far as to allow them publicly to exercise the *Roman* catholic religion in *Moscow*; his marriage with a princess of that communion; his disregarding at least, if he did not absolutely slight, many rights and ceremonies which the *Russians* looked upon as highly necessary to be observed, among which were his not bathing regularly as they did, and his eating veal, which they deemed an unclean meat; his countenancing foreigners, and his endeavouring to introduce their manners, whilst he ridiculed the absurdities of his own people; together with his giving some considerable employments to *Polanders*, whom his subjects looked upon as their mortal enemies: all this lost him the affections of the great men, who, in *Russia*, have always a share in the management of affairs, and the disposal of offices, which are very lucrative, and numerous. Every one of his actions were now strictly scrutinised; for the lives of great men are exposed to the censure of the public in proportion to their elevationⁿ. His laying aside the haughty state of the former czars, by appearing in public more than they had used to do, and his suffering

^m MARGARET, fo. 40. P. TR. p. 323. LUND P. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 676. KOBIERZ. p. 67. LUST. tom. i. p. 202. Descript. Russ. Elzev. p. 132, ex THUANO. ⁿ SAL- LUST. Bell. Catil.

pace, each towards his antagonist; but, when the people expected to see them engage, they quitted their arms, and flew to embrace each other with all the marks of the most tender and sincere friendship. At this moving sight, the spectators, not able to refrain their tears, began to complain of their kings, for engaging so near and affectionate relations to shed each other's blood. But the tenderness of the young heroes did not abate their courage; each of them returned to his arms, and chose his adversary. The eldest of the *Horatii* engaged the eldest of the *Curiatii*, and the other two chose their adversaries in the same manner, according to their age (1). The noise of their arms was already heard at a great distance, and the air rung with a confused mixture of shouts and acclamations from both camps, as either of the combatants appeared to have the advantage. The skill and dexterity of the champions kept the victory long in suspense. At length, the eldest of the *Horatii* received a mortal wound, and fell. At this sight, the *Albans* triumphed; and their joyful acclamations threw the *Romans* into the utmost consternation, which was soon after changed into despair, when they saw the second *Horatius*, pierced through by another of the *Curiatii*, expire on the body of his brother: but the three *Alban* brothers were all wounded, and the remaining *Horatius* unhurt and vigorous. However, not thinking himself a match for the three brothers together, he made use of a stratagem to separate them: he cunningly retreated, as if he fled; and the *Curiatii* pursuing him, but at unequal distances, as their wounds allowed them, the champion, turning short upon them, slew them all, before one

himself had been a father for some time. That a *pater patratus* should be always chosen for the above-mentioned purposes, was, according to some writers, a political law established by *Numa*, that king being well apprised, that a man, who had a father and children alive, would be more inclined to be faithful to his country, and promote the common interest. Some think that the *pater patratus* was so called à *patrando jurjurando*; that is, from the oath he was obliged to take to attest the justice of his demand. *Festus* says, he was so called, because, by vir-

tue of his commission, he acted as *pater patriæ*, that is, father of his country.

(1) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, by telling us, that the eldest of the *Curiatii* chose out the eldest of the *Horatii*; and that the other two chose their adversaries according to their age; seems to insinuate, that the two sisters had each three children one after another, and at different births; for he plainly supposes, that they were not all of the same age. But this difference of age most authors explain by the order in which the laws placed twins.

could come up to the assistance of the other ; and, big with this victory, seized the spoils of the vanquished ; while the *Roman* camp resounded with joyful acclamations in honour of their hero (K). Thus *Rome* gained the superiority over *Alba* her mother-city ; which *Fuffetius* acknowledged on the very field of battle, saluting king *Tullus* as his sovereign, and asking him what were his commands. *Tullus* answered, *I command you nothing, but to keep the Alban youth in readiness to march at my orders, in case I make war with the Veientes* &c.

Horatius
kills his
own sister.

As *Horatius* was returning to the city in a sort of triumph, he was met by his sister, who, on seeing him loaded with the spoils of the three brothers, among which was a military robe, which she had wrought with her own hands for the *Curiatius*, to whom she had been betrothed, could not forbear tearing her hair, beating her breast, and reviling her brother with the most provoking and reproachful words, for imbruing his hands in the blood of his relations. Hereupon *Horatius*, flushed with his late victory, and enraged at his sister's unseasonable grief, killed her upon the spot, and went on straight to his father's house ; who not only approved the action, but would not allow his daughter to be buried in the sepulchre of the *Horatian* family. However, when *Tullus* returned to *Rome*, young *Horatius* was brought, by some illustrious citizens, to his tribunal, to take his trial there. They thought it dangerous to abate the rigour of the laws in favour of conquerors ; and therefore insisted on his being tried, and condemned, if found guilty. *Tullus*, being divided between his regard for the laws, and the desire he had to save the young *Horatius*, and foreseeing he should be censured by some for condemning, and by others for acquitting, the criminal, dextrously turned the affair into a state crime, the cognizance of which did not belong to him, but to two commissioners, or *duumviri*, whom the king was to name. As the crime was notorious, and not disowned by the prisoner, the *duumviri*, without delay, pronounced sentence against him in these words : *We judge you to be guilty of treason : go, licitor, and tie his hands.* As soon as judgment was given, *Horatius*, by the king's advice, appealed to an assembly of the people ; by whom the sentence against the criminal was revoked, rather through admiration of his cou-

Is condemn-
ed by the
duumviri,
but saved
by the
people.

2 LIV. l. i. c. 25, 26. DION. HAL. l. iii. p. 156.

(K) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* says, that one of the *Curiatii* was killed in the beginning of the combat ; so that there were but two *Curiatii* left to encoun-

the *Horatius*, who was conqueror. But all the *Latin* historians contradict him in this particular, and we have chosen to follow the greater number.

rage, says *Livy*, than for the justice of his cause. However, that the crime might not go wholly unpunished, *Horatius* was condemned to pass under the yoke, an ignominy with which it was usual to treat prisoners of war, who had cowardly surrendered their arms. The king also appointed expiations, to pacify the anger of the gods, provoked by this violation of the laws. Nor was this all; the pontifices erected two altars, the one to *Juno*, and the other to *Janus*, which were still remaining in the time of *Augustus*, together with the yoke, known by the name of *fororium tigillum*, under which they made the criminal pass ^h.

TULLUS, mindful of the suspicious behaviour of the *Fidenates* during his war with the *Albans*, cited them to appear before the senate of *Rome*, and answer for their conduct; they, being conscious of their guilt, and in private intelligence with *Fuffetius*, who had stirred them up under-hand, in hopes of shaking off the *Roman* yoke, refused to obey, and, in conjunction with the *Veientes*, took the field. *Fuffetius*, in compliance with *Tullus*'s orders, joined him with the *Alban* troops; but, the day before the battle, he acquainted his principal officers with his design, which was to stand neuter, till fortune had declared for one side, and then join the conqueror. His project was universally approved; and all, who were present, bound themselves by a solemn oath to conceal his design, and obey his orders. In the mean time, both armies marched out of their intrenchments; and, while they were in motion, *Fuffetius*, leaving the place he had been posted in, retired with his men to a rising ground. *Tullus*, being apprised of his desertion, in that distress, made privately a vow to add twelve priests to the college of the *salii*, and to build a temple to *Fear* and *Paleness*; and then, dissembling his fear, cried out with a loud voice, which was heard both by his own men, and by the enemy; *Courage, friends! we have conquered: it is by my order, that the Albans are possessing themselves of the hill, whence they are to fall upon the enemy.* The confidence of the king inspired his troops with courage; and the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, on the other hand, looking on the inaction of the *Albans* as suspicious, began to distrust them. And thus the discouragement one army was under, and the valour of the other, decided the day. The *Roman* cavalry attacked the *Fidenates* with great resolution, and obliged them to retire in disorder to *Fidenæ*. *Tullus*, without losing time in pursuing them, returned upon the *Veientes*; who, being disheartened at the defeat of their allies, after a faint resistance, betook themselves to flight, and perished for the most part, either in the

^h LIV. & DION. HAL. *ibid.*

Tiber, while they attempted to save themselves by swimming, or on the banks of that river, by the swords of the *Romans*, who overtook them. Then *Fuffetius*, coming down from his hill, fell upon the remains of the dispersed *Fidenates* and *Veientes*ⁱ.

Alba demolished, and the Albans transplanted to Rome.

Year of the flood 1687.

Bef. Chr.

661.

Of Rome 87.

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Tullus defeats the Fidenates

*TULLUS*, concealing his knowledge of *Fuffetius*'s treachery, went privately in the night to *Rome*, to consult the senate, and returned to the camp by break of day. He then detached *Horatius*, who had conquered the three *Albans*, with a chosen body of horse and foot, to demolish *Alba*, as had been concerted with the senate. While these orders were executing, *Tullus* commanded both the *Roman* and *Alban* troops to attend him unarmed; but with private instructions to the *Romans* to bring their swords concealed under their garments. When they were all assembled, he laid open the perfidiousness and treachery of *Fuffetius* in a long speech; and, in the conclusion, ordered him to be fastened to two chariots drawn by horses, and to be torn asunder. His accomplices were all put to the sword; but the rest of the *Alban* soldiers were carried to *Rome* with the citizens, and the chief men among them were even admitted into the *Roman* senate. Others were promoted to the dignity of knights, and all without exception enjoyed the privileges of *Roman* citizens<sup>k</sup>. Thus fell the city of *Alba*, famous for its riches, the number of its inhabitants, and, above all, for being the mother of *Rome*. This new increase of inhabitants obliged *Tullus* to enlarge the limits of the city; he took in mount *Caelius*, allowing the *Albans* to settle there, and built on the same hill his own palace. The next spring he marched against the *Fidenates*, defeated them in a pitched battle; and, having obliged them to shelter themselves within their walls, by cutting off all succours and provisions, reduced them to such straits, that they surrendered at discretion. The ringleaders of the revolt were punished, but the rest suffered to continue in their native city under the same form of government, only dependent upon *Rome*. So complete a victory procured him the honour of a triumph, in which the spoils of the conquered enemy were carried before him as trophies<sup>l</sup>.

As the power and wealth of *Rome* were much increased by these repeated victories, and the destruction of *Alba*, *Tullus* demanded satisfaction of the *Sabines*, who were a very powerful nation, for the insults which had been formerly offered to some *Roman* citizens at the temple of the goddess *Feronia*,

<sup>i</sup> LIV. l. i. c. 27. DION. HAL. l. iii. p. 165. <sup>k</sup> DION. HAL. p. 171. LIV. *ibid.* c. 28, 29. <sup>l</sup> LIV. *ibid.* c. 30.

which

which stood at the foot of mount *Soracte*, upon the banks of the *Tiber*, and was frequented both by the *Sabines* and *Romans* (E). The *Sabines*, having solicited in vain the neighbouring nations to join them, kept themselves for some time on the defensive only: but at length, being provoked by *Tullus*, who laid waste their country, they came to an engagement, which proved so bloody, that both nations, terrified with the numbers of their slain, retired into their respective countries, without attempting any thing more that campaign. The next year the war was renewed with more fury than before. Both armies met in the neighbourhood of *Eretum*, a town about thirteen miles from *Rome*, and fought with incredible fury, *Gains a victory* inclining to neither side, till *Tullus*, giving his men complete new courage, by making a vow to institute on the same day a *victory* festival, in honour of *Saturn* and *Ops* (M), gained a complete *over the* victory. *Sabines*.

(L) The goddess *Feronia* presided over forests, gardens, and orchards, and is thought by some to be the same with *Flora* or *Proserpine*. Her temple was frequented by the neighbouring nations, who came to pay their homage, and make offerings to the deity, which they worshiped in common. A fair was kept annually near her temple, and the preceding years some *Roman* citizens had been on that occasion robbed, and kept in captivity, by the *Sabines*, who refused to set them at liberty, when demanded by their country, saying, that the *Romans* had used them in the same manner by opening an asylum, and peopling *Rome* with their fugitives.

(M) The festivals of *Saturn*, and *Ops* or *Rhea*, were kept in

the month of *December*, under the name of *Saturnalia* and *Opalia*, which were, properly speaking, one and the same solemnity, continued for several days together. The festival appropriated to *Saturn* was fixed to the sixteenth of the calends of *January*, and that of *Ops* to the fourteenth *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* ascribes the origin of them to *Tullus Hostilius's* vow. But *Macrobius* assures us, that they were celebrated in *Italy* long before the building of *Rome* (4). Servants had at this time a right of being served by their masters, wearing their cloaths, and reproving them for their faults. In this sense, *Horace* encourages his servant to speak his mind freely, applying himself to him thus :

*Age, libertate Decembri,  
Quando ita majores voluerunt, utere : narra* (5).

Come, since our ancestors have thus injoin'd,  
*December's* freedom use ; and speak thy mind.

(4) *Macrob. Saturnal. l. i. c. 7.*

(5) *Horat. l. ii. sat. 7.*



victory. The conquered had no other resource but to implore the clemency of the conqueror; and *Tullus*, whose very name made them tremble, granted them a peace upon his own terms <sup>m</sup>.

*TULLUS*, flushed with success, summoned all the *Latin* towns, which had been dependent on *Alba*, to submit to the *Roman* laws, and follow the fortune of their metropolis. Upon this it was resolved in a general assembly of the *Latins* held at *Feronium*, that they should not by any means submit to *Rome*, but to the utmost of their power maintain their antient independency. Two generals were elected by the assembly; to wit, *Anus Publicius* of *Cora*, and *Spurius Vecilius* of *Lavinium*, to whom a full power was granted of declaring war, or making peace, as they should think fit. However, the *Romans* did not deem it advisable to make war upon them in a regular manner; they contented themselves with making incursions and incursions, and destroying their harvest. *Medulia*, alone, which had received a colony in *Romulus's* time, and had now joined the *Latins*, was taken, and, as was then thought, put out of a condition of ever taking up arms again <sup>n</sup>.

Defeats  
the Sa-  
bines a  
second time

SOME years after, the *Sabines*, thinking themselves in a condition to repair their antient losses, invaded the *Roman* territories, and, dividing themselves into small parties, over-ran the whole country. As they met with little opposition, they began to entertain thoughts of laying siege to *Rome*; but *Tullus*, marching out against them, defeated them in a pitched battle, and made them once more sensible of the superiority of *Rome* <sup>o</sup>. *TULLUS*, being now advanced in years, fell into superstition, and was easily imposed upon by stories of prodigies, and voices from heaven. Sometimes they told him that it had rained stones on the hill of *Alba*, and sometimes that a voice from heaven had been heard there, commanding the *Albans* to resume their antient ceremonies. The king believed these prodigies, and appointed expiatory sacrifices for nine days, which gave rise to the custom of employing nine days to appease heaven, as often as men were alarmed with prodigies of this

<sup>m</sup> DION. HAL. p. 175. LIV. *ibid.*  
*Idem ibid.*

DION. HAL. *ibid.*

This, according to some, was done in memory of the liberty enjoyed in the golden age, before the names of servant and master were known. Beside friends at this time sent presents to one another: no war was to

be proclaimed, and no offender executed. One day only was kept at first, the fourteenth of the calends of *January*; but the number was afterwards increased to three, four, five, and, some say, to seven days (6).

(6) *Lipfius; Saturnal. l. i. c. 3.*

kind.

\*kind. As to the manner of his death, authors disagree: some *His death* tell us, that he was killed by lightning, with his wife, children, and his whole family (N); others are of opinion, that he died by the hands of *Ancus Marcius*, his successor, who slew him and his whole family, while they were performing a domestic sacrifice; and then set fire to the palace, to conceal his crime. He died after a reign of thirty-three years, leaving the city greatly increased, but the dominions much the same as they had been in the time of *Romulus* <sup>p</sup>. As he was looked upon as a man struck by the gods, we find no mention in history of honours decreed to his ashes, or even of the place of his burial.

AFTER a short interregnum, the people and senate unanimously chose *Ancus* (O) *Marcius*, the grandson of *Numa*, by *Marcus* his daughter *Pompilia*, and *Marcius* his relation, the son of that *Marcius* who persuaded *Numa* to accept of the kingdom; and

¶ LIV. l. i. c. 31.

(N) He is said by some to have studied magic, and to have hid himself in a private place, to perform a magical sacrifice; but that, omitting some part of the necessary ceremonies, he so incensed the god, to whom he was sacrificing, that the enraged divinity set his palace on fire by lightning, and destroyed his wife and children in the flames (7).

(O) Every *Roman* had, generally speaking, three, and sometimes four, names: the first was called *prænomen*, the second *nomen*, the third *cognomen*, and the fourth *agnomen*. The *nomen* shewed the family from which he was sprung; the *prænomen* and *cognomen* were often nicknames, taken from the circumstance of the person's birth, or his defects, or bodily qualities;

and the *agnomen* was a title of honour, as *Africannus*, *Germanicus*, &c. Thus the prince of the *Roman* orators was called *Marcus Tullius Cicero*. The *prænomen Marcus* signified, that he was born in the month of *March*; his *nomen*, or name *Tullius*, was that of his family; and his *cognomen*, or surname *Cicero*, alluded to the mark or wart he had in his face, which was like a vetch, called by the *Latins cicor*. *Valerius* tells us, that *Mecurius* had the name of *sinicus* from the *Greek* word *ἰσικος*, because he had a crooked arm, which he could not stretch out to its full length. We must observe here, that the *ingredi* alone, or those who were free-born, were allowed to take three names. Hence *Juvenal*,

— Siquid tentaveris unquam  
Miscere, tanquam habcas tria nomina, &c (8).

If but to murther thou shalt ever dare,  
As if three names thy lineage did declare, &c.

(7) *Dion. Hal. p. 1, 6.*

(8) *Juvenal. sat. 5. v. 126.*

For

Year of  
the flood  
1714.  
Bef. Chr.  
634.  
Of Rome  
114.

His war  
with the  
Latins.

and afterwards killed himself, because he was not chosen in his room. The new king began his reign by endeavouring to restore the religious ceremonies which had been neglected in the last reign, to their former use, and to revive husbandry, advising his subjects to lay aside all sorts of violence, and to return to their peaceable employments. Notwithstanding this seeming inclination to peace, *Ancus* in his heart loved war, and was desirous of the honours of a triumph. However, the love he affected for the arts of peace, gained him the affections of his subjects; but, at the same time, drew upon him the contempt of the neighbouring nations. The *Latins* were the first who made him give way to his martial inclination. These, pretending that their treaty with the *Romans* was no longer binding than while king *Tullus* lived, made inroads into the territories of *Rome*. *Ancus* therefore resolved to be revenged on them; but, out of respect to the laws of *Numa*, omitted no ceremony in declaring war, which that lawgiver had appointed (P). He then took the field, with an army consisting intirely

For the slaves in antient times had no name, but what they borrowed from the *prænomen* of their masters; as *Lucipor*, *Publipor*, *Marcipor*, that is, *Lucii puer*, *Publii puer*, &c. or the slave of *Lucius*, of *Publius*, &c. When this custom grew out of fashion, the slaves were usually called by some name of their own, which was often taken from their country, as *Syrus*, *Geta*, &c. Upon their manumission they took the *prænomen* and *nomen* of their masters; but, instead of the *cognomen*, made use of their former name, as *Marcus Tullius Tiro*, the freedman of *Cicero*. After the same manner it was customary for any foreigner, who had been made free of *Rome*, to bear the *prænomen* and *nomen* of the person by whose means he had obtained that privilege.

(P) The ceremonies were as follow: A *facialis* was sent to the *Latins*, to demand satisfaction. He no sooner arrived on

the borders, but he cried out: "Great *Jupiter*, and ye confines of the *Latin* nation, hearken to justice. I come hither with a deputation from the *Roman* people, in all the legal forms; and I demand, that credit be given to what I say." After this formal declaration, he laid open his demands; and then calling *Jupiter* to witness the truth of what he said, he pursued thus: "If I have unjustly and impiously made these demands, mayest thou, great god, never suffer me to return to my own country!" He repeated these words at his entering the *Latin* territory; then to the first person he met; afterwards at the gate of the city; and lastly, in the market-place. If in about thirty days his demands were not satisfied, he added to what he had said before: "O *Jupiter*, *Juno*, thou *Romulus*, and all ye gods of heaven, of earth, and of hell, hearken; I call you all

" to

intirely of new-raised troops, marched to *Politorium* (Q), a *Latin* city, and made himself master of the place before the *Latins* could relieve it. He spared the city, and only transplanted the inhabitants to *Rome*, settling them with those of *Tillena* and *Ficana*, two other cities of *Latium*, which he likewise took, on the hill *Aventinus*. The next year he retook *Politorium*, which the *Latins* had repeopled; and upon this second reduction demolished it intirely. He then laid siege to *Medulia*, a place of great strength, which he took, after having led his troops four years successively against it. He likewise made himself master of *Ficana*, destroying it with fire and sword. This city he had taken in the beginning of the war, but, having neglected to demolish it, the *Latins* had possessed themselves of it; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he reduced it the second time. The *Latins*, enraged, but not

“to witnefs, that the *Latins* are unjust. We will therefore enter into deliberations at *Rome* on the proper means of obliging them to give us just satisfaction.” No sooner was the *fecialis* returned, but the king referred the affair to the senate, addressing himself, according to the form prescribed by *Numa*, to each particular senator in these words: “Say, what think you of the refusal, which the *pater patratus*, and the whole nation, of the *Latins* have given the *pater patratus* of the *Romans*, of refusing and granting us what we demanded of them?” To which each senator gave this answer, “Let us again demand our rights by a just and lawful war: this is the opinion, for which I declare.” When the greater part of the senators had thus declared their opinion, the war was considered as unanimously agreed on. Then the *fecialis* went to the confines of the enemy’s country, carrying in his hand a javelin, which was dipped in blood, and either

headed with iron, or burnt at the end. When he arrived on the territories of the *Latins*, he pronounced the following form of words in the presence of at least three persons, not under fourteen years of age: “On account of the damages which the *Latin* nation has done the *Roman* people, and in obedience to a decree made by the senate and people of *Rome*, importing that war be declared against the *Latins*; I and the *Roman* people declare and begin it.” At these words he threw a dart upon the enemy’s lands (9). ’Tis to be observed here, that at this time no use was made of the king’s name or authority; he never being mentioned, but only the senate and people.

(Q) It is not easy to ascertain the true situation of *Politorium*, *Tillena*, and *Ficana*. All we know of them is, that they were all three *Latin* cities, at a small distance from each other, not far from the mouth of the *Tiber*.

(9) *Liv. l. i. c. 32.*

discouraged,

discouraged, at their losses, made great preparations, and took the field with all the forces they could draw together. But *Ancus*, having defeated them in a pitched battle, obliged them to sue for a peace; and triumphed at *Rome* for the advantages he had gained over them.

His war  
with the  
Fidenates,  
Sabines,  
Veientes,  
and Vol  
sci

THE *Fidenates*, *Veientes*, and *Volsci*, felt likewise the effects of his martial disposition. The *Fidenates* had revolted during the *Latin* war; and it was no sooner ended, than *Ancus* marched against them, and took their city by sap; this being the first instance we meet with in the *Roman* history of that kind of attack. The king dug a way under-ground from his camp, quite under the walls of *Fidene*; and his men, having by that means got into the city without being observed, opened the gates to their companions, and put *Ancus* in possession of the place, in which he left a strong garison, after having caused those to be put to death, who had been most active in the revolt. He next marched against the *Sabines*, who had renewed their hostilities, defeated their united forces, and granted them a peace upon honourable terms. Over the *Veientes* he obtained two complete victories, for which a triumph was decreed him by the senate.

The Jani-  
culum

ROME was greatly enlarged in this king's reign; for he not only carried the walls round the *Aventine* hill, but also inclosed the hill *Janiculum*, which stood on the other side of the *Tiber*, and made it a sort of citadel for *Rome*. In order to open a communication between the city and the new citadel, he built the bridge *Sublicius* (R), over the *Tiber*, where it washes the foot of the *Aventine* hill. He likewise made a large ditch, called *Fossa Quiritium*, which was no small defence against those who came from the plains. And now the city having received a vast increase, *Ancus*, to suppress the licentiousness of such multitudes of people, built a large prison in the *Roman* forum. But he did not content himself with enlarging the city: he likewise extended its dominions; for, having taken from the *Veientes* the *Mesian* forest, the territories of *Rome* reached quite to the sea, where he built the port and city of *Ostia*, to secure

Ostia  
built.

9 LIV. l. i. c. 33. 1 DION. HAL. l. iii. p. 172. LIV. ubi supra.

(R) Some writers derive the name *Sublicius* from the piles on which it stood, that being the import of the *Latin* word *sub-lica*; others from the antient word *licio*, which signifies to join. Neither iron nor copper were made use of in building this bridge; both being equally

prohibited, if we believe *Plutarch*, by an antient oracle. The care of keeping it in good repair belonged first to the pontifices, and afterwards to the quæstors. It was the first bridge that was built over the *Tiber*, and perhaps in *Italy*.

the

the advantages of trade to his subjects. About this town he caused many salt-pits to be dug ; and the distribution of salt which he made among his subjects at this time, gave rise to those public liberalities called *congiaria*, from the word *congius*, a measure used among the antient Romans. He rebuilt the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, after a more stately and magnificent manner ; and spent the latter years of his reign in improving the city, and enriching the citizens. He died, after a reign Ancus of twenty-four years ; during which he shewed himself no-way *dies*. inferior to any of his predecessors in the arts either of peace or war. *Plutarch* says, he died a violent death ; but is therein contradicted by most of the antients.

ANCUS left two sons behind him, one an infant, the other An ac- near fifteen years of age, both under the tuition of *Tarquin*, not *count of* suspecting that a stranger, who had lately settled at *Rome*, could *Tarquin*. gain the suffrages of the people, in competition with his son, *family*. and place the crown on his own head. *Tarquin* was the son of a rich merchant of *Corinth*, who, to secure his great wealth from the rapines of *Cypselus*, the tyrant of that place, had left his native country, and settled in *Tarquini*, one of the most famous cities of *Hetruria*. There he married a woman of distinction, and had by her two sons, to whom he gave *Hetrurian* names, calling the one *Arunx*, and the other *Lucumo*. *Arunx*, who was the eldest, died before his father ; and, tho' he left his wife with child, yet his father, not knowing it, and dying soon after, left his whole estate to *Lucumo*, his second son. So that the posthumous son of *Arunx* was disinherited before he was born ; and therefore took the name of *Egerius* from *egere*, to want. *Lucumo*, being now in possession of his father's immense riches, aspired to the highest dignities in *Tarquini*, his wife *Tanaquil*, who was of a noble extraction, stirring up his ambition ; but being looked upon in *Hetruria* as a stranger, he was debarred from rising to any considerable post in the country where he dwelt. Roused therefore by the reproaches of the aspiring *Tanaquil*, he resolved to remove to *Rome*, where two *Sabines* had been raised to the throne, and where personal merit was the surest and only means of arriving at the first dignities of the state (S). He was no sooner admitted

(S) The success which attended the new-comers, gave rise to the following fable ; to wit, that as *Tarquin* was on the road with his wife in an open chariot, an eagle, appearing over his head at the foot of the *Janiculum*, snatch-

ed off his hat, and, soaring up again, was lost for some time among the clouds ; but at length came down with great rapidity, and left the hat on *Lucumo*'s head. Hereupon *Tanaquil*, who is said to have been skilled in the art

mitted citizen of *Rome*, but he endeavoured to appear intirely *Roman*, changing the *prænomen* of *Lucumo* into *Lucius*, and the *nomen*, or name *Damaratus*, which favoured too much of the *Greek*, into *Tarquinus*, borrowed from *Tarquinius*, where he had been brought up. As for the *cognomen* of *Priscus*, or *Old*, it was not probably given him till after his death, when it was used to distinguish him from the other *Tarquin*. The polite and engaging behaviour of the *Greek*, now become a *Roman*, soon gained him the favour of the people, and made him known in the court of *Ancus*, into whose favour he artfully insinuated himself; and, lest his immense riches should create suspicions in a city which was yet poor, he offered to deposit them in the public treasury, to supply the wants of the public. As he was well apprised, that military exploits were a sure step to great honours, he not only contributed to the expences of the war out of his estate, but, in all expeditions, distinguished himself in a very eminent manner. In the war with the *Latins* he fought on foot, and against the *Vulturni* signalized himself at the head of the *Roman* cavalry: so that the king, in consideration of his gallant behaviour, raised him to the rank of a patrician and senator. As he was no less prudent in council than formidable in arms, he shone in the senate from his first admission into it; and his advice was always followed by the king, in military expeditions.

Tarquin  
raised to  
the rank  
of a pa-  
trician  
and sena-  
tor.

TARQUIN, looking upon the death of *Ancus* as a critical time to attempt mounting the throne, brought on the election with the utmost expedition, and caused the *curiæ* to be summoned, before young *Marcus* was quite fifteen. For the greater precaution, he took care to keep his pupil out of the sight of the people during the *comitia*, and, for that purpose, sent him into the country on an hunting-match. In the mean time, he carried on his intrigues, and gained some by money, others by promises: he was the first who introduced into *Rome* the custom of soliciting for offices, and making interest to obtain them, the *Romans* having, till his time, concealed from the world the desire they had of obtaining the highest posts: but the *Greek*, who was above these timorous scruples, plainly begged the kingdom in an harangue, which he made to the people, urging the example of *Tatius* and *Numa*, the first an enemy as well as a stranger, and the second wholly unacquainted with the city; whereas he was not only a friend to the

• DION. HAL. l. iii. p. 184, 185.

art of augury, embracing her him the happy presage of his future grandeur (1).  
transport of joy, explained to

(1) *Liv. ubi supra.*

*Romans,*

*Romans*, but had spent all his riches among them, and was so well acquainted with the laws and customs of *Rome*, that the late king had employed him in affairs, both civil and military, of the greatest consequence. Then he cunningly insinuated his past services; and, as the people had an high opinion of his merit, they commanded him (for that was the term then used) to take upon him the management of public affairs. In the beginning of his reign, to strengthen his party in the senate, and reward those who had shewn most zeal in his election, he created an hundred new senators, who were called *senatores minorum gentium*, because chosen out of the plebeian families. However, they had the same authority in the senate, as the other senators; and their children were deemed patricians.

His first war was with the *Latins*; from whom he took the cities of *Apiolæ*, *Crustumium*, *Nomentum*, and *Collatia*. The inhabitants of *Apiolæ* were sold for slaves; but those of *Crustumium* and *Nomentum*, having submitted after their revolt, were treated with great clemency. *Collatia*, which was more obstinate, met with a more severe treatment: the inhabitants were disarmed, and obliged to pay a large sum of money. As for the city, he thought he might dispose of it as he pleased; and therefore gave the sovereignty of it to *Egerius*, his brother *Arunx*'s son, who from thence took the name of *Collatinus*; which he transmitted to his posterity. *Corniculum* was likewise besieged, taken by storm, and reduced to ashes. *Tarquin*'s progress alarmed the other cities of *Latium*: several of them united their forces against the common enemy; but they were defeated in a bloody battle near *Fidenæ*, and obliged to enter into an alliance with the conqueror. Hereupon a national assembly of all the *Latins* being held at *Ferentinum*, it was resolved, that they should employ all their strength to oppose the torrent that threatened them. Pursuant to this resolution, they drew together what forces they could; and, having engaged all *Sabinia*, and great part of *Hetruria*, to join them, they took the field with a very numerous army. But *Tarquin*, having defeated the confederate armies in two actions, forced those *Latin* cities, which had refused his alliance, to sue for it, and submit to a sort of dependence upon *Rome*. *Tarquin*, on his return to *Rome*, was honoured with a triumph. The spoils he had taken in the conquered cities of *Latium*, especially in *Apiolæ*, he employed in building a circus for the *Roman games*, otherwise called the *great games* (T). The place chosen for the circus

\* DION. HAL. l. iii. p. 188, 189, 190. LIV. l. i. c. 35.

(T) As *Tarquin* was of a who thought of building a circus at *Rome*, in imitation of the Greek family, he was the first chief



chief cities of Greece. For the first circus we read of was built at *Elis*, where the *Olympic* games were celebrated, and served as a pattern for all the rest. *Livy* assures us, that the *Roman* games were also called the *great games*; but we must not infer from thence, that all the sports, which were celebrated in the circus, and called *Circenses*, were the *great games*. Some were celebrated in the circus in honour of *Ceres*, *Apollo*, &c. which were different from the *Roman* or *great games*; as were also the *Megaleses*; for the former were celebrated before the nones of *April*, and the latter on the eve of the nones of *September*. Besides, the *great games* were celebrated in honour of the *great gods*; whence they were called the *great games*; and the latter in honour of *Cybele*. Lastly, the *great games* were instituted by *Tarquinius Priscus*, and the *Megaleses* not till the time of *Junius Brutus*, who appointed them in honour of *Cybele*, then called *ἡγῆαιστος*, or the *great goddess*. As to the name of *circus*, which was given to the magnificent structure raised by *Tarquin*, some derive it from *circulus*, a circle, part of it being built in that shape. Others will have it to have been so named, because the chariots, that disputed the prize, were obliged to run seven times round the posts which were at each end of it. The poets mention only seven rounds, without expressly saying whether they were about several posts, or one only. But *Cassiodorus* tells us in express words, that it was necessary to turn round seven different posts.

However, it is generally thought that there was but one post, round which the charioteers were obliged to drive seven times. From this turning round some derive the word *circus*; but *Tertullian* (2) pretends, that the *Roman* circus took its name from *Circe*, the fabulous daughter of the sun; and imagines, that she was the first who invented the *Circensian* sports, intending by them to represent the course of the sun her father, running round the globe of the earth in a chariot drawn by four horses.

The circus had four fronts; one at the bottom, where the posts stood; one at the opposite end, where the chariots started; and one at each side, whence the spectators beheld the show. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* tells us, that this circus was three stades and an half long, and four *jugera* broad; and that one hundred and fifty thousand men could sit in it at their ease. *Pliny* (3) tells us, that the *Roman* stadium contained six hundred twenty-five *Roman* feet, each of which contained twelve inches, or sixteen fingers breadths; so that the circus, as it was, according to the above-mentioned writer, three stadia and an half long, must have been two thousand one hundred and eighty-seven *Roman* feet in length. As it was four *jugera* broad, each of which contained, according to *Pliny*, two hundred and forty *Roman* feet, it is from thence manifest, that the circus was nine hundred sixty *Roman* feet broad, and consequently above twice as long as it was wide. So that the length of the circus was somewhat more

(2) *Tertull. de Spectac.*(3) *Pliny*, l. i. c. 3.

circus was the *Myrtian* or *Murtian* valley, which reached from the *Aventine* to the *Palatine* hill (U).

This war with the *Latins* was scarce ended, when all *He-* Tarquin  
*truria* combined against *Tarquin*, on account of his detaining *subdues the*  
the ambassadors, whom they had sent to demand back some pri- *twelve*  
soners of theirs. It was even decreed in a general assembly of *lucum-*  
the twelve *lucumonies*, that, if any city of *Hetruria* stood *monies of He-*  
neuter, it should be for ever cut off from the general alliance. *truria.*

Having, by this means, raised a considerable army, they took the field, ravaged the *Roman* territory, and made themselves masters of *Fidenæ*, by the treachery of some of the inhabitants. The king did not appear the first year in the field; but quietly suffered them to go on without opposition, choosing rather to let them triumph for a time, than to encounter them without the necessary preparations. The next year, he armed all his legions, and, having applied to his allies for succours, took the field early in the spring, and divided his army into two bodies. The *Romans* he commanded himself, and placed his cousin *Collatinus* at the head of the allies. *Collatinus* was defeated, while, presuming too much on his strength, he divided his army to plunder the enemy's country. But the king, with his *Romans*, made a more fortunate campaign, having routed the *Hetrurians*, first near *Vei*, and afterwards under the walls of *Cære*. As *Fidenæ* was a key to the *Roman* dominions, *Tarquin* marched against it with all his forces, put the *Hetrurian* army, that covered it, to the rout, and made himself master of that important place. Such of the *Fidenates*, as were suspected to have been concerned in betraying it to the enemy, were whipped to death, and the rest sent into banishment, and their lands divided, by lot, among the *Roman* sol-

than three *Engliff* furlongs. It was called the *great circus*, either on account of its vast circumference, or because the *great games* were celebrated in it, or, perhaps, because it was consecrated to the *great gods*, to wit, to *Per- tumnus*, *Neptune*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, and especially to the *dii penates* of *Rome*, which were in a special manner called the *great gods*. This circus was extremely beautified and adorned by the *Roman* emperors,

in whose times it was enlarged to such a prodigious extent, that it contained, in their proper seats, two hundred and fifty thousand spectators (4).

(U) This valley was so called, according to some, from a temple erected to a goddess of that name at the foot of the *Aventine* hill. Others style it *Myrtea*, from a temple built in that place to *Venus*, surnamed *Myrtea*, because the myrtle was consecrated to her.

(4) *Plin. l. xxxvi.*

diers. Then *Tarquin* hastened to fall upon the *Hetrurians* once more, before the whole strength of the new army they were raising could be got together. He came up with them near *Eretum*, ten miles from *Rome*, and overthrew them with great slaughter; for which victory the senate decreed him a triumph<sup>a</sup>.

The He-  
trurians  
sue for  
peace;

which he  
granted  
them upon  
their ac-  
knowleg-  
ing Tar-

AND now the *lucumonies*, despairing of any future success against the *Romans*, sent deputies to the king, with an unlimited commission to conclude a peace upon any terms whatsoever. As *Tarquin* was naturally inclined to clemency, and followed that inclination, when he found it no-way prejudicial to his ambition, he granted them a peace, without insisting upon any other condition, than their owning his sovereignty over them. The *Hetrurians* readily agreed to this; and, in proof of their accepting the king of *Rome* for their sovereign, they sent him all the ensigns of royalty, which were in use among them; to wit, a crown of gold, a throne of ivory, a sceptre, with an eagle on the top of it, a tunic embroidered with gold, and adorned with figures of palm-branches (W), and

<sup>a</sup> Idem, p. 192.

(W) This the *Latins* called *tunica palmata*, which we ought to distinguish from the *tunica picta*. The former was not, properly speaking, a long hanging robe, but rather a vest, which was partly hid under the robe. It had at first no sleeves, and afterwards but very short ones. As all the *Romans* wore tunics, they shewed the difference of their rank by that of their tunics. Some sewed upon theirs purple flowers, which were stuck on like the heads of nails; and hence came the word *lati-clavium*. Only the chief magistrates, senators, and generals of the army, were allowed to wear these. The inferior magistrates, the *Roman* knights, and some other officers in the army, wore indeed tunics with purple flowers; but these flowers were smaller than the others; and from thence comes the name of *angusticlavium*. Those who tri-

umphed, instead of embroidered flowers, wore purple palm-branches upon their tunics, or *tunicæ palmatæ*. As to the *toga picta*, some think it was a robe common among the *Romans*, only of a purple colour: and as to the robe in general, it was nothing but a very long mantle hanging in great folds quite down to the ground, which they put upon their right shoulders, throwing one lappet of it over the left. The robes of the senators were adorned with great purple flowers, as well as their tunics; and those of the knights with smaller. The robes of those who triumphed, were probably adorned with palm-branches as well as their tunics. At least it is certain, they were made of rich stuffs, and were called *toga pictæ*. Two persons only had ever the privilege of wearing them out of a triumph, to wit, *Paulus*, *Emilius* and *Pompey*.

and a purple robe enriched with flowers of several colours. <sup>quin for</sup> However, *Tarquin* deferred wearing these stately ornaments, <sup>their king.</sup> till such time as the people and senate had consented to it by an express law. He then applied these regalia to the decoration <sup>His tri-</sup> of his triumph, and never after laid them aside. In his triumph, <sup>umpb.</sup> he appeared in a gilt chariot drawn by four horses, clothed in <sup>Year of</sup> a purple robe, and a tunic embroidered with gold, attended <sup>the flood</sup> by twelve lictors, with their axes and fasces, with a crown on <sup>1759.</sup> his head, and a sceptre in his hand. Thus ended the war with <sup>Bef. Chr.</sup> the *Hetrurians*, after it had lasted nine years. <sup>589.</sup>

**TARQUIN**, having now an interval of rest from his wars, applied all his thoughts to the beautifying, cleansing, and fortifying the city. He built the walls of *Rome* with hewn stone, and those famous common-sewers, which have been since <sup>159.</sup> numbered among the wonders of the world \* (X). He <sup>Applies himself to the beau-</sup> like-

Liv. l. i. c. 38.

We have followed here the most common opinion with relation to the *laticlavium* and *angusticlavium*, about which critics are strangely divided. Some are of opinion, that the *clavi* were a kind of flowers interwoven in the cloth; others will have them to be the buttons or clasps by which the tunic was held together. A third sort pretend, that the *latus clavus* was nothing but a tunic bordered with purple. *Scaliger* thinks the *clavi* did not belong to the vest, but hung down from the neck, like chains and ornaments of that nature. *Rubenius* endeavours to refute all these conjectures, and to prove that the *clavi* were no more than purple lines or streaks in the middle of the garment. According to that author, they did not receive the name of *clavi*, as an immediate allusion to the heads of nails, to which, he says, they bore no resemblance, but were so called from their being of a different colour from the rest of the garment. For the *Romans*, says

that writer, used to inlay their cups, and other precious utensils, with studs of gold, or other ornamental materials. These, from their likeness to nail-heads, they called in general *clavi*. So that it was very natural to bring the same word to signify these lines of purple, or other colours, which were different from all the rest of the garment, as those *clavi* were of a different colour and figure from the vessels which they adorned. A modern critic, of no mean character (5), tells us, that the *clavi* were nothing else but purple galoons, with which they bordered the forepart of the tunic on both sides in the place where it came together. The broad galoons, says he, made the *laticlavium*, and the narrow the *angusticlavium*. As to the name of *clavi*, he thinks the antients gave that name to any thing that was made with a design to be put upon another.

(X) *Pliny*, who did not examine them till near eight hundred years after they were built,

(5) *Dacier*, in *H:rat.* l. ii. sat. 5.

ifying of  
Rome.

His war  
with the  
Sabines.

likewise adorned the forum surrounding it with galleries, in which were shops for tradesmen, and building temples in it, with schools for the youth of both sexes, and halls for the administration of public justice.

THE king had scarce ended these works, when he engaged in a war with the *Sabines*, under pretence that they had assisted the *Hetrurians*. Both armies took the field, and came to an engagement on the confines of *Sabinia*, which lasted the whole day, without any considerable advantage on either side; inso-much that the generals, standing in awe of each other, retired to their respective camps, and soon after returned home, without attempting any thing else that campaign. *Tarquin* employed the winter in making the necessary preparations against the next year. He considered, that he had been often prevented from pursuing the advantages of a victory for want of horse; for, though the infantry was very numerous, the cavalry continued on the same footing on which *Romulus* had left it. He therefore resolved to add some new bodies of knights to those of the first institution. In any state, less superstitious than that of the *Romans*, this design would have been put in execution without any dispute; but, in *Rome*, the innovation, which *Tarquin* had a mind to introduce, met with great opposition.

could not speak of them without admiration (6). *Rome* contained at that time four hills within its compass; to wit, the *Palatinus*, *Tarpeius*, *Quirinalis*, and *Caelius*. In the vallies between these hills, the rain-water and springs uniting, formed great pools, which laid under water the streets and public places. The mud likewise made the way impassable, infected the air, and rendered the city unhealthy. This prompted *Tarquin* to undertake the cleansing the city from its filth, by conveying off the waters through subterraneous canals into the *Tiber*. He made all the arches of these common-sewers of hard stone, and spared neither expence nor labour to make the work durable. Their height and breadth were so considerable,

that a cart loaded with hay could easily pass through them underground. But what most increased the difficulty of the work, was the conveying of the waters, which, through these sewers, were to carry off the filth into the *Tiber*. It was necessary to cut through hills, and, under the city, through rocks, a chanel large enough for a navigable stream, and covered with arches strong enough to bear the weight of houses, which were often built upon them, and stood as firm as on the most solid foundations. The expence of this great work was never so well understood, as when it came to be repaired: for the censors gave no less than a thousand talents to the person who undertook the cleansing of it.

As the first division of the horse into three bodies had been determined by auguries, *Atius Nævius*, the most famous augur of that time, obstinately withstood the king's will, and took upon him the defence of *Romulus's* institution \*.

TARQUIN could not persuade himself, that the augur was serious in his opposition; and therefore commanded him to be brought into his presence, fully resolved to confound and discredit the diviner in the art, which superstition maintained, to the diminution of the royal authority. As soon as *Nævius* appeared before *Tarquin*, in the midst of the forum, and in the sight of all the people; *Canst thou discover by thy art, diviner, said the king, whether what I am thinking of can be done, or not? Go, and consult thy birds.* The augur did as he was ordered; and, returning quickly, answered, with great composure, *Yes, Tarquin; my art tells me, that what you are thinking of may be done.* Upon this, the king, pulling out a razor from under his robe, and taking a flint in his hand, replied, with a contemptuous smile; *I was thinking whether it was possible to cut this flint with this razor. I have taken thee in thy own craft: the introducing the gods into thy decisions is all cheat and imposture. If thou canst perform what is impossible, do.* At these words, the people burst out a laughing. But *Nævius*, without discovering the least surprize, addressed the king with an air of assurance, and said, *Put the razor to the flint, and try: I readily submit to any punishment, if you do not do what you thought on.* The king did as he was directed, and saw, to his great surprize, the flint give way to the edge of the razor; which cut through it with so much ease, that it reached the king's hand, and drew blood from it †. *Livy* says, that *Nævius* took the flint into his own hand, and cut it in *Tarquin's* presence ‡. Be that as it will, the people testified their surprize by loud acclamations; and *Tarquin*, turning his contempt for augury into admiration, laid aside his project of increasing the number of the corps of horse, and contented himself with augmenting the number of knights of each corps, making the *Roman* cavalry amount in all to eighteen hundred men. From this time, no determination was made, either in the camp or city, without the approbation of the augurs. As for *Nævius*, *Tarquin* erected a statue of brass to his memory in the comitium, which continued there till *Augustus's* time. The razor and flint, which were kept as monuments of the miracle, were buried near it, under an altar; at which witnesses were afterwards sworn in civil causes (Y).

TAR-

\* LIV. *ibid.* c. 35. † DION. HAL. p. 203. ‡ LIV. l. i. c. 36.(Y) This event, though re- attested by all the writers of the  
lated with so many circumstances, Roman history, and adopted by

**Tarquin** **TARQUIN**, early in the spring, took the field against the Sabines, who, having received considerable reinforcements from *Hetruria*, were beforehand with him, and had encamped near the conflux of the *Anio* and the *Tiber*. The *Hetrurians* were posted on one bank of the *Tiber*, and the *Sabines* over-against them, on the other. The confederate armies had a communication by a bridge of boats; and this *Tarquin*, who had encamped on an hill near the banks of the *Anio*, found means to set on fire, by sending down the river flat-bottomed boats, loaded with dry wood, sulphur, and resin. The *Sabines* hastened to extinguish the flame, leaving, as is very frequent on such unforeseen and sudden accidents, their camp unguarded. Then *Tarquin*, laying hold of this opportunity, attacked, and made himself master of it; while a detachment, which he had sent out, having passed the *Tiber* in the night, came and fell suddenly on the camp of the *Hetrurians*. The enemy, being thus attacked on both sides, betook themselves to flight, and, in that confusion, perished, some by the flames, some by the sword, and others by leaping into the river. By this means, the arms of the enemy, which came floating down the stream, brought the news of the victory to *Rome*, before the arrival of the couriers dispatched by the king <sup>2</sup>.

**His success** **AFTER** this victory, *Tarquin*, without allowing the enemy any respite, entered the territory of the *Sabines*; who, having, with incredible expedition, drawn together another army, faced him a second time; but, being once more routed with great slaughter, they had at last recourse to the clemency of the conqueror, and sued for peace; but *Tarquin* did not think fit to grant them more than a truce, which was no sooner expired, than they passed the *Anio*, and made incursions on the *Roman* lands. Hereupon *Tarquin*, leaving the city, fell upon the free-booters; and, having taken their booty from them, encamped, with the few forces he had then with him, over-against the enemy, while the rest of the army hastened after him. The *Sabines*, whose courage was not in the least abated by their former misfortunes, did not fail to offer him battle; and the king, as soon as he was joined by the forces he expected, ac-

**He ravages their country;**

<sup>2</sup> Liv. l. i. c. 37.

some of the fathers of the church, who impute it to magic, is without all doubt a mere fabulous invention, and was looked upon as such by *Tully*, who, though himself an augur, writes of it thus: "Look with contempt (he

speaks to his brother *Quintus*) "on the razor and flint of the famous *Atius*; when we reason as philosophers, we ought to lay no stress upon fables (7)."

(7) *Cic. l. i. de divin.*

cepted

cepted the challenge. As the *Sabines* were no-ways inferior to and de-  
the *Romans*, either in numbers or bravery, the victory conti-seats them  
nued doubtful, till a body of horse, which *Tarquin* had de-in a second  
tached before the battle, having taken a great compass, fell battle;  
unexpectedly on the enemy's rear in the heat of the action.  
Then the *Sabines*, seized with a sudden panic, betook them-  
selves to a disorderly flight. Few of them reached the neigh-  
bouring cities, their retreat being cut off on one side by  
the main body of the *Roman* army, and on the other by the  
detachment of horse. Those, who escaped the swords of the  
conquerors, fled to their camp; which, though well fortified,  
was attacked, and taken, almost without resistance, by the  
*Romans*. Thus ended this campaign. • The next year, the  
*Sabines*, having chosen a more experienced commander, ap-  
peared early in the field; but declined a battle. *Tarquin*, not and re-  
thinking it safe to attack the enemy's camp, surrounded it on all duces them  
sides; and, by cutting off their communication with the neigh- to the ut-  
bouring country, reduced the *Sabines* to the utmost extremity. most ex-  
The *Romans* looked upon them as a sure prey; but the *Sabine* tremity.  
general, taking advantage of a dark and stormy night,  
marched his army out of his intrenchments, and, without being  
observed, got out of the enemy's reach, leaving only in the  
camp some wounded men, and a few cattle<sup>a</sup>. And thus the  
campaign ended.

THE next year, the *Romans* and *Sabines* appeared anew in He de-  
the field, as soon as the season was fit for action; and, having seats them  
encamped over-against each other, the two generals agreed to in a third  
put the whole to the issue of a battle. As *Tarquin* had divided battle.  
his army, which was very numerous, into three bodies, he  
commanded the *Romans* himself, put his nephew *Arunx* at the  
head of the *Hetrurians*, and gave the command of the *Latins*,  
and other allies, to *Servius Tullius*, a foreigner, who, from a  
slave, was become a *Roman* citizen. The two armies engaged  
with the utmost fury, and fought the whole day with equal intre-  
pidity and resolution; but, in the end, the *Romans* gained the  
victory, after *Tarquin* had inspired his men with fresh courage,  
by making a vow to build a magnificent temple in honour of  
*Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. • The *Sabines* being routed and  
dispersed, *Tarquin* entered their country, which now lay, pro-  
posed to him; and, having plundered their lands, and open  
places, returned to *Rome*, loaded with booty, and crowned  
with fresh glory. During the winter, he made the necessary  
preparations for the besieging of their fortified places; which  
was to be the work of the next campaign. But, in the mean  
time, the *Sabines*, despairing of success, humbled themselves



*The Sabines submit, and are treated with clemency.* so far, as to send deputies to *Tarquin*, offering to put him in possession of all their strong-holds, upon honourable conditions. The king treated them as favourably as he had done the *He- trurians*; delivered up to them their prisoners without ransom; and, having taken possession of their country, returned to *Rome*, and entered the city in triumph <sup>b</sup>.

*The temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.* *Tarquin*, being now advanced in years, thought only of enjoying the sweets of repose after his great labours, and continual victories. However, mindful of the vow he had made to *Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva*, he leveled the top of the hill of *Jupiter, Tarpeius*, marked out the plan of the temple, and laid the foundations of that glorious structure, which afterwards became the principal place of the *Roman* worship. And now the celebrated *Nævius* appears again upon the stage: this augur, being consulted about what part of *Rome* *Jupiter* would like best, declared for the hill *Tarpeius*, formerly *Saturnius*. But, when they came to consecrate the area, a difficulty arose about removing the gods, who had already altars on the hill, without giving them offence. By the help of augury, all these gods were consulted, and found willing to be removed, except the god *Terminus*, and the goddess *Youth*, who insisted upon not being displaced, and were consequently inclosed within the walls of the temple, which was afterwards consecrated to *Jupiter*, his wife *Juno*, and his daughter *Minerva*. Not long after, *Nævius* disappeared; and, as the manner, as well as the author, of his death were utterly unknown, the sons of *Ancus Marcius* endeavoured to fix the calumny on the king, and, by that means, stir up the people against him; but, their accusation being found groundless, the sons of *Ancus* were detested for having calumniated their king, and delivered up to him by the incensed multitude. *Tarquin*, who was naturally inclined to mercy, pardoned them, in consideration of the favours he had received from their father. Motives of religion prompted him to be more severe on a prostitute vestal, by name *Pinaria*, whom he condemned to be buried alive. As this is the first instance we met with of this kind of punishment, *Tarquin* is thought to have been the author of it. It was ever after inflicted on such of those priestesses as dishonoured their consecration. However, the king did not shew less esteem to the college of the vestals; but, on the contrary, added two to their number, and increased it to six <sup>c</sup>.

*He condemns a vestal to be buried alive.*

*The sons of Ancus conspire the death* As *Tarquin* was now about eighty years of age, and drew near his end, the ambition of the sons of *Ancus* grew daily more active: they had not forgot the arts, by which *Tarquin* had secured to himself their father's kingdom, and had long watched

<sup>b</sup> Liv. *ibid*.

Idem *ibid*.

an opportunity of seizing it for themselves; but, finding it of Tarquin impossible to put their design in execution, they lived quietly under the government of Tarquin, till such time as he began to take proper measures for the continuing of the crown in his family, by marrying one of his daughters to *Servius Tullius*. Then they set no bounds to their resentment; but resolved to put the king to death, before the interest of his son-in-law was well established among the people. The method they took for the execution of their design was this: they hired two young men, who, dressing themselves like peasants, with hatchets on their shoulders, as if they were wood-cleavers, began a feigned quarrel near the king's palace. Many of the conspirators crowded about them, under pretence of putting an end to the dispute, which still continued, till they got to the gate of the palace: then they called out on the king for justice, and were brought before him by the officers of the court. At first, they began to bawl and rail at each other, till they were restrained by a lictor, and ordered to speak by turns. Then one of them began to tell his story; and, while the king was wholly intent on what he said, the other gave him a great blow on the head with his hatchet, and, leaving his weapon in the wound, fled, with his companion, out of the palace. But, while some of the king's attendants hastened to his assistance, others, pursuing the assassins, seized them. When they were put to the torture, they confessed, that they had been employed by the sons of *Ancus*. Queen *Tanaquil*, who had courage and wisdom above her sex, did not lose her presence of mind, even at the sight of her dying husband: she immediately commanded the palace to be cleared of the croud, and gave strict orders, that no person whatsoever should be admitted within the gates. Then, shutting herself up in the apartment of the expiring king, with her son-in-law *Servius Tullius*, his wife, and *Ocristia* his mother, she encouraged *Servius* to ascend the throne. She then opened the window, which looked into the street, where this sudden accident had brought the people together, and, with an air of assurance, told them, that the wound was not deep; that the king was stunned with the sudden blow, but was come to himself again, and hoped to have the pleasure of seeing his people very soon; but, in the mean time, ordered them to obey *Servius Tullius*, who would administer justice to them, till the king was perfectly recovered. This wise dissimulation of *Tanaquil* had all the success she could expect from it: the sons of *Ancus*, believing that the king was still alive, went of their own accord into banishment; so that the plot, which perhaps would have succeeded, had the people seen *Tarquin* dead, was quite defeated, upon their believing, that he was still alive. The second day after the murder of *Tarquin*, *Servius*

*Servius Tullius* heard causes from the throne in the royal robes, and attended by the lictors; but, as he pretended only to supply the king's place, when any difficult case occurred, he promised to report it to the king. As he thought it incumbent upon him to inquire into the wicked attempt upon the king, and revenge it, he cited the sons of *Ancus* to appear before his tribunal; and, upon their non-appearance, caused them to be declared infamous, and their estates to be confiscated. After he had thus managed affairs for some time, and, by his prudent administration, gained the hearts of the people, the death of *Tarquin* was published as a thing recent, with great lamentations in the palace; and *Servius*, after having performed his obsequies with great pomp, appeared in public with a strong guard, and all the marks of royalty, without waiting for the election either of the senate or people<sup>d</sup>. *Livy* indeed tells us, that he took possession of the kingdom with the consent of the senators; but, as he was not duly elected, the people looked upon him rather as governor, than king, of *Rome*<sup>e</sup>.

*Servius Tullius*. THE most probable account authors give of the birth and education of *Servius Tullius*, is as follows: He was the son of *Ocrisia*, a native of *Corniculum*, who was made captive by the Romans at the taking of that place; but who his father was, is uncertain. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* tells us, that one *Tullius*, an officer of royal extraction, who was killed in the defence of his country, was the husband of *Ocrisia*, whom he left with child at his death. *Tarquin* made a present of this beautiful captive to his queen *Tanaquil*, who, being apprised of her extraction, and taken with her polite behaviour, restored her to her antient freedom: but as her son was born while she was still in a state of slavery, the name of *Servius* was added to that of *Tullius*, which he received from his father. This is *Dionysius's* account<sup>f</sup>. But *Plutarch* pretends, that *Ocrisia* was very young when she was carried into captivity; and that she was afterwards married to one of *Tarquin's* clients, by whom she had *Servius*<sup>g</sup>. Some have given this prince a divine origin, and made him the son of *Vulcan*, or, at least, of the *lar*, or the household god, of *Tarquin's* palace. Perhaps by the god of the royal palace they meant *Tarquin* himself. But, however that be, it is certain, that *Tarquin* shewed all the tenderness of a father for *Servius*, and took particular care of his education. *Tanaquil*, who was no less fond of him than her husband, in order to gain him the greater veneration and esteem among the people, with what political view is not known, spread the following report, which the credulous people believed; to

His birth  
and educa-  
tion.

<sup>d</sup> DION. HAL. l. iii. p. 186.    <sup>e</sup> LIV. l. i. c. 40.    <sup>f</sup> DION. HAL. l. iv. p. 213.    <sup>g</sup> PLUT. de fort. Rom.

wit, that a sudden flame, in form of a crown, surrounded the head of *Servius*, while he was a child, and asleep in her apartment. However, notwithstanding the great favour shewn him by the king and queen, it was chiefly by an uniform and wise conduct, that he raised himself to the throne. He was distinguished in the army by his gallant behaviour; and his extraordinary abilities in council so gained him the esteem and affection of the people, that he was unanimously raised to the rank of a patrician, and a place in the senate. The king then married him to an illustrious *Roman* lady, by name *Gegania*; and, upon her death, as his merit and fame daily increased, *Tarquin* thought it no dishonour to his family to give him his daughter *Tarquinia* in marriage. From this time the court set no bounds to the favours they bestowed upon him. The king reposed an intire confidence in him, trusting him with the management both of his domestic concerns, and the affairs of the public; in which latter he acquitted himself so well, that the people were less satisfied with his conduct than with the king's: and this, upon the death of her father-in-law, paved him the way to the throne.

As *Servius*, notwithstanding his superior merit, looked upon *The honour* himself as chiefly indebted to *Fortune* for his grandeur, he *be pays to* erected an incredible number of temples and altars to her, under the names of *Fortuna Primigenia*, *Fortuna Obsequens*, *Fortuna Privata*, *Fortuna Virgo*, *Fortuna Virilis*, &c. As he proposed *Numa* for his pattern, and designed to establish as much order in the civil as that wise prince had done in the religious polity of *Rome*, to gain himself respect from the people, he pretended to have a private correspondence with the goddess *Fortune*, as *Numa* had had with *Egeria*<sup>1</sup>. However, the beginning of his reign was not without disturbances and dissensions. The sons of *Ancus Marcius* had a strong party among the patricians, who thought it beneath them to be governed by a man born in slavery: besides, it had been hitherto customary in *Rome* not to proceed to the election of a king, till after an interregnum; and this rule, established ever since *Romulus's* time, *Servius* had broken through, taking the power into his own hands, without the order or consent of the people. Complaints of this nature were at first dropped, as it were, accidentally, in private assemblies; but at last brought on an almost general conspiracy. The senators agreed among themselves to force the new king, the first time they assembled, to lay down his authority, to establish an interregnum, and then to proceed to the free election of another king. *Servius*, in

<sup>1</sup> LIV. l. i. c. 41.

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. quæst. Rom. p. 281.

*He gains  
the people  
to his in-  
terest.*

this emergency, made it his study to gain the people, and make use of them against the senate. As he was therefore a man of great eloquence, instead of calling the senate together, he assembled the people, and placing one of the two grandsons of the late king on each side of him, made an artful and moving speech to the multitude, intreating them to be joint-guardians with him of the offspring of a prince whose memory ought to be dear to them; and promising to protect the people against the patricians, to pay all their debts, and to divide the lands taken from the enemy among them. Nor were his promises empty words: a few days after he commanded all those who were in debt to send him an account of their debts, and the names of their creditors; and, opening counting-houses in the forum, paid there all the debtors bills with his own money. Nor was this all: he published an edict, commanding all those who had usurped lands belonging to the public, to quit them at an appointed time; and ordered the Roman citizens, who had no lands of their own, to petition for them. In short, he revived many of the laws of *Romulus* and *Numa*, which disuse had abolished, and made several new ones in favour of the common people, who were in many things put upon an equality with the senators and patricians<sup>k</sup>.

*He defeats  
the He-  
trurians.*

THOUGH *Servius* was naturally more inclined to works of peace than to military exploits, yet he found himself obliged to embark in a long war with the *Veientes*, and the rest of the *Hetrurians*, who had shaken off the yoke, pretending, that their obligations to be subject to Rome were dead with *Tarquin*, who had subjected them. But *Servius*, taking the field, soon subdued them anew, and depriving them of their lands, transferred the property of them to such of the new citizens of Rome as had yet no lands. For this victory he obtained, by the favour of the people, in spite of the senate, the honours of a triumph; and entered Rome with all the pomp which *Tarquin* had introduced in such public shews<sup>l</sup>.

*Servius*, now finding the people intirely attached to his interest, resolved to take advantage of their present favour, to render his title to the throne less disputable. Accordingly, he assembled the citizens; and, in a moving speech, which drew tears from their eyes, complained of a design formed by the patricians to take away his life, and to bring back the sons of *Ancus*; and this for no other reason, but because he was too kind to the common people. In the close of his speech, he left the kingdom to their disposal, begging them to determine between him and his pupils on one side, and their competitors

<sup>k</sup> DION. HAL. l. iv. c. 236.  
p. 232.

<sup>l</sup> Fast. Capit. & DION. HAL.

on the other. He had no sooner ended his speech, than he came down hastily from the tribunal, in order to leave the assembly; but they even used violence to stop him, intreating him to be their king, and encouraging him not to fear the plots of his enemies. Then some, whom the king had dispersed among the multitude for that purpose, cried with a loud voice, *Let the curiæ be assembled without delay, that we may elect Servius to be our king.* In the mean time that prince, though at the bottom of the whole intrigue, affected to act only in compliance with the inclination of the people. *I am glad,* said he, *to find you have gratitude for the good offices I have done you.* You may, continued he, with an air of indifference, *do just as you please.* Accordingly, a day was appointed, and Servius He is elected by the curiæ by a greater unanimity than any of his predecessors<sup>m</sup>. However, as the senate, whose faction was formidable, could never be brought to confirm the election, curiæ. Servius deliberated with himself, whether he should not renounce the dignity conferred on him by the people. But, having imparted his uneasiness and perplexity to Tanaquil, she removed his apprehensions, and even prevailed upon him to take an oath, whereby he engaged never to resign the crown. This great queen died soon after; and Servius omitted nothing that could contribute towards transmitting the remembrance of her noble actions to posterity. To immortalize her domestic virtues, the true glory of a woman, he hung up her distaff in the temple of *Hercules*<sup>n</sup>.

SERVIVS soon after his election marched against the rebellious *Hetrurians*, reduced them, and was on that account honoured with a second triumph. After this victory he applied He in all his thoughts to the adorning and enlarging of the city. To enlarge the hills *Palatinus*, *Tarpeius*, *Quirinalis*, *Cælius*, *Aventinus*, *Rome*. he added the *Esquilinus*, and *Viminalis*, inclosing them within the limits of the city, and fixing his own palace on the *Esquilinus*, in order to draw inhabitants thither. He likewise added Adds a a fourth tribe to the three originally established by *Numerus*, fourth calling it *tribus Esquilina*. The public imposts and taxes were tribe to the raised by laying a certain sum on every tribe; and hence the three old public subsidies were called *tributes*; and those who commanded ones. ed the tribes in war were from them named *tribunes*, though that name was afterwards given to several sorts of magistrates. The law which obliged each inhabitant to continue in the tribe in which he was born, established great regularity in levying both the militia and the taxes. Servius made likewise a law, that a piece of money should be paid, upon every death, into

<sup>m</sup> LIV. l. i. c. 41. DION. HAL. l. iv. p. 218.  
c. 7.

<sup>n</sup> PLIN. l. iii.

the temple of the goddess *Libitina*, who presided over funerals; another into the temple of *Juno Lucina*, upon every birth; and another into the temple of *Youth*, as soon as any person was past the state of childhood. By this means the number of *Roman* citizens was known, especially of such as were able to bear arms. No regard had hitherto been had at *Rome* to slaves; but *Servius*, perhaps to do honour to his first condition, extended his care even to them, ordering little wooden oratories to be erected in all the cross-ways of the several quarters of the city; these he consecrated to the *dii compitales*, or gods of the cross-ways; and appointed slaves only to be priests of these gods, who had their particular festival, on which masters gave their slaves rest from all labour; and by this act of humanity gained their good-will.

*Institutes  
the com-  
pitia.*

*Divides  
the Ro-  
mans into  
tribes.*

THAT an equal order might be established in the country, as well as in the city, the king divided the whole *Roman* territory into distinct tribes, commanding that there should be at least one place of refuge in each tribe, situated on a rising ground, and strong enough to secure the effects of the peasants, in case of a sudden alarm. These strong-holds he called *pagi*, that is, villages; and commanded that each of them should have their peculiar temple, tutelary god, and magistrates. Each of them had likewise their peculiar festival, called *paganalia*, when every person was to pay into the hands of those who presided at the sacrifices, a piece of money, the men of one kind, the women of another, and the children of a third. By this means an exact computation was made of the men, women, and children, in each tribe.

*Marries  
his two  
daughters  
to the  
grandsons  
of the late  
king.*

IN the mean time, his two wards, *Lucius Tarquinius*, and *Arunx*, the grandchildren of *Tarquin*, being grown up, in order to secure their fidelity, he married them to his two daughters. And though the elder of these daughters, who was of a mild and tractable disposition, resembled in character the younger of his pupils, as the elder of his pupils did the younger of his daughters, who was of a violent and vicious temper, yet he thought it adviseable to give his elder daughter to *Tarquin*, and the younger to *Arunx*; for by that means he matched them according to their ages, and at the same time hoped, that the elder *Tullia's* sweet disposition would temper *Tarquin's* impetuosity, and the younger *Tullia's* vivacity rouse the indolence of *Arunx*.

*Reduces  
the twelve  
lucumo-*

DURING the public rejoicing for this double marriage, the twelve lucumonies of *Hetruria*, uniting their forces, attempted to shake off the *Roman* yoke; but were in several

° LIV. l. i. c. 43, 44.  
ibid. LIV. ubi supra.

P DION. HAL. p. 220.

¶ Idem

battles defeated by *Servius*, and obliged to submit to him on the same conditions on which they had submitted to his predecessor. For this success *Servius* was honoured with a third triumph.

THE king, being thus disengaged from a troublesome war, returned to the pursuit of his political schemes, and put in execution that masterpiece of policy which *Rome* made use of ever after, and which established a perpetual order and regularity in all the members of the state, with respect to wars, to the public revenues, and the suffrages of the comitia. The public supplies had hitherto been raised upon the people at so much an head, without any distinction of rich and poor: whence it likewise followed, that when levies were made for the war, the rich and poor were equally obliged to take the field, according to the order of their tribe; and as they all served at their own expence, the poorest sort could hardly bear the charges of a campaign. Besides, as the most indigent of the people saw themselves burdened with the same taxes as the rich, they pretended to an equal authority in the comitia: so that the election of kings and magistrates, the making of peace or war, and the judging of criminals, were given up into the hands of a populace who were easily corrupted, and had nothing to lose. *Servius* formed a project to remedy these evils, and put it in execution, by enacting a law, injoining all the *Roman* citizens to bring in an account in writing of their own names and ages, and of those of their fathers, wives, and children. By the same law, all heads of families were commanded to deliver in upon oath a just estimate of their effects, and to add to it the places of their abode, whether in town or country. Whoever did not bring in an account of his effects, was to be deprived of his estate, to be beat with rods, and publicly sold for a slave. *Servius*, from these particular accounts, which might be pretty well relied on, undertook to ease the poor by burdening the rich, and, at the same time, to please the latter, by increasing their power.

To this end he divided the *Roman* people into six classes: *Divides* the first class consisted of those whose estates and effects amounted to the value of ten thousand drachmæ, or an hundred thousand asces of brass, the first way of computing being used by the *Greeks*, and the latter by the *Latins*. This class was subdivided into fourscore centuries, or companies of foot. To these *Servius* joined eighteen centuries of *Roman* knights, who fought on horseback; and appointed that this considerable body of horsemen should be at the head of the first class, because the

\* Fast. Capit. \* DION. HAL. l. iv. p. 223. LIV. ubi supra. AVL. GELL. l. xvi.



estates of these knights, without all doubt, exceeded the sum necessary to be admitted into it. However, the public supplied them with horses, for which a tax was laid upon widows, who were exempt from all other tributes. This first class, including infantry and cavalry, consisted of ninety-eight centuries. The second class comprehended those whose estates were valued at seven thousand five hundred drachmæ, or seventy-five thousand ascs of brass. It was subdivided into twenty centuries, all foot. To these were added two centuries of carpenters, smiths, and other artificers. In the third class were those who were esteemed worth five thousand drachmæ, or fifty thousand ascs. This class was subdivided into twenty centuries. The fourth class was of those whose effects were rated at the value of five hundred drachmæ, or twenty-five thousand ascs, and was divided into twenty centuries: to which were added two other centuries of trumpets, and blowers of the horn, who supplied the whole army with this martial music. The fifth class included those only, whose whole substance did not amount to more than twelve hundred and fifty drachmæ, or twelve thousand five hundred ascs; and this class was divided into thirty centuries. The sixth class comprehended all those who were not worth so much as those of the fifth class: they exceeded in number any other class, but nevertheless were reckoned but as one century †.

*Advantages accruing from this division.*

THE wise king drew from these regulations all the advantages he had expected. Levies for the army were no longer raised by tribes, nor were taxes laid at so much an head as formerly, but all was levied by centuries. When, for instance, an army of twenty thousand men, or a large supply of money, was wanted for the war, each century furnished its quota both of men and money: so that the first class, which contained more centuries, though fewer men, than all the other together, furnished more men and more money for the public service than the whole Roman state besides. And by this means the Roman armies consisted, for the most part, of the rich citizens of Rome, who, as they had lands and effects to defend, fought with more resolution, while their riches enabled them to bear the expence of a campaign. As it was but just the king should make the first class amends for the weight laid on it, he gave it almost the whole authority in public affairs, changing the comitia by curiæ, in which every man gave his vote, into comitia by centuries, in which the majority was not reckoned by single persons, but by centuries, how few soever there might be in a century. Hence the first class, which contained more centuries than the other five taken together, had

\* Liv. l. i. c. 43.

every thing at its disposal. The votes of this class were first taken; and if the ninety-eight centuries happened to agree, or only ninety-seven of them, the affair was determined, because these made the majority of the hundred and ninety-three centuries, which composed the six classes. If they disagreed, then the second, the third, and the other classes in their order, were called to vote, though there was very seldom any occasion to go so low as the fourth class for a majority of votes: so that, by this good order, *Servius* brought the affairs of the state to be determined by the judgment of the most considerable citizens, who understood the public interest much better than the blind multitude, liable to be imposed upon, and easily corrupted.

AND now the people being thus divided into different orders, *The census* according to the census or valuation of their estates, *Servius* and *Lu-* resolved to solemnize this prudent regulation by some public *strum*. act of religion, that it might be the more respected, and the more lasting. Accordingly, all the citizens were commanded to appear, on a day appointed, in the *Campus Martius*, which was a large plain, lying between the city and the *Tiber*, formerly consecrated by *Romulus* to the god *Mars*. Here the centuries being drawn up in battalia, a solemn lustration, or expiatory sacrifice, was performed, in the name of all the people. The sacrifice consisted of a sow, a sheep, and a bull, whence it took the name of *suovetaurilia*. The whole ceremony was called *lustrum*, à *luendo*; that is, from paying, expiating, clearing, or perhaps from the goddess *Lua* (*Z*), who presided over expiations, and to whom *Servius* had dedicated a temple. This wise king considering, that in the space of five years there might be such alterations in the fortunes of private persons, as to intitle some to be raised to an higher class, and reduce others to a lower, enjoined, that the census should be renewed every five years. As the census was usually closed by the lustrum, the *Romans* henceforth began to compute time by lustrums, each lustrum containing the space of five years.

(Z) The name of this goddess was lost through the ignorance of editors; but brought to light again by *Justus Lipsius*, in his commentaries on *Tacitus*. For that antient writer tells us, that *Servius Tullius* consecrated an altar to the goddess *Lua*. But the editor, not knowing who this goddess was, changed the word *Lua* into *Luna*, as if *Servius* had dedicated an altar to the moon.

*Lipsius* corrects this mistake, and shews that *Lua* was the goddess to whom the sacrifice of the lustrum was offered. As she was the goddess of expiations, the lustrum probably took its name from her, as she did hers from the word *luo*, which signifies to pay, because on that day every one paid his quota of the tax laid on his century.

However, the lustrums were not always regularly observed, but often put off, though the census had been made in the fifth year.. Some writers are of opinion, that *Servius* at this time coined the first money which had ever appeared at *Rome*; and add, that the circumstances of the lustrum probably led him to stamp the figures of the animals there slain on pieces of brass of a certain weight. It is past all doubt, that money was called *pecunia*, from the word *pecus*, which signifies cattle, a name which continued to be given to all coins, when the impressions on them were changed into more noble figures <sup>u</sup>.

*He gives  
the freed-  
men the  
privileg-  
es of Roman  
citizens.*

THE government of the city being thus established in so regular a manner, *Servius*, remembering his former servile condition, and touched with compassion on those whom the misfortunes of an unsuccessful war had reduced to slavery, thought that such of them as had by long and faithful services deserved and obtained their freedom, were much more worthy of being made *Roman* citizens, than untractable vagabonds from foreign countries, who were admitted without distinction. He therefore gave the freedmen their choice, either to return to their own country, or continue at *Rome*. Those who chose to continue there, he divided into four tribes, and settled them within the city; and though they were distinguished from the plebeians by their old name of *liberti*, or freedmen, yet they enjoyed all the privileges of free citizens. The senate took offence at the regard which the king shewed to such mean people, who had but lately shaken off their fetters; but *Servius*, by a most humane and judicious discourse, intirely appeased the fathers, who passed his institution into a law, which subsisted ever after <sup>w</sup>.

*Reforms  
the royal  
power*

THE wise king, having thus established order among the people, undertook at last to reform the royal power itself; his equity, which was the main spring of all his resolutions, leading him to act contrary to his own interest, and to sacrifice one half of the royal authority to the public good. His predecessors had reserved to themselves the cognizance of all causes both public and private; but *Servius*, finding the duties of his office too much for one man to discharge well, committed the cognizance of ordinary suits to the senate, and reserved that only of state-crimes to himself <sup>x</sup>.

*Secures the  
fidelity and  
friendship  
of the La-  
tins and  
Sabines.* ALL things being now regulated at home, both in the city and country, *Servius* turned his thoughts abroad, and formed a scheme for attaching the *Sabines* and *Latins* to the *Romans*, by such social ties as should be strengthened by religion. He summoned the *Latin* and *Sabine* cities to send their deputies to

<sup>u</sup> DION. HAL. & LIV. *ibid*.  
227.

<sup>x</sup> Idem *ibid*.

<sup>w</sup> DION. HAL. l. iv. p. 226,

Rome, to consult about an affair of great importance. When they were come, he proposed to them the building of a temple in honour of *Diana*, where the *Latins* and *Æabines* should meet once a year, and join with the *Romans* in offering sacrifices to that goddess; that this festival should be followed by a council, in which all disputes between the cities should be amicably determined; that there proper measures should be taken to pursue their common interest; and, lastly, that, in order to draw the common people thither, a fair should be kept, at which every one might furnish himself with what he wanted. The king's design met with no opposition: the deputies only added to it, that the temple should be an inviolable asylum for the united nations; and that all the cities should contribute towards the expence of building it. It being left to the king to choose a proper place for it, he pitched upon the *Aventine* hill, where the temple was built, and assemblies annually held in it. The laws, which were to be observed in these general meetings, were engraved on a pillar of brass, and were to be seen in *Augustus's* time, in the *Latin* tongue, but in *Greek* characters *Y*.

BUT now *Servius* was grown old; and the ambition of *Tar- Wicked*  
*quin* his son-in-law revived, in proportion as the king advanced *intrigues*  
 in years. His wife used her utmost endeavours to check the *of Tar-*  
 rashness and fury of her husband, and to divert him from all *quin and*  
 criminal enterprizes; while her younger sister, a domestic fury, *the younger*  
 was ever instigating *Arunx*, who placed all his happiness in a *Tullia*.  
 private life, to the most villainous attempts. She was continually lamenting her fate in being tied to such an indolent husband, and wishing she had either continued unmarried, or were become a widow. Similitude of temper and manners formed, by degrees, a great intimacy between her and *Tarquin*. At length, she proposed nothing less to him than the murdering of her father, sister, and husband, that they two might meet, and ascend the throne together. Soon after, they paved their way to an incestuous marriage, he by poisoning his wife, and she her husband; and then had the assurance to ask the king's and queen's consent to their marriage. *Servius* and *Tarquinia*, though they *al* not give it, were silent, thro' too much indulgence to a daughter, in whom now was their only hope of posterity. But these criminal nuptials were only the first step towards a yet greater iniquity: the wicked ambition of the new-married couple first shewed itself against the king; for they publicly declared, that the crown belonged to them; that *Servius* was an usurper, who, being appointed tutor to *Tarquin's* grandchildren, had deprived his pupils of their inheritance; that it was high time for an old man, who was

but little able to support the weight of public affairs, to give place to a prince, who was of a mature age, &c.

*They gain over the patricians.* THE patricians, whom *Servius* had taken great pleasure in humbling during the whole time of his reign, were easily gained over to *Tarquin's* party; and, by the help of money, many of the poorer citizens were also brought over to his interest. The king, being informed of their treasonable practices, endeavoured to dissuade his daughter and son-in-law from such proceedings, which might end in their ruin, and exhorted them to wait for the kingdom till his death. But they, despising his counsels, and paternal admonitions, resolved to lay their claim before the senate; which *Servius* was obliged to summon: so that the affair came to a formal process. *Tarquin* reproached his father-in-law with having ascended the throne without a previous interregnum, and with having bought the votes of the people, and despised the suffrages of the senate. He then urged his own right of inheritance to the crown, and injustice of *Servius*, who, being only his guardian, had kept possession of it, when he himself was of an age to govern. *Servius* answered, That he had been lawfully elected by the people; and that, if there could be an hereditary right to the kingdom, the sons of *Ancus* had a much better one, than the grandsons of the late king, who must himself have been an usurper. He then referred the whole to an assembly of the people; which being immediately proclaimed all over the city, the forum was soon filled: and *Servius* harangued the multitude in such a manner, as gained

*Servius is confirmed by the people on the throne.* all their affections. They all cried out with one voice, *Let Servius reign; let him continue to make the Romans happy.* Amidst their confused clamours, these words were likewise heard; *Let Tarquin perish; let him die; let us kill him.* This language frightened him so, that he retired to his house in great haste; while the king was conducted back to his palace with the acclamations of the people <sup>2</sup>.

*Tarquin resigns the king's jurisdiction.* THE ill success of this attempt cooled *Tarquin's* ardent desire of reigning; but his ambition made him act a new part. He undertook to regain the favour of his father-in-law, by caresses, submissions, and protestations of a sincere regard and affection for him; insomuch that *Tho*king, who judged of the probity of others from his own, was sincerely reconciled to him, and tranquillity re-established in the royal family. But it was not long ere *Tarquin*, roused by the continual reproaches of his wife, began to renew his intrigues among the senators, of whom he had no sooner gained a considerable party, than he put in execution a stratagem, which surprised the people by its novelty, and succeeded by the boldness of its execution: he

cloathed himself in the royal robes, and, causing the fasces to Tarquin's be carried before him by some of his domestics, crossed the *bold at-Roman forum*, entered the temple, where the senate used to *tempt*. meet, and seated himself on the throne. Such of the senators as were of his faction he found already in their places (for he had given them private notice to be there early); and the rest, being summoned to assemble in king Tarquin's name, made what haste they could to the appointed place, thinking that Servius was dead, since Tarquin assumed the title and functions of king. When they were all assembled, Tarquin made a long speech, reviling his father-in-law, and repeating the invectives against him, which he had so often uttered, calling him a slave, an usurper, a favourer of the populace, and an enemy to the senate and patricians. When he was yet speaking, Servius arrived; and, rashly giving way to the motions of his courage, without considering his strength, drew near the throne, to pull Tarquin down from it. This raised a great noise in the assembly, which drew the people into the temple; but nobody ventured to part the two rivals. Tarquin therefore, being more strong and vigorous, seized the old man by the waist, and, hurrying him through the temple, threw him down from the top of the steps into the forum. The king, who was grievously wounded, raised himself up with some difficulty: but all his friends had abandoned him; only two or three of the people, touched with compassion, lent him their arms to conduct him to his palace.

As they were leading him on slowly, the cruel Tullia appeared in the forum, whither she had hastened in her chariot, *Tullia's* on the first report of what had passed in the senate. She found *unheard-of cruelty* her husband on the top of the steps of the temple, and, transported with joy, was the first who saluted him king. Her example was immediately followed by the senators of Tarquin's party. Nor was this enough for the unnatural daughter: she took aside her husband, and suggested to him, that he would never be safe, so long as the usurper of his crown was alive. Hereupon Tarquin instantly dispatched some of his domestics to take away the remains of the unfortunate king's life. The Servius is orders for the wicked parricide were no sooner given, than murdered. Tullia mounted her chariot again, with an air of triumph, to by Tarquin's return home. The way to her house was through a narrow street, called *vicus cyprius* (A), or the good street. There the assassins had left the king's body, which was still panting. At *usurper's throne* this sight, the chariotcer, struck with horror, checked his

(A) The word *cyprus*, according to Varro, is an old Sabine word, signifying good or happy; for this street, as the same author informs us, was first inhabited by the Sabines.

horses, and made a stop. *Why don't you go on?* cried *Tullia* to him: *What stops you?* The charioteer, turning about to her, *Alas!* said he, *it is the body of the king your father!* At these words *Tullia*, catching up a stool that was in the chariot, and throwing it at his head, *Go on, she cried, and don't be afraid of driving over a dead body.* The charioteer obeyed; and the blood of the father is said to have dyed the wheels of the chariot, and even the cloaths of the inhuman daughter; and hence the street was called ever after *vicus sceleratus*. Such was the end of *Servius Tullius*, after he had lived seventy-four, and reigned forty-four years.

The character of  
Servius.

Death of  
Tarquinia.

Tarquin  
II.

Year of  
the flood

1819

Bef. Chr.

529.

Of Rome

219.

His ty-  
ranny.

HE was a prince of eminent justice and moderation, and made *Rome* more formidable by a peace of twenty years, than his predecessors had done by many victories. He was beloved by the people, esteemed by the patricians, and perhaps would have had no enemies, if he could have preserved the affections of his own family. *Tarquin* not suffering his obsequies to be performed with the usual pomp, lest the people might, on that occasion, rise up in arms, and revenge his death, *Tarquinia* conveyed the body of her husband privately by night to his tomb, and, the night following, died herself; but whether of grief, or by her own hands, or by the wickedness of *Tullia*, is uncertain. The veneration which the people had for this king's memory seems to have placed him among the gods; for the slaves annually celebrated his festival in the temple of *Diana Aventina* on the day he lost his life.

TARQUIN, having thus possessed himself of the throne by a most wicked parricide, behaved himself, during the whole time of his reign, like a most cruel and despotical tyrant. In the very beginning of it, the surname of *Proud* was given him, on account of his capricious humour, and haughty behaviour. As he had ascended the throne without a previous interregnum, and despised the suffrages of the people, and approbation of the senate, he communicated no affairs of state either to the senate or people. All controversies whatsoever he decided himself, assisted by his intimate friends; and banished, fined, and even executed, whom he pleased. To prevent the natural consequences of his tyranny, he kept constantly a strong guard about his person, mostly consisting of strangers, who were ready, on all occasions, to execute his pleasure. Wealth and merit became unpardonable crimes, as plainly appeared in the murder of *M. Junius*, a venerable old man, the father of the famous *Brutus*, who afterwards destroyed the regal power. This *Junius* was descended of a noble family, and had an ample patrimony; on which considerations *Tarquin* the elder had given him his daughter in marriage. The new king, to get possession of his estate, caused both him and his other son to be assassinated,

assassinated, *Brutus* escaping, by counterfeiting madness. The flower of the senate retired from the city into voluntary banishment, to avoid the effects of the king's cruelty and avarice. The people, who had rejoiced at first to see the senate humbled, were, in their turn, as ill treated as the senators, and all the laws made in their favour annulled. Informers were dispersed all over the city, to watch the words and behaviour of every citizen; and the worst construction was put upon every thing. All assemblies of the people, even for diversion and recreation, were prohibited both in the city and country<sup>a</sup>.

*Rut*, as he was well apprised, that the people would, sooner *Gain a* or later, attempt to shake off the yoke, and recover their an-*strong par-* tient privileges and freedom, he turned his thoughts to gain a *ty among* strong party among foreigners; and, with this view, married *the La-* his daughter to *Octavius Mamilius*, a man of great interest among the *Latins*. *Mamilius* indeed did his utmost to bring over a great many leading men of his country to the interest of his father-in-law; and his solicitations succeeded. But the king had like to have lost them again by his haughty behaviour: he had invited the *Latins* to meet in a national assembly at *Ferentinum*, on a day appointed by himself. The deputies came, and took their places in the sacred grove: but, as *Tarquin* did not appear, after they had waited some hours, the assembly grew impatient; and *Herdonius*, an enterprising man, who hated *Tarquin*, took this occasion of inveighing against him. His speech made no small impression upon the assembly; but *Mamilius* prevailed upon them to adjourn the council to the next day. Then *Tarquin* appeared; and, having first made a frivolous excuse for his absence, acquainted the assembly, that his business with them was to demand his right of commanding the *Latin* armies, a right which he derived by inheritance from his grandfather. Upon this, a profound silence ensued, till *Herdonius*, stepping forth into the midst of the assembly, made a bitter invective against *Tarquin*, and represented the fatal consequences of admitting his proposal. *Tarquin*, disconcerted by the *Madness* of the orator, desired, that the assembly might sit again the following day, when he promised to answer the invectives of *Herdonius*.

In the mean time, having corrupted some of his domestics, *His trea-* he engaged them to hide a great quantity of arms in their *cherous* master's baggage. The next morning, he entered the assembly *contriv-* with an air of confidence; and, after having told them, that *ance to de-* the malice of *Herdonius* against him was wholly owing to his *stroy* *Herd-* having refused him his daughter in marriage, he accused his *donius*.

<sup>a</sup> DION. HAL. l. iv. p. 244—246. & LIV. l. i. c. 49.



adversary of having laid a plot to cut off all the deputies there present, and to usurp a tyranny over the *Latin* cities. In proof of this, he informed them of the arms concealed in *Herdonius's* baggage. The accused, knowing nothing of those arms, consented to be adjudged guilty, if, upon examination, the fact alleged should be found true. Accordingly, his baggage was searched; and, the arms being found, and brought into the assembly, the innocent *Herdonius* was immediately sentenced to be thrown into a basin at the head of the spring of *Ferentinum*; where an hurdle being laid upon him, and stones heaped upon it, he was pressed down into the water, and drowned <sup>b</sup>.

Declared  
general,  
the Latin  
armies.

THE *Latins*, now doubting but *Herdonius* was guilty of the crime laid to his charge, looked upon *Tarquin* as their deliverer, renewed the treaty made with his grandfather, and declared him general of the *Latin* armies. Not long after, the *Hernici*, and two cantons of the *Volsci*, entered into an alliance with him upon the same terms. *Tarquin*, to secure the fidelity of his new allies, erected, with their approbation, a new temple in the midst of them, on an hill near the ruins of *Alba*; which he consecrated to *Jupiter Latialis*. There the diets of the confederate cantons were to assemble; and these assemblies were called *latia*. The twenty-seventh of *April* was the day appointed for their annual meeting, and had the name of *feria Latinae* <sup>c</sup>. The *Romans*, as the chief members of the alliance, always presided at the sacrifices and deliberations. The diet consisted of forty-seven deputies from so many cities, who formed the *Latin* association, which was afterwards the best part of the *Roman* strength, and contributed more than all the rest of *Italy* to the conquest of the world.

The feria  
Latinæ.

Assisted by  
the La-  
tins, he  
defeats the  
Volsci,  
and sub-  
dues the  
Sabines.

WITH the assistance of the *Latins*, *Tarquin* thought himself in a condition to make war upon those *Volsci*, who had refused to enter into an alliance with him; but, as he could not depend upon the fidelity of the *Romans*, he blended them in the same legions with the *Latins*, who, till his time, had been a separate corps. The inhabitants of *Suessa Pomertia* (B), one of the most flourishing cities of the *Volsci*, were the first who felt the effects of this new alliance. They had plundered the territo-

<sup>b</sup> DION. HAL. p. 247. LIV. l. i. c. 50, 51. <sup>c</sup> DION. HAL. l. iv. p. 250.

(B) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* in the country of the *Aurunci* beyond the *Liris*. It stood between *Cora* and *Velitrae*, at a small distance from these two cities.

ries of their neighbours ; and *Tarquin*, laying hold of this pretence to begin the war, marched against them, defeated their army, laid siege to their city, and, having taken it by storm, gave the plunder of it to his troops, reserving only the tenth part of the spoil towards the expence of finishing the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* <sup>d</sup>. He then turned his arms against the *Sabines*, who had committed some depredations in the *Roman* territories, gained two complete victories over them, and made the whole *Sabine* nation tributary. Upon his return to *Rome*, where, we are told, he triumphed twice <sup>e</sup>, he undertook the finishing of the common sewers, and the great circus ; and, having obliged the idle populace to work, without any other reward but that of a poor maintenance, soon brought to perfection those two structures, which his grandfather had begun <sup>f</sup>.

In the mean time, many of the discontented patricians, *His war* abandoning their native country, took refuge at *Gabii*, a city *with the* of *Latium*, about an hundred furlongs from *Rome*, and pre-people of-*Gabii*. vailed upon the inhabitants to espouse their cause, and make war upon *Tarquin*. This war lasted seven years, with various success ; during which time the *Romans*, who could neither sow nor reap, being afflicted with a great famine, began to murmur, and at length to demand of *Tarquin*, in a tumultuous manner, either a peace, or provisions. Their complaints and murmurs being fomented by emissaries sent privately from the exiles at *Gabii*, the whole city was in the utmost confusion, and seemed only to wait for a favourable opportunity to take up arms, and drive out *Tarquin*, the cause of all their misfortunes. The king, being on one side unwilling to make a shameful peace, and apprehending, on the other, a general revolt of his subjects, was at a loss what resolution to take, and under the greatest uneasiness. But his son *Sextus Tarquinius* *The stratagem by* found out an expedient, no less dishonourable than artful, for *which he* extricating him out of this difficulty : he pretended to be upon very ill terms with his father, and openly inveighed against *became* him as a tyrant. Hereupon the king, as it had been agreed on *master of* beforehand, commanded him to be publicly beaten with rods *that city*. This was no sooner known at *Gabii*, but the inhabitants, desirous to have *Sextus* among them, made him privately great offers ; which he readily accepted, after they had solemnly promised never to deliver him up to his father upon any pretence whatsoever. It is not to be imagined how agreeable *Sextus's* arrival was to the *Gabini*, or what hopes they founded on their gaining over a prince, who was so much va-

<sup>d</sup> Liv. l. i. c. 53.<sup>e</sup> Fasti Capitol.<sup>f</sup> DION. HAL. p. 251.

Liv. l. i. c. 52.

lued by the *Romans*. From that time, they looked upon *Rome* as already reduced: and indeed the artful *Sextus* played his game with all imaginable dexterity: his public and private discourse turned upon nothing but the tyranny of the king of *Rome*. From words he proceeded to actions. No enemy *Rome* ever had was more active: he often ravaged the *Roman* lands, and returned to *Gabii*, loaded with booty. His father took care to facilitate his military exploits, and sacrificed such soldiers and officers as he suspected to the glory of his son.

**Sextus**

**Tarquin-**  
**nius is ap-**  
**pointed by**  
**the Gabii**  
**command-**  
**er in chief**  
**of their**  
**army.**

His reputation being thus increased by the craft of his father, without the least suspicion of any intelligence between them, the *Gabini* placed so much confidence in his fidelity and valour, that they appointed him commander in chief of their army. His authority being now sufficiently established in *Gabii*, he dispatched a slave, in whom he could confide, privately to *Rome*, to inquire of his father what he should do. The king, not thinking fit to answer either in writing, or by word of mouth, took the slave into a garden, and there struck off the heads of all the tallest poppies. This done, he sent back the messenger. *Sextus* understood the hint; and, having assembled the *Gabini*, pretended to have discovered a plot to deliver him up to his father. The people pressed him to declare the conspirators, and extorted from him, as it were, by force, the name of *Antistius Petro*, a man whose merit had made him the most considerable person in his country. *Sextus* had bribed his servants to convey among his papers some letters from the king of *Rome*; which being produced and read, the incensed multitude, without further examination, immediately stoned him, and committed to *Sextus* the care of discovering his accomplices, and inflicting on them such punishments as he should judge proper. Upon this, he ordered the gates of the city to be shut; and, having sent officers into the several quarters of it, caused all the eminent men of *Gabii*, who gave him umbrage, to be inhumanly massacred. In the midst of this desolation and confusion, he opened the gates to his father, whom he had acquainted with his design, and put him in possession of the city. The *Gabini* sunk into the most despair at the sight of the tyrant, who now had their lives, their estates, and their liberty, at his disposal. But *Tarquin*, on this occasion, consulting good policy more than revenge, treated them with great humanity, and even entered into an alliance with them, the articles of which were written on a shield made of the hide of an ox sacrificed on that occasion. This treaty was still to be seen at *Rome* in *Augustus's* time, in the temple of *Jupiter Pistius*, or *Sancus*, that is, the god of fidelity.

2 DION. HAL. p. 252—257. LIV. l. i. c. 53—55.

As *Tarquin* was jealous even of his own children, he took *Tarquin* care to keep them at a distance from *Rome*. With this view, *jealous of* he left *Sextus* at *Gabii*, declaring him king of that city, and *his child* sent *Titus* and *Arunx* to found two new colonies, the one at *Signia*, and the other at *Circæum*, a promontory on the coast of the *Tyrrhenian* sea. As for his fourth son *Lucius Tarquinius*, he kept him in *Rome*, he not being yet of an age to give him umbrage.

THE *Romans*, being now accustomed to the yoke of an imperious master, bore it with great patience, and allowed *Tarquin* to enjoy a profound peace. It was at this time, that *The books* an unknown woman appeared at court, loaded with nine volumes, which she offered to sell; but demanded a very considerable price. *Tarquin* refusing to purchase them at her rate, she withdrew, and burnt three of them. Some time after, she returned, and demanded the same price for the remaining six. She was therefore looked upon as a mad woman, and driven away with scorn. However, having burnt the half of them, she ventured to return a third time, asking as much for the remaining three as she had done for the whole nine. *Tarquin*, surprised at the novelty of this proceeding, caused the books to be put into the hands of the augurs, who, finding them to be the oracles of the *Sibyl* of *Cuma*, declared them to be an invaluable treasure; and advised the king to buy the three at the same price, which the woman had asked for the nine. *Tarquin* followed their directions, and the woman, having received the sum she demanded, soon after disappeared, having first exhorted the *Romans* to preserve her books with great care, *Tarquin* appointed two persons of distinction, stiled *duumviri*, to be guardians of them (C); and ordered them to be locked up

(C) These officers were afterwards increased to ten, and then to fifteen; and, as their numbers increased, were called *decemviri*, *quindecimviri*, *sacris*, *ciundis*. It was their business to consult the *Sibylline* books, when the senate thought proper. But recourse was never had to them, unless the republic was under, or threatened with, some great calamity; as when a dangerous sedition was like to break out, when the *Roman* armies had been defeated, or when any of those prodigies appeared, which

were thought fatal to *Rome*. Then the *duumviri* had the care of putting in execution whatever they thought commanded by the books of the *Sibyls*. They also presided over the sacrifices, and public sports, which they appointed to appease the wrath of heaven. And lastly, they ordered every thing that related to the *ludi seculares*. Their office was for life, and they were exempted from taxes, and from all civil and military employments. This magistracy continued at *Rome* from the time of

up in a vault under the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, as soon as that building was finished; and there they were kept till they were burnt with the temple itself <sup>h</sup>.

*The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.* ROME still continuing to enjoy peace, though the people were as much discontented as ever, *Tarquin*, in order to keep them employed, undertook the finishing of the temple of the *Capitol*, which his grandfather had begun. He hired for this purpose architects and skilful workmen out of *Hetruria*, and obliged his own subjects to perform the laborious part, making them the drudges, as he had done in so many other undertakings. This temple, which was dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, stood on the top of the hill *Tarpeius*, made sometime before a part of *Rome*. The original of the new name of *Capitol* is by historians said to be this: As the workmen were digging the foundations of the temple of *Jupiter*, they are said to have found very deep in the earth the head of a man, whose features were preserved intire, and the blood as red and fresh as if it had been but newly shed. The *Romans*, looking upon this as a prodigy, consulted the augurs, who declared it to presage, that *Rome* would some time or other become the mistress and head of *Italy* (D). This answer encouraged *Tarquin* to spare no pains nor expence in raising a structure to the honour of those gods who were the authors of so glorious a destiny. Accordingly the foundations were laid, and the temple built in a most stately manner. It stood upon eight acres of ground, and was two hundred feet broad, and about two hundred and fifteen long. The front of this magnificent structure was to the south, facing the hill *Palatinus*, and the *Forum Romanum*. An hundred steps led up to it from the forum, which were divided at certain distances by large landing-places. This front consisted of three rows of pillars, and the two sides of the temple were adorned with a peristyle, consisting of a double row of pillars. It was in after-ages burnt down more than once (E); but the

*Romans*

<sup>h</sup> DION. HAL. p. 259, 260. VARRO apud LACTANT.

of *Tarquin the Proud* to the reign of the emperor *Theodosius*, when this and many other antient superstitions were intirely abolished.

(D) *Arnobius* tells us (8), that the name of the man to whom this head belonged, was *Telus*; so that the word *Capitol*

is, according to him, compounded of *caput* and *Telus*. Other writers say, that the hill *Tarpeius* was called *Capitol*, because it was the capital or chief fortress in *Rome*.

(E) It was burnt in *Sylla's* time by the negligence of those who kept it; but *Sylla* rebuilt it

(8) *Arnob. contra gentes, l. vi.*

*Romans* always rebuilt it, still preserving the same proportions. The whole arch of this prodigious building was gilt both within and without (F). It contained three chapels, or rather three temples, under the same roof, one dedicated to *Jupiter*, another to *Juno*, and the third to *Minerva* (G). As this was a religious undertaking, the *Romans* assisted *Tarquin* in carrying it on with more chearfulness than usual; but the honour of putting the last hand to this stately work, and consecrating it, was reserved for a *Roman* consul, in the time of the republic <sup>i</sup>.

WHILE *Tarquin* and the *Romans* were thus employed, a *Tarquin* cruel plague breaking out at *Rome*, the king sent his two sons, <sup>sends his</sup> *Titus* and *Arux*, to consult the oracle of *Delphi* about the cause <sup>two sons</sup> and cure of the contagion. The princes prepared magnificent <sup>with Bru-</sup> presents for *Apollo*; and *Junius Brutus*, who was to attend <sup>was to con-</sup> them for their amusement, resolved to carry his offering too. <sup>sult the</sup> He was the son of that venerable patrician whom *Tarquin* had caused to be murdered in the very beginning of his reign, and had long acted the part of an idiot at court, which procured him the name of *Brutus*. His affected follies had something inexpressibly amusing in them, and he knew how to make use of them at proper times, and suppress them when unseasonable. He had been brought up, ever since his father's death, in the king's palace, with the princes his cousins, who were greatly diverted with his follies. He was therefore appointed to attend them to *Delphi*. The present he chose for the god was an elder-stick; which was matter of diversion for the whole court. However, as he was well apprised, that the gods of those times, or their ministers, were affected with the value of the presents, he had the precaution to inclose a rod of gold in his

<sup>i</sup> DION. HAL. l. iv. p. 257—259. LIV. l. i. c. 55.

in a more magnificent manner. It was burnt a second time in the reign of *Nitellius*, and repaired by *Vespasian*. It underwent the same misfortune under *Titus*, and was rebuilt by *Vespasian*; but always on the old foundations of *Tarquin*.

(F) The gilding of the whole arch of the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was a work undertaken by the *Romans*, as *Pliny* informs us (g), after the destruction of *Carthage*. This undertaking, if *Plutarch* is to be cre-

dited (1), cost twelve thousand talents; a sum which exceeds all belief. The gates of the temple were of brass, covered with large plates of gold. The inside of the temple, and the columns which supported it, were all of marble.

(G) The inside of the temple was divided into three parts by two rows of columns, which made the nave, and the two isles. The nave formed the chapel of *Jupiter*, and the two isles the chapels of *Juno* and *Minerva*.

(g) *Plin*, l. xxxiii,

(1) *Plut*, in *Q. Fav*.

stick, without any body's knowledge. This was a true symbol of his own mind and conduct; for he concealed the most valuable gifts of nature under a contemptible outside. All things being got ready, they set out for *Delphi*; and the young princes, having executed their father's commands, inquired of the oracle, which of them should be prince of *Rome*. The god answered, that the government of *Rome* was reserved for him who should first kiss his mother; which the princes misunderstanding, agreed to do it both together, and reign jointly. But *Brutus*, knowing the meaning of the oracle, as soon as they arrived in *Italy*, pretended to fall down by chance, and kissed the earth, the common mother of all men<sup>k</sup>.

THE two princes, on their return to *Rome*, found the city in a great commotion on account of the war which the king had declared with the *Rutuli*, under pretence that they had entertained some *Roman* exiles.<sup>†</sup> He had already invested *Ardea* their metropolis, which lay sixteen miles south-east of *Rome*. While they lay before this place, the officers, having a good deal of leisure, used to make mutual entertainments for one another in their quarters. One day, when *Sextus Tarquinius* was entertaining his brothers, and his kinsman *Collatinus*, the conversation happened to turn upon the merit of their wives, every one extolling the good qualities of his own. This occasioned a kind of quarrel; and, in order to end it, they agreed to mount their horses, as they were heated with wine, and go and surprize their wives. She whom they should find employed in the manner most agreeable to her sex, was, by common consent, to have the preference. Away therefore they posted first to *Rome*, where they found the king's daughters-in-law spending their time in feasting and diversions. From *Rome* they hastened to *Collatia*, where they found *Lucretia*, the wife of *Collatinus*, in the midst of her maids, spinning, and working in wool, though the night was far advanced before their arrival. Hereupon they unanimously gave her the preference; and, after a noble entertainment, returned the next day to the camp before *Ardea*<sup>l</sup>.

SEXTUS, captivated with her beauty, found a pretence to return very soon to *Collatia*, where he was entertained by *Lucretia*, in her husband's absence, with great civility and respect. At midnight he found means to convey himself into her bedchamber, approached her bed with his drawn sword, and, laying his hand on her breast, threatened her with present death, if she offered to stir or speak. *Lucretia*, awaking, and seeing death so near, was in the greatest confusion imaginable,

<sup>k</sup> DION. HAL. *ibid.* p. 264, 265. LIV. *ibid.* c. 56.  
 HAL. p. 261—277. LIV. l. i. c. 56—60.

<sup>l</sup> DION.

while *Sextus*, declaring his passion, endeavoured by intreaties, mixed with menaces, to make her yield to his desires. But when he found, that all was in vain, and that even the fear of death could not prevail upon her to consent, he threatened her with ignominy, telling her, that if she would not yield, he would first kill her, then lay one of her slaves dead by her side, and declare to all the world, that he had only revenged the injured honour of *Collatinus*. The dread of infamy got the better of *Lucretia's* constancy; and *Sextus*, having obtained his wishes, returned early the next morning to the camp. *Lucretia*, not being able to endure the thoughts of life after the violation she had suffered, wrote to her husband to meet her at her father's house; and then came to *Rome* in her chariot. *Livy* tells us, that she desired her father and husband to meet her at her own house. With her father *Lucretius* came *Publius Valerius*, afterwards *Poplicola*, and with her husband *Lucius Junius Brutus*, and many other *Romans* of distinction; for *Lucretia* had acquainted them, that she had an affair of the utmost consequence to impart to them.

WHEN the assembly was pretty numerous, she disclosed in a few words the whole matter, declared her firm resolution not to outlive the loss of her reputation; and conjured them not to let the crime of *Sextus Tarquinius* go unpunished. They all endeavoured to comfort her, telling her, that there could be no guilt where the heart was innocent: but the *Roman* heroine, embracing her father and husband with a flood of tears, plunged a dagger, which she had concealed under her garment, into her breast, and fell dead at their feet<sup>m</sup>. While so tragical a sight filled the spectators with grief and consternation, *Brutus*, throwing off his long disguise, drew near the body of *Lucretia*, and, snatching the poniard out of her bosom, told her relations to there present, that tears and lamentations could never be heard, whilst vengeance cried so loud. Then, shewing the bloody poniard to the assembly, *I swear*, said he, *by this blood, which was once so pure, and which nothing but the detestable villainy of Tarquin could have polluted, that I will pursue Lucius Tarquinius the Proud, his wicked wife, and their children, with fire and sword; nor will ever suffer any of that family, or any other whatsoever, to reign at Rome. Ye gods, I call you to witness this my oath.* At these words he presented the dagger to *Collatinus*, *Lucretius*, *Valerius*, and the rest of the company; and engaged them to take the same oath. These noble *Romans*, surprised at the sudden and unexpected appearance of so much wisdom in an idiot, thought him inspired, and gave themselves intirely up to his counsels. He then let them know, that his

<sup>m</sup> DION. HAL. & LIV. *ibid.*



Brutus  
procures  
the ban-  
ishment  
of the Tar-  
quins.

folly had been feigned, exhorted them to revenge the death of *Lucretia*, and encouraged them to shake off the shameful yoke under which they had so long groaned. Finding them all resolved to submit to his conduct, and take what measures he should judge most proper for the execution of the design, he commanded the gates to be shut, that all might be kept secret from *Tarquin* till such time as the people might be assembled, the dead body exposed, and a public decree passed for the banishing of the king. The senate being assembled, no one opposed the banishment of *Tarquin*; but as they were divided in their opinions with respect to the new form of government, *Brutus* represented to them the absolute necessity of coming to a speedy resolution, shewing them, that the regal power was not consistent with the security of the state, and safety of the people; and therefore was not to be trusted with one man; but two were to be chosen, who should govern with equal authority and power. Then, because names alone gave some people offence, he advised them to change the name of kingdom for that of commonwealth, and, instead of the title of king and monarch, to give those who should govern some more modest and popular name. He added, that the main thing to keep these magistrates in awe, was to prevent their perpetual power; and that, if they were annual, after the manner of *Athens*, they might learn both how to obey, and how to command. Lastly, that the name of king might not be wholly lost, he was for giving it to one who should be charged with the care of religious matters, and be called *rex sacrorum* (H).

This

(H) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* gives us the following account of this institution: Because the kings, says he, had in a great many respects been serviceable to the state, the commonwealth thought it very proper always to keep up the name of king in the city. Upon this account they ordered the augurs and pontifices to choose a fit person, who should engage never to meddle with civil affairs, but devote himself wholly to the care of the public worship, and to the ceremonies of religion, with the title of *rex sacrorum* (2). *Livy* informs us, that this dignity

was inferior to that of *pontifex maximus*, the establishers of the commonwealth having made the *rex sacrorum* but a subordinate officer even in affairs of religion, lest the name of king, which had been formerly so odious to the people, should still in some measure prove prejudicial to their liberty (3). His wife was called queen, and was one of the chief priestesses. None but patricians were admitted to this dignity. The *rex sacrorum* was always chosen in the comitia of the people assembled in the *Campus Martius* by centuries. As he was not allowed to have any

(2) *Dion. Hal. l. v. antiquit.*

(3) *Liv. l. vi.*

This employment was to be for life, and attended with immunity from warfare; but the *rex sacrorum* should only concern himself with those religious rites which the king had charge of before. The particulars of his speech were all approved of by the senate; and a decree was immediately issued out, banishing the king, and all his posterity.<sup>a</sup>

BRUTUS, having thus gained the senate, caused the yet *stirs up* bleeding *Luretia* to be carried to the place where the comitia *the people* were usually held; and, placing the dead body where it might *against* be seen by all, he ordered the people to be called together. *him,*

When the multitude were assembled, he began his speech to them by explaining the mystery of his past conduct, and the necessity he had been under, for more than twenty years together, of counterfeiting folly, as the only means of preserving his life, after the murder of his father and elder brother. Then he proceeded to acquaint them with the resolution the patricians had taken to depose the tyrant; and pressed them, in the strongest terms, to concur in that design. He enumerated the many crimes which had rendered *Tarquin* odious to his subjects; that he had poisoned his own brother and wife, murdered his lawful sovereign, and filled the common-sewers with the bodies of the nobility; that he came to the throne as an usurper, and continued on it as a tyrant; being treacherous to his best friends, and inhuman to all his subjects; that his three sons were of a temper as tyrannical as himself, especially the elder, of which they had a dismal instance before their eyes; that since the king was absent, and the patricians resolved to shake off the yoke, neither men, money, nor foreign aid, should be wanting, had they but courage for the enterprize. He urged, in the end of his speech, that it was shameful in them to think of commanding the *Volscei*, the *Subines*, and other nations abroad, while they were slaves at home; and to maintain so many wars, in order to gratify the ambition of a tyrant, while they had not courage enough to undertake one for their own liberty. As for the army before *Ardea*, he told them, that he did not doubt but they would readily join in whatever should be agreed on in the city.<sup>o</sup>

THE multitude, transported with joy at the thoughts of liberty, gave their consent with loud acclamations, and called *avalb* out for arms. But *Brutus* did not think fit to arm the people, *established* till they had confirmed by their suffrages the decree of the senate at Rome:

<sup>a</sup> LIV. l. i. c. 58, 59.

<sup>o</sup> LIV. DION. HAL. *ibid.*

had in civil affairs, when the usual sacrifices before the electing of magistrates or generals were over, he was obliged to

withdraw. So jealous were the Romans even of the shadow, we may say, of a king.

Year after nate, banishing *Tarquin*. This decree deprived him of all the prerogatives belonging to the regal authority, condemned him and all his posterity to perpetual banishment, and devoted to the infernal gods every *Roman* who should by word or deed attempt his restoration. The curiæ being assembled, and the decree proposed, they were all unanimous in confirming it.

Of Rome

242.

Lucretius  
declared  
interrex

Junius  
Brutus  
Tarqui-  
nius Col-  
latinus  
proclaimed  
consuls.

And now the administration being reduced to an interregnum, *Lucretius* was, by the suffrages of the people, declared interrex; so that it was his business to prepare every thing for the election of the new magistrates. He therefore called the people together once more, not by curiæ, but by centuries; and directed them to come armed into the *Campus Martius*, in order to elect their new governors, who, according to the plan of government proposed by *Brutus*, and approved by the people, were to be called consuls (1). The interrex proposed to the people *Junius Brutus*, the head of the conspiracy, and *Tarquinius Collatinus*, the husband of *Lucretia*; and they were unanimously elected to the new dignity, and proclaimed consuls.

In

(1) *Pomponius* the civilian is of opinion, that the name of *consul* was taken from the word *consulere*, as signifying, to watch for the public good. *Varro* derives it from the same word, but in a different signification; to wit, as importing to consult, or ask counsel, because the intent of those who first instituted the consuls, was, that they should do nothing without the advice of the people and senate. The law which placed them at the head of the republic, calls them *prætors* and *judges*. We have this law still remaining, as quoted by *Tully* in the third book of laws. When it was made in the comitia, which changed the monarchy into a republic, it was couched in the following words: *Reges imperio duo sunt, iique præeundo, judicando, & consulendo, prætores, judices, consules, appellantur. Militiæ summum jus habento. Nemini parento. Ollis salus populi summa lex esto.* They were indeed allowed the common use of the sceptre,

and an habit of distinction. But *Livy* assures us, that on the days of their triumphs, in the public sports, and at solemn sacrifices, they wore a crown of gold, an ivory-staff or sceptre, and an habit striped with purple, as the kings did (4). *Valerius Maximus* (5) tells us, that they retained at first as many lictors as the kings; to wit, twenty-four: he adds, that the consul *Poplicola* reduced them to twelve. But each consul was not attended by twelve lictors, neither did they divide them so as to have six a-piece; they were only guarded by twelve lictors alternately, each in his month. This ceremonial began with the two first consuls; the consul who was the oldest, or had most children, or most suffrages for the consulship, had the lictors the first month. *Brutus* was attended with the fasces before his colleague *Collatinus*, as appears from the following verse of *Virgil*:

(4) *Liv. l. xxx.*

(5) *Val. Max. l. xii.*

In the mean time *Tarquin*, being informed by some who had got out of the city before the gates were shut, that *Brutus* was raising commotions to his prejudice, hastened to *Rome*, attended only by his sons, and a small number of his most trusty friends; for he was little apprehensive of a conspiracy carried on by one whom he despised as an idiot: but, finding, to his great surprize, the gates shut, and the people in arms upon the walls, he returned with all possible expedition to the camp. There the army, during his short absence, had been gained over by the conspirators to their party. *Livy* tells us, that *Brutus* went in person to the camp; and that he arrived before *Ardea* at the same time that *Tarquin* appeared at the gates of *Rome*. Others say, that the new consuls sent letters to the camp, giving an account of the resolutions taken at *Rome*, and exhorting the troops to shake off the tyrannical yoke. However that be, it is certain, that, before *Tarquin* returned, the soldiers, being convened by centuries, had unanimously agreed to receive the decree passed in the city; so that, when *Tarquin* returned, they refused to admit him. The tyrant being thus *Tarquin* driven from his capital, and abandoned by his troops, was *abandoned* forced, at the age of seventy-six, to fly with his wife and children to *Gabii*, or, as *Livy* will have it, to *Cære* in *Hetruria*. *Titus Herminius*, and *Marcus Horatius*, who commanded the army under *Tarquin*, made a truce with the *Rutuli* for fifteen years; and, having raised the siege of *Ardea*, returned to *Rome* with all their forces<sup>p</sup>. Thus ended the regal state of *Rome*, two hundred and forty-two years, according to the common computation, after the building of the city (K); and

P DION. HAL. & LIV. ubi supra.

- *Consulis imperium hic primus servasque secures Accipiet* ——— (6).

He first the consul's high command shall take,  
And dreadful axes signs of pow'r shall make.

(K) We have followed the common computation with regard both to the seven kings of *Rome*, and to the fourteen kings of *Alba*. But we cannot help thinking Sir *Isaac Newton's* computations to be better grounded, and nearer the truth. We shall deliver his opinion in his own words: When the *Greeks* and *Latins*, says that writer, were forming their technical chronology, there were great disputes about the antiquity of *Rome*. The *Greeks* made it much older than the *Olympiads*: some of them said it was built by *Æneas*; others by *Romus* the son or grandson of *Latinus* king of the *Aborigines*; others by *Romus* the son of *Ulysses*.

(6) *Virgil, Æneid. l. vi. 825.*

a new form of government was introduced, which, without any considerable alteration, subsisted till the times of the emperors.

## C H A P.

*ses*, or of *Ascanius*, or of *Italus*; and some of the *Latins* fell in at first with the opinion of the *Greeks*, saying, that it was built by *Romulus* the son or grandson of *Æneas*. *Timæus Siculus* represented it built by *Romulus* the grandson of *Æneas*, above an hundred years before the *Olympiads*; and so did *Nævius* the poet, who was twenty years older than *Ennius*, and served in the first *Punic* war, and wrote the history of that war. Hitherto nothing certain was agreed on; but, about an hundred and forty or an hundred and fifty years after the death of *Alexander the Great*, they began to say, that *Rome* was built a second time by *Romulus*, in the fifteenth age after the destruction of *Troy*. By ages they meant the reigns of the *Latins* at *Alba*, and reckoned the first fourteen reigns at about four hundred and thirty-two years, and the following reigns of the seven kings of *Rome*, at two hundred and forty-four years; both which numbers made up the time of about six hundred and seventy-six years from the taking of *Troy*, according to those chronologers; but are much too long for the course of nature: and by this reckoning they placed the building of *Rome* upon the sixth or the seventh *Olympiad*. *Varro* placed it on the first year of the seventh *Olympiad*; and was therein generally followed by the *Romans*. But this can scarce be reconciled to the course of nature; for I do not meet with any instance in all history, since chro-

nology was certain, wherein seven kings, most of whom were slain, reigned two hundred and forty-four years, in continual succession. The fourteen reigns of the kings of the *Latins*, at twenty years apiece, one with another, amount to two hundred and eighty years; and these counted from the taking of *Troy*, and in the thirty-eighth *Olympiad*; and the seven reigns of the kings of *Rome*, four or five of them being slain, and one deposed, may, at a moderate reckoning, amount to fifteen or sixteen years apiece, one with another. Let them be reckoned at seventeen years apiece, and they will amount to an hundred and nineteen years; which, being counted backwards from the refuge, end also in the thirty-eighth *Olympiad*: and by these two reckonings *Rome* was built in the thirty-eighth *Olympiad*, or thereabout. The two hundred and eighty years, and the hundred and nineteen years, together, make up three hundred and ninety-nine years; and the same number of years arises by counting the twenty-and-one reigns at nineteen years apiece: and this being the whole time between the taking of *Troy* and the refuge, let these years be counted backward from the refuge, an. 1. *Olymp.* 68. and they will place the taking of *Troy* about seventy-four years after the death of *Solomon* (7). The death of *Solomon* Sir *Isaac* places nine hundred and seventy-nine years before Christ: so that the taking of *Troy* by the *Greeks*,

(7) Sir *Isaac Newton's* chron. p. 128.

## C H A P. III.

*The consular State of Rome, from the Beginning of that Government to the Burning of the City by the Gauls.*

**R**OME enjoyed a profound peace in the beginning of the new government. The army which had served under Tarquin before Ardea, being returned to the city, the consuls, suspecting they might preserve some inclination for their general, called them together in the *Campus Martius*; and, after having exhorted them to concord, they caused the decree which was passed against the Tarquins, to be renewed in their presence. After this, the consuls, standing before the altars on which the entrails of the victims had been offered, took an oath, in the name of their children, and all their posterity, that they would never replace either Tarquin, or his sons, or any of his family, on the throne, nor create any other king of Rome, nor suffer any to be elected. Then the consuls made the people take the same oath; and proceeded, after that solemn ceremony was over, to the election of a *rex sacrorum*, when *Manius Papirius*, a man of patrician extraction, was by the suffrages of the people raised the first to that dignity. The consuls, having now nothing to fear from the people, who were restored to all their antient rights, employed their thoughts about securing the senators, among whom *Valerius* had great interest. He had expected to be named consul at the first election; and the preference which the people gave to *Collatinus*, had displeased him to such a degree, that he had absented himself from the senate, and public affairs; inasmuch that he began to be suspected of favouring the banished king: but the public apprehension ceased, when he appeared in the senate on the day appointed for the senators to take the same oath which the people had taken. He then signalized anew his love for liberty, and swore the first, that he would never favour the pretensions of the Tarquins, nor suffer them, or any other, ever to reign at Rome.

<sup>a</sup> DION. HAL. l. v. p. 277, 278. LIV. l. ii. c. 1, 2.

after which *Aeneas* began his voyages, will be about nine hundred and five years before Christ: and as he makes the building of Carthage by *Dido* to be eight hundred and eighty-three before the christian æra, there are, accord-

ing to him, little more than twenty years between these two last-mentioned events. This computation clears *Virgil* from that monstrous anachronism of near three hundred years, with which he has been so often reproached.

The inhabitants of  
Tarquinii  
send an  
embassy to  
Rome,  
in favour  
of the  
Tarquins.

THUS Rome was in tranquillity at home ; but Tarquin was raising her many enemies abroad. He had made Tarquinii in *Hebruria* his place of residence, and prevailed upon the inhabitants to send an embassy to Rome, with a letter from him to the senate, demanding that it might be read to the people assembled in the comitia. But *Valerius* strenuously opposed so dangerous a proceeding, and by his interest in the senate defeated the first attempt of the artful Tarquin. As this body of the new commonwealth was above all others concerned to exclude kings, by whom they had been kept in a state of dependence, the consuls thought it necessary to restore the senate to its antient majesty, and to gain the respect of the people, as well by the number of the senators as by their dignity. With this view the antient number of three hundred was once more completed, the vacant places being filled up by men of prudence and interest, chosen from among the Roman knights. These new senators were called *conscripti* ; that is, persons written or enrolled on the same list ; for they were added to the old senators.

BUT though Tarquin himself was hated both by the people and patricians, yet his sons had a great number of young debauchees in their interest. The Tarquins, building their hopes on these young noblemen, who regretted the loss of their companions, and the supporters of their extravagance, prevailed with the *Tarquinienſes* to send a second embassy to Rome, under pretence of demanding the estates of the exiles, but in reality to stir up a faction against the consuls. The ambassadors, being admitted into the senate, spoke with great modesty and reserve ; they only desired, that the king might have his paternal estate restored to him, that at least which had been transmitted to him by his grandfather *Tarquinius Priscus*, who had deserved no ill treatment at their hands. *Collatinus* was for complying with the demand, since the king promised, in case it was complied with, never to attempt the recovery of the kingdom by force of arms. But *Brutus* opposed the demand, thinking it no good policy to furnish an enemy with money, which, without all doubt, would be employed against themselves. The affair being at last referred to the people, it was carried by one vote in the comitia, that the Tarquins should be put in possession of their paternal estates <sup>b</sup>.

The  
ambassadors  
engage

WHILE the people were employed in loading carriages with the effects of the exiles, and selling what could not be carried off, the ambassadors laid hold of that opportunity to engage

<sup>b</sup> DION. HAL. *ibid.* p. 278—288. LIV. l. ii. c. 3. 5. PLUT. in Poplic.

some young noblemen in a plot against the consuls. Among <sup>some of the</sup> these were three of the *Aquilian* family, the sons of *Collatinus's* young <sup>young</sup> *patrician* sister, and two *Vitellii*, whose sister *Brutus* had married. The latter engaged in the same conspiracy *Titus* and *Tiberius*, the <sup>a plot.</sup> two sons of *Brutus*. The conspirators met at the house of the *Aquili*; and there the resolution of putting the consuls to death, and letting the *Tarquins* into the city by night, was taken, in the presence of the ambassadors. They all bound themselves by solemn oaths, with the detestable ceremony of drinking the blood of a murdered man, and swearing over his trembling bowels, that they would do all that lay in their power to destroy the consuls, and restore the king. After the ceremony was over, each of them wrote a letter to the king, as an authentic proof of their zeal for his interest, and put them into the hands of his ambassadors. But, in spite of all the precaution used by the conspirators to keep the secret from their servants, *Vindicius*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Vindex*, a slave of the *Aquili*, suspecting his masters design, staid at the door of the apartment, and, through a crevice, saw all the mysteries of the conspiracy. However, he was afraid to disclose the secret to either of the consuls, apprehending, that *Brutus*, to save his sons, and *Collatinus*, to secure the lives of his nephews, might think fit to destroy the single evidence of their crime. He went therefore straight to *P. Valerius*, whose house was always open to the meanest of the people, and un-<sup>The plot</sup>burdened his mind to him. *Valerius* took the slave under his <sup>discovered.</sup> protection; and, having shut him up in a room, under the care of his wife, he went out, attended by his friends, clients, and domestics, whom he divided into two bands; one he posted, under the conduct of his brother *M. Valerius*, at the entrance of the house of the *Aquili*; while he himself, with a strong guard, entered the apartment of the ambassadors, who lodged in the same house, and there found and seized the letters, which the conspirators had written the night before. As he was coming out, he met the *Aquili*; who, being surprised to see him, and suspecting that their letters were seized, endeavoured to force them from him. But all their endeavours were in vain; for *Valerius* not only kept them, but, with the assistance of his attendants, took all the heads of the conspiracy prisoners. *M. Valerius*, his brother, had also the good luck to intercept other letters concealed among some cloaths, which the domestics of the *Aquili* were carrying away.

EARLY the next morning the people were summoned to the comitia, where *Brutus* and his colleague sat on the tribunal of justice. The prisoners, being brought before their judges,



were, one after another, tied to stakes, with their hands bound behind them. This was so melancholy a sight, that the people could scarce refrain from tears, when they beheld, in that condition, the sons of *Brutus*, whom they looked upon as their deliverer. The minds of the multitude were in suspense about the sentence, which the consuls were to pronounce, the one against his sons, the other against his nephews. But *Brutus*, without betraying the least concern, began the tryal with the examination of his sons. *Vindicius* appeared against them; and his testimony was found unanswerable. Then *Brutus* ordered the letters to be read, which his sons had written to the *Tarquins*. The proof being clear, the prisoners made no defence; but with their tears. *Titus*, said he, speaking boldly to the two prisoners, without calling them sons, and you, *Tiberius*, what have you to offer in your favour? They were thrice called upon to make their defence; but tears were still their only answer. Upon which, the greater part of the senators were moved with compassion, and a confused murmur was heard among them, *Banish them; banish them.* *Collatinus* wept; and *Valerius*, severe as he was, did not utter a single word. This favourable disposition gave the two guilty youths some hopes; but the whole assembly trembled, and expected the decision with horror.

*Brutus  
condemns  
his sons to  
death.*

As the two criminals offered nothing in their defence, *Brutus* at length rose up to give sentence: upon which ensued a profound silence, every one present being concerned for the young men, as for their own children. But *Brutus*, with a steady voice, not interrupted by a single sigh, turning to the lictors, who were the executioners, *To you, lictors*, said he, *I deliver them; execute the law upon them.* At these words, a loud shriek was heard in the assembly; distress shewed itself in every face; and the mournful looks of the people pleaded for pity; but, the consul shewing no regard to their tears, the whole assembly cried out with one voice, *We give them back to their country, and to their family.* But neither these intercessions, nor the bitter lamentations of the young men, who called upon their father with the most endearing names, could soften the inflexible judge: he would not even abate of the punishment, which was, in such cases, inflicted on the greatest criminals. The lictors seized them; and, having stripped them naked, and tied their hands behind them, they first beat them with rods, and then struck off their heads, *Brutus* all the while gazing on the bloody spectacle with a steady look, and unaltered countenance. When this execution was over, *Brutus* came down from the tribunal, quitted the comitia, and left the rest of the criminals to the discretion of his colleague<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> *DION. HAL. & PLUT. ibid. Liv. l. ii. c. 5.*

COLLATINUS, inclined to spare his nephews, allowed them one day to clear themselves; and even ordered, that *Vindicius* should be taken out of the hands of the accusers, and delivered up to his masters. This roused the zeal of *Valerius*, who had promised to protect the evidence. The lictors attempted in vain to force the important witness from him; and the people called for *Brutus*, insisting upon his coming back to the comitia. The unfortunate father had had but a few minutes to recollect himself, and secretly bewail the misfortunes of his family. However, he appeared again with the same firmness of mind he had shewn before; and, ascending the tribunal, told the multitude, that what he had done was by virtue of his paternal authority over his children; but that, for the rest of the delinquents, it belonged to them to determine their fate, and either condemn his severity by instances of lenity, or approve his firmness by examples of justice.

THUS three articles of great importance to the rising commonwealth were left to the decision of the curia; to wit, 1. What punishment should be inflicted on the rest of the conspirators. 2. What punishment the ambassadors of the *Tarquinienses* had deserved. 3. What reward should be given to the discoverer of the conspiracy. As to the first, they determined, that the conspirators should, without exception, suffer as rebels; which decree was accordingly executed. As to the second, *But they* the ambassadors were spared, out of respect to the law of nations. In the third place, it was decreed, that *Vindicius* should enjoy that liberty, which he had secured to the Romans (A); and

(A) It is commonly believed, that the Latin phrase, *vindicare in libertatem*, that is, *to set free*, had its rise from the name of *Vindicius*. Some indeed derive it from the word *vindicta*, which signifies a wand, with which the prætor used to strike the slave, whose master had a mind to set him at liberty. But, in all likelihood, the *vindicta*, or wand itself, took its name from *Vindicius*. The ceremony of granting freedoms publicly was thus performed: the slave was brought before the consul, and, in after-ages, before the prætor, by his master; who, laying his hand

upon his slave's head, said to the prætor, *Hunc hominum liberum esse volo*, "I desire this man may be made free;" and, with that, took him by the hand, and immediately let go his hold; whence came the Latin word *manumissio*, and the phrase *e manu exutere*. Then he gave him a blow on the cheek, and presented him to the consul or prætor; who, striking him gently with his *vindicta* or wand, pronounced these words, *Aio te liberum esse more Quiritium*, "I pronounce thee free according to the custom of the Romans." Hence *Perfusus*,

*Vindicta postquam meus a prætore recessi.*

When,

and besides, that he should be rewarded with all the privileges of a *Roman* citizen, and with twenty-five thousand ascs of brass, to be paid him out of the public treasury. And now, though the people had formerly decreed, that the estates of the *Tarquins* should be restored to them, the senate refused to the declared enemies of *Rome* those means, which they designed to make use of for its destruction; so that their palace, with its beautiful portico, was destroyed, and their lands distributed among those indigent citizens, who had none of their own. The public kept only a piece of ground lying between the city and the *Tiber*, and bordering on the *Campus Martius*, which the king had, by an incroachment on the city, added to his demesnes, and cultivated for his own profit. This piece of ground was consecrated to *Mars*, and became afterwards a common field, where the *Roman* youth exercised themselves in running and wrestling. After the field was consecrated, the *Romans* scrupled making any advantage of the corn, which they found ready reaped to their hands; and therefore threw it, together with the trees which inclosed the field, into the *Tiber*. The water being at that time very low, the trees, and sheaves of corn, stopping in a muddy place, began to form

When, dubb'd a freeman by the prætor's wand,  
I walk'd at large, and at my own command.

This ceremony being ended, the slave was registred upon the roll of freed-men. Then he was shaved, and received a cap, in token of his liberty. But this ceremony of taking the cap was performed in the temple of *Feronia*, the goddess of freed-men. In this temple there was a seat of stone, with this inscription,

*Benemeriti servi sedeant, surgant liberi.*

Be seated, worthy slaves, while freemen stand.

The *pileus*, or cap, was among the *Romans*, as is well known, a symbol of liberty. Another way of conferring freedom was by testament: a slave was said to be free by testament, when his master, in consideration of his faithful service, had left him free by his last will. This kind of *liberti*, or freed-men, were stiled *orcini*, because their masters were gone to *orcus*, or the infernal regions.

In allusion to this custom, those senators were merrily distinguished by the name of *senatores orcini*, who, upon the death of *Julius Cæsar*, thrust themselves into the senate, without any just claim to the senatorial dignity (1). From these two manners of conferring freedom came the *Latin* expressions, *liber manumissione*, *liber testamento*.

(1) *Sust. in Orat. c. 35.*

that island, which, from the many temples built on it, was afterwards called the *Holy island* (B).

In the mean time, the weakness which *Collatinus* had be-<sup>Brutus</sup>trayed at the tryal of the conspirators, had turned the suspi-<sup>sirs up the</sup>cions, which the people entertained of him, into hatred. *Brutus*, observing this, took advantage of the disposition of the <sup>people a-</sup>multitude to get him deposed. In a numerous assembly of the <sup>gainst Col-</sup>latinus, he made a speech, in which he bitterly inveighed against him, as if he had attempted the destruction of that liberty, which his honour obliged him to defend. He ended his harangue with these words: *His soliciting you to restore to the enemies of Rome their estates, and to grant impunity to cruel conspirators, have unmasked a partisan of the Tarquins concealed under the appearance of a consul. Let us prevent, O Romans, the evils, which a domestic enemy is preparing for us. Let us deprive him of that authority, which he abuses, and wrest that sword out of his hand, with which he threatens us. In my judgment, he ought to be deposed. I therefore order you to assemble by curiæ, to determine by your suffrages, whether Collatinus or Brutus is to be your consul. You cannot have both; for I, from this moment, renounce the consulship, if Collatinus is to share the government with me.* These words made so deep an impression on the minds of the multitude, that they would not hear *Collatinus*, when he began to speak in his own defence. His only resource was to forbid the people, by virtue of his authority as consul, to hold the assembly, which his colleague had appointed; but this prohibition was a new provocation, which raised the indignation of the people to such an height, that they cried out to have their votes instantly taken; and were going to depose *Collatinus* with ignominy, and banish him by a public decree. But *Spurius Lucretius* his father-in-law, having obtained leave of the consuls to speak to the assembly, advised *Collatinus* voluntarily to resign into the hands of the people that authority, which he had received from them. Then he exhorted *Brutus* not to insist on the disgraceful banishment of a colleague, who, jointly with him, had been one of the principal authors of the common liberty; adding, that, if *Collatinus*

• DION. HAL. & PLUT. *ibid.* LIV. l. v.

(B) The Romans built several temples on the island, particularly three frequently spoken of by the antients; to wit, one dedicated to *Faunus*; another to *Jupiter*; and the third to *Æsculapius*, which was a very magnificent

structure. From these temples, it was called the *Sacred island*. It was joined to the city, and to the *Janiculum*, by two bridges; whence it took the name of the *Island of the two bridges*.

should,

should, of his own accord, divest himself of the consulship, it would be but reasonable, that the *Romans* should mitigate the uneasiness of his voluntary retirement by their liberality, so as to enable him to support the dignity of a *Roman* consul in his retirement. This advice was received with universal applause.

**Collat.** *Collatinus* resigned the consulship; and *Brutus*, after having *forced* commended his wisdom, to shew that he had no personal enmity to him, procured him a present of twenty talents out of the public treasury, to which he added five talents of his own. *Collatinus* retired to *Lavinium*, where he led a quiet life, and died in a very advanced age <sup>f</sup> (C).

**P. Val.** *Brutus*, that the people might have no room for suspect, that he intended to govern singly, immediately assembled the people by centuries in the *Campus Martius*, for the election of a new consul, when *Publius Valerius* was chosen, a man remarkable for his eloquence, for the talent of reconciling differences, an excessive abstemiousness, severity to himself, and

<sup>f</sup> *DION. HAL. p. 286. LIV. l. ii. c. 2. PLUT. ibid.*

(C) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* differs in his account of this whole matter from *Plutarch*, whom we have followed, thinking his relation of these transactions more agreeable to the temper of *Brutus*. The former writer tells us, that *Brutus*, immediately after the execution of his children, caused the *Aquilii* to be brought before him, and gave them leave to make their defence; and that they, after their letters were read aloud, having recourse to tears and intreaties only, owned the crimes that were laid to their charge: whereupon the inflexible *Brutus* ordered the lictors to seize them, and execute the law upon them. *Collatinus* suspended the execution, and made the warmest remonstrances in favour of the conspirators; but, being piqued at the obstinacy of *Brutus*, he had recourse to his authority, and pardoned the criminals. This so exasperated *Brutus*, that he committed the *Aquilii* to pri-

son, in spite of the opposition of his colleague; and accused him before the people of treason and perfidiousness. *Collatinus*, finding the people obstinately bent against him, and those whose defence they had undertaken, thought he could no longer exercise the office of consul with dignity, and therefore abdicated. *Brutus*, upon his abdication, put all those to death, who had been any-ways concerned in the conspiracy. *Livy* says, that *Collatinus* was obliged to lay down the consulship for no other reason, but because he had the misfortune to be descended from the *Tarquins*. The same author places the conspiracy of the *Vitellii* and *Aquilii* in the consulship of *Brutus* and *Valerius*, after *Collatinus* was deposed; but therein he is contradicted both by *Plutarch*, and *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, who place the circumstances of the conspiracy in the order we have related them.

compassion for the miseries of other men (D). As the two consuls were equally eminent for their love of virtue, and of the public good, there was a perfect harmony between them. They began their administration by passing a law, which granted a general amnesty to all those, who had followed the fortune of the *Tarquins*, provided they returned to the city within twenty days. This wise precaution deprived the banished king of a great number of friends and soldiers, and brought back to *Rome* many persons of eminent parts. However, *Tarquin* was not so discouraged by the desertion of the *Romans*, as to lose all hopes of recovering the kingdom, and getting, by force, what he could not carry by stratagem: he had recourse to the *Veientes*, the old enemies of *Rome*; and, having engaged them, and the *Tarquinienses*, to unite their forces in the support of his cause, he advanced towards *Rome*. The consuls, without delay, marched out to meet him: *Brutus* commanded the horse, and *Valerius* the foot, drawn up in a square battalion. When the two armies were in sight of each other, a motion was made on both sides to begin the onset. *Brutus* advanced with his cavalry; and *Arunx*, one of *Tarquin's* sons, at the same time, came forward, at the head of the enemy's horse. *Arunx* no sooner discovered *Brutus* attended with lictors, but, inflamed with rage, he cried out, *There he is, the enemy of my family, the usurper of my father's throne*. This said, he pushed on his horse; and *Brutus* flew to meet him. As the two champions were hurried on more by hatred and rage, than the love of glory, passion left no room on either side for skill or precaution: they rushed on to the encounter with such fury, that they were both run through

\* DION. HAL. p. 288—292.

(D) *Valerius* was originally a *Sabine*, and still preserved that austerity of manners, which was professed in the country of his ancestors. The first of his family, who settled at *Rome*, was *Valerius Volesus*, or, as *Festus* and the *fasti Capitolini* call him, *Vclusus*. *Plutarch* gives him the honour of negotiating the peace between *Romulus* and *Tatius*. *Valerius Volesus*, the father of *P. Valerius*, left him a great estate, the best part of which he applied to the relief of the indigent in the time of the kings, when his liberality

could not proceed from any hopes of preferment. He was a man of great eloquence, considering the rusticity of the *Romans* in those days; but is said never to have made use of the art of persuasion, but to defend the oppressed, as he made no other use of his great wealth, but to relieve the miserable. However, he was not free from ambition, and had taken it very much amiss, that the people, in the former election, had preferred to him one of the blood of the *Tarquins*.

the

**Brutus** the body: Their horses, meeting each other with a violent shock, threw their dying riders; and the death of these generals was the prelude to the battle, which continued till night, with dubious success, it not being known in either camp which side had gained the victory, or which had lost the greater number of men; but, in the night, the *Hetrurians*, being terrified by a voice, which was heard out of the neighbouring wood of *Arsia*, declaring the *Romans* conquerors (without doubt a stratagem of *Valerius*), abandoned their camp in great confusion, disbanded, and returned into their own country. Hereupon *Valerius*, remaining master of the field, plundered the enemy's camp; and, having caused the slain to be numbered, found, that the *Hetrurians* had lost eleven thousand three hundred men; and the *Romans* but one man short of that number <sup>h</sup>.

The *Hetrurians* retire to their own country.

**Valerius** triumphs. **Honours** paid to **Brutus** after his death.

**Valerius** suspected by the people.

For this victory *Valerius* triumphed on his return to the city, after a more magnificent manner than any before him. Soon after, he buried his colleague *Brutus* with great pomp; and gave *Rome* the first example of those funeral orations, which were after made in commendation of great men. The women distinguished themselves on this occasion; for, looking upon *Brutus* as the avenger of the honour of their sex, they mourned for him a whole year (E). As *Valerius* deferred for some time convening the centuries for the election of a new consul, the *Romans*, who carried their love of liberty to an excess, began to put a bad construction upon his delays; and their jealousy was, in some measure, countenanced by his building at that time a fine house, on a steep part of the hill *Palatinus*, which commanded the forum. But *Valerius*, being informed of their uneasiness, caused the house to be leveled

<sup>h</sup> Idem ibid.

(E) *Brutus* is deservedly counted, by all the antients, among the most illustrious heroes we find mentioned in history. He restored liberty to his country, secured it with the blood of his own sons, and died in defending it against an usurper. The *Romans* looked upon him as a second founder of their city, and owned, that he had undergone more hardships and dangers in establishing the commonwealth, than *Romulus* had done in founding the kingdom. The *Romans*

afterwards erected his statue in the capitol, where he was placed in the midst of the kings of *Rome*, with a naked sword in his hand. It plainly appears, that he left no issue; and yet *Tully* mentions *Lucius Brutus*, one of the chief conspirators against *Cæsar*, as lineally descended from the first consul; but herein he is contradicted by most of the antients, who tell us, that *Junius Brutus* left no children behind him.

with

with the ground the very next night; and, having called the people together as soon as it was day, he expostulated with them about their groundless suspicions, bid them go see the ruins of that building which had given them umbrage, and told them, that he designed to fix his habitation in the valley, that they might, from the top of the hill, crush him with stones, if he was still the object of their jealousy. When he had ended his speech, he ordered the comitia to assemble for the election of a new consul<sup>1</sup>. On this occasion, Rome gave a fresh proof of her gratitude to the first authors of her liberty; for *Sp. Lucretius*, the father of *Lucretia*, was unanimously chosen to succeed *Brutus*. He was the only person who remained unrewarded of the four patricians, who had bound themselves, by oath, to deliver their country from slavery: he was therefore pitched upon for the consular dignity. But the new consul died a few days after his election; so that *Valerius* was once more sole governor. And now the many proofs, *Valerius* which he gave the people of his zeal for their interest, gained <sup>gets the</sup> him the name of *Poplicola*, or *Popular*; which he ever after re- <sup>name of</sup> tained. He began his administration by ordering the axes, *Poplicola*, which were so apt to strike terror, to be taken out of the <sup>or Popu-</sup> fasces, which he obliged the lictors to lower in the assemblies <sup>lar.</sup> of the people. He made several laws in favour of the people, <sup>His laws</sup> which greatly retrenched the consular power: by one he allowed <sup>in favour</sup> an appeal from the consuls to the people: by another he ex- <sup>of the</sup> empted artificers, widows, and old men, who had no children <sup>people.</sup> to relieve them, from paying tribute: a third law prescribed an absolute submission to the orders of the consuls; but limited the fine laid upon those, who disobeyed them, to the value of five oxen, and two rams. He also published a fourth, making it lawful to kill, without waiting for a legal condemnation, any person who should aspire to the sovereign power. Impunity was promised to the murderer, provided he could prove the ill designs of the person he had killed. The last law he enacted was with relation to the public money, which he ordered to be removed from his own house to the temple of *Saturn*, where it was committed to the care of two senators of probity, chosen by the people, and afterwards called *quæstors* <sup>k (F).</sup> *Poplicola*

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid. p. 292. LIV. l. ii. c. 7. PLUT. in Poplic. p. 102.

<sup>k</sup> LIV. l. ii. c. 7, & 8. DION. HAL. l. v. p. 292. PLUT. in Poplic. p. 102, 103.

(F) According to *Plutarch*, that of the consul's, or rather a branch of it. But *Ulpian*, on the contrary, pretends, and quotes several authors to support his opinion,



*Poplicola* had no sooner enacted these laws, and made several other regulations very advantageous for the people, but he

nion, that there were quaestors even in *Tullus Hostilius's* reign. To reconcile these two opinions, it is to be observed, that the name of quaestors among the Romans had two different significations: sometimes it signified commissioners, by whom capital crimes were cognizable, and sometimes magistrates, who were put in commission for managing the public money. *Ulpian* might speak of the former sort of quaestors, as being in the time of the kings; and *Plutarch* of the other, which was introduced by *Poplicola* in the time of the commonwealth. The office of the quaestors was to take care of the public treasure, for which they were accountable when their year was out (for their office lasted no longer); to furnish the necessary sums for the service of the public; and to receive ambassadors, attend them, and provide them with lodgings, and other necessaries. When the army returned from any war, the military ensigns were put into their hands, to be deposited by them in the temple of *Saturn*. A general could not obtain the honours of a triumph, till he had given them a faithful account of the spoils taken from the enemy, and sworn to it. Though the quaestors had no jurisdiction, that is, could not cite any person to appear before them, or imprison a man, and might be summoned to appear before the praetor; *Neque vocationem, neque prehensionem habebant, atque ad praetorem in jus vocari poterant*, says *Aulus*

*Gellius* (2); yet the most illustrious patricians, and even those who had been consuls, did not think this office beneath them. We find in the antient annals, that *Titus Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *M. Valerius*, were quaestors, after they had enjoyed the honour of the consulship three times. *Cato* the elder accepted the quaestorship after he had triumphed, and discharged the first and most honourable employments of the republic. There were at first two quaestors only, and those of the patrician order; but, as their business increased, it was thought advisable to create two more, whose province was confined to the paying of the armies abroad, and the telling of the plunder and booty. When this regulation came to be passed into a law by the people, the tribunes insisted, that it should not pass, but upon condition, that two of the four quaestors should be plebeians. This the senate and consuls opposed at first; but were at length obliged to yield to the demands of the tribunes. These new quaestors were called *quaestores consulares*, *nitivores*, and *peregrini*. They attended the Roman armies, paid the troops, and sold the spoils and prisoners taken from the enemy. The other quaestors were called *quaestores aerarii* and *urbani*, because they were quaestors of the treasury, and resided at Rome. In the last consulship of *Fabius Gurgus*, that is, about the year of Rome 488, the great increase of the republic

(2) *Aul. G. l. l. xii. c. 13.*

assembled the comitia for the election of a new consul, which he had deferred, only because he apprehended, that a colleague might

caused the number of the quæstors to be doubled. The new ones were called *provinciæ quæstors*; and each of them had his province where he resided; those parts of *Italy*, which were subject to *Rome*, being divided into four large provinces or districts. The provincial quæstors were afterwards multiplied, in proportion as the republic enlarged her conquests. The *militari quæstors*, and the *urbani*, or those who resided in *Rome*, had neither curule chairs, nor lictors, nor *apparitores*, nor any other marks of distinction annexed to their office; nay, they were obliged to appear before the prætor, when summoned by the meanest of the citizens; but the provincial quæstors, to increase the state of the *Roman* people, were allowed to appear in their provinces with the *prætexta*, and guarded by lictors with their fasces. This is plain from several passages in *Tully*. In his third oration against *Verres*, *The two Sicilian quæstors*, says he, *came before me with their fasces*; and, in his oration for *Plancius*, he acknowledges it as a favour, that *Plancius*, tho' then quæstor, came to receive him at *Dyrrhachium* without his lictors, and the usual marks of his dignity. The office of the provincial quæstors was to take the same care of the revenues of the provinces, which the *quæstores æarii* had of the revenues at *Rome*. They were particularly concerned in all cases relating to provisions; and no contract for corn could be made without them. The four pro-

vincial quæstorships were sought for by the most ambitious, before *Rome* had extended her conquests beyond *Italy*; but when she had brought the east and west under subjection, and great kingdoms were become so many provinces, the four *Italian* ones began to be despised. The præconuls and prætors, that is, the governors of those provinces and kingdoms, had each his quæstor to take care of the revenues; and then the quæstorships of the large and distant provinces were most greedily sought for by those who were qualified to stand candidates for them. They were there out of the sight of the senate, and sometimes in rich governments, where they could raise more money, and were more honoured and respected: for this reason, when the quæstors drew lots in the presence of the *Roman* tribes for the quæstorships, the person, to whom any of the *Italian* ones fell, became the jest of the people. *He goes to the waters*, said the people; meaning, that he was going to live quietly near *Rome*, as those *Romans* did, who went to *Baiæ* or *Puteoli* for the waters. Some think that this proverb alludes to the office of the *Italian* quæstors, who were often obliged to go to the seaports to collect the imposts the republic had laid on exported goods. The quæstors were first chosen by the people, and afterwards by the consuls, the quæstorship being originally a branch of their office. In *Tully's* time they were again chosen by the

might possibly oppose his design of diminishing the consular power. The choice fell upon *Horatius Pulvillus*; and a few months after his election, the first year of the consular power being expired, *Poplicola* was chosen again, and with him was joined *T. Lucretius*, the brother of the famous *Lucretia*. The new consuls revived the census and the lustrum, and, on that occasion, found one hundred and thirty thousand men in *Rome*, who were at, or past, the age of puberty<sup>1</sup>.

*Porfena*  
king of  
Clusium  
espouses  
the cause  
of the  
Tarquins.  
Year of  
the flood  
1844.  
Bef. Chr.  
504.  
Of Rome  
244.

IN the mean while *Poplicola's* second consulship being expired, he was chosen a third time, and with him *Horatius Pulvillus*, who had before been consul for a few months. During their consulship, *Porfena* king of the *Clusines* of the twelve nations of *Hetruria*, being gained by the great promises of *Tarquin*, espoused his cause, and, at the head of a prodigious, but somewhat confused multitude of *Hetrurians*, advanced to the banks of the *Tiber*. The first post he attacked was the fort of the *Janiculum*, of which he made himself master, obliging the *Romans* to retire over the bridge into the city. This first shock put them into confusion; but the consuls, encouraging their men, made them pass the river with the utmost expedition, and drew them up in order of battle beyond the bridge, to secure the pass. Hereupon *Porfena* advanced to engage them. The victory was long doubtful; but *M. Valerius*, *Poplicola's* brother, and *T. Lucretius*, who were at the head of the left wing, being both wounded, and carried out of the field, a general terror seized the *Roman* army. *Horatius Cocles*, a brave *Roman*, having endeavoured in vain to rally the terrified legions, resolved rather to die, than abandon his post; and being joined by *Sp. Lartius*, and *T. Herminius*,

The remarkable  
bravery of

<sup>1</sup> DION. HAL. l. v. p. 304. PLUT. ibid. p. 104. LIV. l. i. c. 8.

people in the comitia by tribes; of which more hereafter. The office of quæstor, tho' often discharged by persons who had been consuls, was the first step to great employments. None could stand for the quæstorship till they attained to a certain age; but to determine the exact age the laws required, is no easy matter. Some pretend, that none could undertake this office till they were twenty-seven, and quote *Polybius* in favour of their opinion; for that author writes (3),

that the quæstorship was not to be obtained till after ten years service in the army; and the *Romans* usually entered into the army at the age of seventeen. Others think, that the age fixed by the law was twenty-four or twenty-five. In process of time, when honours were obtained by intrigues and favour, these laws were neglected; for *Cæsar* and *Pollio* were quæstors, as *Quintilian* informs us (4), long before they were of the age the law required.

(3) *Polyb.* l. vi.

(4) *Quintil.* l. xii.

nus, these three heroes placed themselves in the narrow pass, Horatius which led to the bridge; and there, calling out to the Romans Cocles, to break it down, valiantly opposed the enemy, till the demolition of the bridge was near completed. Then Horatius, having prevailed upon his companions to cross the river on a few planks which remained, sustained for some time alone the attack of the enemy. At length, being wounded in the thigh, upon a signal given him that the bridge was quite demolished, he leaped into the river, and gained the opposite bank, through a shower of darts. Thus, by the wonderful bravery of one man, were the city and republic saved from impending ruin. The whole city was so sensible of this, that they all hastened to pay their acknowledgements to their deliverer. They crowned him at his arrival, carried him on their arms from the place where he landed into the city, and erected a statue of brass to him in the temple of *Vulcan*. The senate gave him as much land as one plough could inclose within a circular furrow in one day; and tho' there was a great scarcity in *Rome*, yet the inhabitants, to the number of three hundred thousand, assented themselves to make him a present of as much provisions as each of them consumed in a day. However, as Horatius had but one eye, whence he was surnamed *Cocles*, and continued lame the remaining part of his life, these defects prevented his ever being elected consul<sup>m</sup>.

As *Porfena* was master of the country on both sides the river, it was very difficult to find provisions for so great a number of inhabitants. A famine therefore began to be felt, The city and many of the indigent populace, who, in such cases, are reduced to the first sufferers, went to seek bread in the enemy's camp; great but the consuls kept up the courage of the best citizens, by *streights* assuring them, that a convoy of corn would soon arrive in the camp from *Pometia*: and their expectations were not disappointed; many boats loaded with corn safely entered the port of *Rome* in the night. But in a short time the city was again reduced to great *streights*; which *Porfena*, having notice of, sent the Romans word, that he would deliver them from the hunger they suffered, if they would receive their old masters; but they, notwithstanding their present distress, returned this answer, *That hunger was a less evil than slavery and oppression*<sup>n</sup>.

In the mean time the consuls formed a scheme for drawing the enemy into an ambuscade; and for that purpose spread at *Rome* a report, which was soon carried into the *Hetrurian*

<sup>m</sup> LIV. l. ii. c. 9, 10. DION. HAL. l. v. p. 293—296.

<sup>n</sup> DION. HAL. *ibid*.

*The desperate enter-  
prize, and  
wonderful  
resolution,  
of Mucius  
Scaevola.*

camp by the slaves who deserted, that the next day all the cattle brought thither from the country, would be sent to graze in the fields under a guard. This bait drew the enemy into an ambush, in which five thousand of them were cut in pieces: but, notwithstanding this, and some other small advantages, Rome was almost wearied out with so long a siege, when *Mucius Cordus*, a young Roman, of an illustrious birth, formed a design, which raised the courage of the people. He prevailed upon the consuls to consent to it, and imparted it to the senators, lest his leaving Rome should be looked upon as a desertion; but all he told them was, that he intended to cross the *Tiber*, enter the enemy's camp, and there execute some great exploit. The consuls and senate having encouraged him to undertake any thing in the present deplorable state of Rome, he went out of the city with a poniard under his garment; and, being dressed in an *Hetrurian* habit, entered the enemy's camp undiscovered, mixed with the *Hetrurian* soldiers, whose language he had learned from his infancy, and made his way quite to the king's tent. It happened to be the day on which the troops were all reviewed and paid, and *Porfena's* secretary, magnificently dressed, was sitting on the same tribunal with the king, giving audience, and receiving petitions. *Mucius*, mistaking him for the king, leaped upon the tribunal, and, with one stroke of his poniard, laid him dead at the king's feet. He then attempted to make his escape through the multitude that stood amazed at so bold and unexpected an attempt; but, being seized, and brought back to the tribunal, which he had just stained with blood, *Thou execrable assassin*, said the king, *who art thou? whence comest thou? who are thy accomplices?* To which words, *Mucius*, less terrified than his judge, made this reply; *I am a Roman, and my name is Mucius Cordus. My design was to deliver Rome from her most cruel enemy; discharge therefore all thy fury upon me. Thou hast been an eye-witness of my courage; now try my constancy with tortures; and then thou wilt be forced to confess, that Roman bravery has made me capable both of attempting whatever man can do, and suffering what human nature can endure.* This discourse filled *Porfena* with amazement; but he was still more surprised, when he saw the Roman, with a steady countenance, and a look, which testified his inward rage at having missed his blow, thrust his right hand into a pan of burning coals, and there held it a great while without shewing any signs of pain. So surprising a sight changed the king's resentment into admiration. *Porfena* granted him his life and liberty, and even restored him the dagger, which he had made use of with a design to stab him. *Mucius*, who had now lost

the use of his right hand, took it with his left; and thence had the surname of *Scævola*, that is, *left-handed*.

*Mucius* was in his turn charmed with the generosity of his enemy; but had the presence of mind to invent a story for the service of his country. He pretended to discover to the king a plot, which, he said, was formed at *Rome* against his life by three hundred young *comens*, all as resolute as himself, who were dispersed in the *Hetrurian* camp, and had bound themselves, by the most sacred oaths, to attempt his life one after another, at the same hazard as he had done. *Porfena*, struck with terror at this pretended discovery, as soon as *Mucius* intimidated by the preserving himself from the dangers which threatened him. His friends and counsellors suggested various precautions; but none of them seeming sufficient to remove his uneasiness, his son *Arunx*, a great admirer of the *Roman* virtue, advised him to render all preparations needless, by abandoning the cause of a few exiles, and concluding a peace with the *Romans*. His advice made an impression on *Porfena*; and, as the *Hetrurians* had already begun to complain of the length of the siege, he sent deputies to *Rome*, whose demands shewed, that their master had much abated of his former pretensions; for they did not insist on the restoration of the *Tarquins*, but only on the restitution of their estates, or an equivalent. And, in regard of their own nation, they required the *Romans* to reinstate the *Veientes* in the possession of seven villages, which they had taken from them in former wars. The ambassadors were received at *Rome* with joy; and their demands being heard in the senate, *Poplicola* prevailed upon the senators to comply with them; but the people would not consent to the first article, till *Porfena* had heard the strong reasons they had to offer against it; after which they were willing to leave it to his arbitration. As to the other article, they readily agreed to it, and offered hostages to secure the performance of it. A truce being agreed on, the *Romans* sent their deputies to *Porfena's* camp, to plead their cause against the *Tarquins*, and with them the hostages they had promised, ten young men, and as many virgins, of the most illustrious families in *Rome*.

AMONG these were the sons of *Horatius* the consul, *Valeria* the daughter of *Poplicola*, and the famous *Clodia*. The reception *Porfena* gave the *Roman* envoys, raised the jealousy of the *Tarquins*, who, still retaining their ancient pride, refused to admit *Porfena* for a judge between them and the *Romans*. But the king, without any regard to their opposition, resolved to satisfy himself, by an exact inquiry, whether the

The adventure of Clælia.

protection he had given the *Tarquins* was just. But while the cause was ready to be opened before the *Roman* deputies, news were brought, that the young women, whom the *Romans* had sent as hostages, had ventured to swim cross the *Tiber*, and were returned to *Rome*. They had gone to bathe in the river, and *Clælia* happening to fall; her eyes towards her native city, that fight raised in her desire of returning to it. She therefore ventured to swim cross the river; and, having encouraged her companions to follow her, they all got safe to the opposite shore, and returned to their fathers houses (G). The return of the hostages gave the consul *Poplicola* great uneasiness; he was afraid lest this rash action might be imputed to want of fidelity in the *Romans*. To remove therefore all suspicions, he sent a deputation to the *Hetrurian* camp, assuring the king, that *Rome* had no share in the foolish attempt of the young women; and promising to send them immediately back to the camp from whence they had fled. *Porfena* was easily appeased; but the news of the speedy return of the hostages being known in the camp, the *Tarquins*, without any regard to the truce, or respect to the king their protector, lay in ambush on the road to surprise them. *Poplicola* having put himself at the head of the *Roman* troops who escorted them, sustained the attack of the *Tarquins*, though sudden and unexpected, till his daughter *Valeria* rode full-speed to the *Hetrurian* camp, and gave notice of the danger her father and companions were in; and then *Arunx*, the king's son, flying with a great body of cavalry to their relief, put the aggressors to the rout.

THIS notorious piece of treachery in the *Tarquins* gave *Porfena* strong suspicions of the badness of their cause. He therefore assembled the chief commanders of the *Hetrurians*, and, having heard in their presence the complaints of the *Ro-*

P LIV. l. ii. c. 13.

(G) Authors vary as to the circumstances of this fact; for *Livy* says, that the young women crossed the river in sight of the *Hetrurians*, who lined the shore, and in the midst of the darts which were discharged at them from all parts. *Aurelius Victor* and *Florus* tell us, that *Clælia* having accidentally found an horse, crossed the river on

horseback. *Porfena*, as we have said, presented her with a fine horse; which might give rise to this fable. An equestrian statue was erected to her memory in the *via sacra*, which, according to *Plutarch*, was to be seen in his time (5). *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* says it was consumed by fire.

(5) *Plut. in Poplicol.*

man,

*mans*, and the justification of their proceedings against the *Po Tarquins*, he was so struck with horror at the recital of the crimes the *Tarquins* were charged with, that he immediately ordered them to leave his camp, declaring, that he renounced his alliance with them, and would no longer continue the hospitality he had shewn them. He then commanded the ten young virgins to be brought before him, and inquired, who was the first author, and chief manager, of the enterprize. They all kept silent, till *Clælia* herself, with an air of intrepidity, confessed, that she alone was guilty, and that she had encouraged the others by her advice. Upon this, the king, extolling her resolution above the bravery of *Horatius*, and the intrepidity of *Mucius*, made her a present of a fine horse, with sumptuous furniture. After this he concluded a peace with the *Romans*, and restored to them all their hostages, declaring, that their bare word was to him sufficient security for the performance of the articles.

AND now *Porfena*, being about to return to *Clusum*, gave before his departure, a further testimony of his respect and friendship for the *Romans*. He knew that *Rome* was greatly distressed for want of provisions; but, being afraid to offend the inhabitants by relieving them in a direct manner, he ordered his soldiers to leave behind them their tents and provisions, and to carry nothing with them but their arms. As his camp abounded with all sorts of provisions, *Rome* was hereby much relieved in her wants. The moveables and corn of the *Hetrurians* were sold by auction to private persons; and on this occasion the *Romans* took up the custom of making a proclamation by an herald, whenever any effects belonging to the public were to be sold, in the following words, *These are Porfena's goods*. The design of this was to preserve the memory of that prince's kindness. The senate, not satisfied with this, erected a statue of the king near the comitium, and sent an embassy to him with a present of a throne adorned with ivory, a sceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe.

AFTER the departure of *Porfena*, the *Romans* first rewarded those who had distinguished themselves during the siege, especially *Mucius Scaevola*, to whom they gave a large piece of ground belonging to the public. Their next care was, to shew their gratitude to the gods, by some public act of religion; and as the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* had not yet been consecrated, the senate ordered the consecration of it. It naturally belonged to one of the consuls to perform the

<sup>1</sup> DION. HAL. p. 304. LIV. l. ii. c. 13. PLUT. *ibid.* <sup>2</sup> DION. HAL. p. 303. LIV. l. ii. c. 14. & PLUT. *ibid.*



ceremony; but it was the right of the senate to appoint which of the consuls they pleased. The patricians had been long jealous of the glory, which *Poplicola* had acquired in his three consulships; and therefore, in order to rob him of this mark of distinction, ordered him to march out against some *Latin* troops, that committed ravages in the *Roman* territory; and, in his absence, appointed his colleague *Horatius Pulvillus* to perform the ceremony. As he was beginning the consecration, *Poplicola's* brother, *Marcus*, cried out, *Give you notice, that your son has lost his life in a battle.* This was false; but he hoped by these words to interrupt the ceremony. But *Horatius*, without shewing the least concern, calmly replied, *Then let him be buried;* and finished the consecration. Thus *Poplicola* ended the glorious year of his third consulship with receiving a mortification, which could not but sensibly afflict him. *Spurius Lartius* and *T. Herminius*, who had so valiantly defended the bridge, were chosen consuls for the next year; which proved a year of peace.

The Sabines  
twice de-  
feated.

In the consulship of *M. Valerius*, brother to *Poplicola*, and *P. Posthumius*, who succeeded the above-mentioned consuls, the *Sabines*, invading the *Roman* territories, committed great devastations. Whereupon the two consuls took the field; and, having divided their forces into two bodies, *Posthumius*, with one of them, encamped at a small distance from *Rome*, to prevent a surprize from the *Tarquins*; while *Valerius* posted himself at *Tibur* upon the *Anio*. As the *Sabines* were encamped on the opposite bank, *Valerius*, by the advice of his brother *Poplicola*, crossing the river, offered them battle; which they not declining, a bloody engagement ensued, wherein *Valerius* gained some advantage with his right; but his left being almost pushed into the river, he was very near losing the day, when his colleague, who had notice of the action, coming seasonably to his relief, attacked the enemy in flank, and put them to flight. The *Sabine* troops would have been intirely cut off, if night, coming on, had not given them an opportunity to escape. For this victory the consuls were decreed a triumph, and they both entered *Rome* in the same chariot. *Valerius* is said to have gained the same year a second victory over the *Sabines*, and to have killed thirteen thousand of them, without the loss of one *Roman*. The republic therefore, to reward him according to his merit, built him an house; and, to distinguish it from all others, ordered the door to be so hung, as to open outwards to the street; whereas the doors of all other houses opened inwards. As for

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*Posthumius*, he was allowed to have a burial-place for himself, and his family, within the walls of *Rome*; a privilege never before granted to any <sup>1</sup>.

THE next year, when *Poplicola* was consul the fourth time, *Appius* the *Sabines* renewed the war. *Atius Clausus*, the most eminent man in *Sabinia*, for his riches, valour, and eloquence, first *sittles at* retarded their preparations; by speaking, in all their diets, *Rome*, against a war with *Rome*; and then came over to the *Romans*, with five thousand families of his friends and dependents. On his arrival at *Rome*, he changed his name to *Appius Claudius*, was immediately declared a patrician, and took his place in the senate. Twenty-five acres of land were given him in fee, and a quarter in the city assigned for his friends and followers; to each of which were granted two acres of ground, with all the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens. These donations were made irrevocable by a decree of the senate, confirmed by the suffrages of the people. The family of the *Claudian* became afterwards one of the most illustrious families of *Rome* <sup>2</sup>.

THE *Sabines*, enraged at the departure of *Clausus*, took the field with a very considerable army; and it was very lucky for *Rome*, that they determined to come to a battle before the year of *Poplicola*'s consulship was out. The *Sabine* army was divided into two bodies, one of which encamped in the open field near *Fidenæ*; the other kept within the walls of that city, to guard it, and secure a retreat to the former body, in case they were defeated. On the other hand, the consuls having likewise divided their army into two bodies, marched out against the enemy. *Poplicola* took his post over against the *Sabines*, while *Lucretius*, the other consul, encamped on an eminence within reach of his colleague. The *Romans* were eager to engage immediately, and end the dispute at once by a decisive battle; but the *Sabines*, not daring to venture an engagement in the day-time, resolved to make a sudden attack on the enemy's camp in the dead of the night. With this view they prepared great quantities of fascines to fill up the ditch, and scaling-ladders to mount the ramparts. That body of *Sabines*, which guarded *Fidenæ*, was ordered to march out of the town on the first signal, and, fetching a large compass, to lie in ambush behind *Lucretius*'s camp, in order to surprise it, when *Lucretius* should march to the assistance of his colleague, and then charge him in the rear. But the wise *Poplicola*, receiving timely intelligence of the enemy's designs, instantly dispatched his brother *Marcus* to the other

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. in *Poplic.* PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 15.

<sup>2</sup> LIV. l. ii. c. 16.

camp, to acquaint *Lucretius* with the night-expedition resolved upon by the *Sabines*. Both consuls, having taken the necessary precautions, waited for the enemy, without suffering their troops to shew any marks of suspecting their intentions. The *Sabines* marched silently out of their camp before midnight, and drawing near the *Roman* intrenchments, filled up the ditch with fascines, and passed over to scale the rampart; but, as fast as they advanced to it, they were, without any noise, stabbed by the *Romans*, who were drawn up in the space between the ditch and the rampart. The slaughter continued till the moon rose, when the *Sabines* discovering the dead bodies of their companions, and the *Roman* troops, who had strewed the ground with them without being perceived, betook themselves to a confused flight. The *Romans* pursued them with loud shouts; which being heard by *Lucretius*, he, in his turn, went to attack the body that lay in ambush, and gained a complete victory over them. In this action thirteen thousand *Sabines* were killed on the spot, and four thousand two hundred taken prisoners.

*Fidenæ*  
taken by  
the Ro-  
mans.

*Poplicola*  
dies.  
His cha-  
racter.

*POPPLICOLA*, taking advantage of the enemy's conternation, advanced with all his forces to *Fidenæ*; and having taken the place by assault, put to death the heads of the revolt; but spared the other inhabitants, obliging them only to surrender part of their lands for the support of the garison he left in the city. *Poplicola*, on his return to *Rome*, was honoured with a triumph; but soon after died, and was buried at the expence of the public, there not being found money enough in his house to defray the charges of his funeral. He was the most virtuous citizen, the greatest general, and the best affected consul to the people, *Rome* had ever had. He had always led a frugal life, and taken more care to transmit his virtues to his children, than to enrich them with the goods of fortune. The *Romans* thought they could not refuse him a burial-place in the city; and therefore erected a tomb for him near the forum, and gave his family a right of interment in the same place. But as the *Valerii* always affected popularity, they never made use of this privilege, but contented themselves with carrying the bodies of those who died in *Rome*, to the sepulchre of the founder of their family, and conveying them from thence out of the city, where the ashes were deposited in a tomb near the walls. As *Poplicola* had been one of those, who stood up in defence of the chastity of the *Roman* women, they mourned a whole year for him, as they had done before for *Brutus*. But his greatest glory was comprised under the

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name of *Poplicola* (H), which the *Romans* gave him, and his tender regard for the people had deserved \*.

THE *Sabines* were no sooner informed of *Poplicola's* death; *The Sabines* but they raised a more numerous army than they had done the *Sabines* preceding years; and, having made a sudden incursion into the *new the* Roman territory, advanced to the very gates of *Rome*. *P. war.*

*Posthumius*, who was then consul with *Menenius Agrippa*, being provoked at the violence of the *Sabines*, sallied out against them with a good body of men, drawn together in a tumultuous manner. The *Sabines*, as soon as he appeared, fled to a neighbouring forest, where the main body of their army lay concealed. *Posthumius* followed them; but, as he drew near the forest, the *Sabines*, rallying, faced about, and with loud shouts gave the signal to the whole army to fall upon the consul's troops. *Posthumius* made what resistance he could with men out of breath, and in disorder; but was obliged to retire with great loss. To complete his misfortune, he was intercepted in his retreat by a body of *Sabines*, posted on an hill between him and the city; so that he was forced to pass the night in the open field, surrounded on all sides by the enemy's squadrons. As soon as the defeat of *Posthumius* was known at *Rome*, *Menenius Agrippa*, the other consul, marched at the head of the bravest youth in the city, to the relief of his colleague. But the *Sabines*, at his approach, retired into their own country; whence, elated with their late success, they sent a proud message to the *Romans*, requiring them to receive the king they had banished; to submit to the *Sabines*, by whom they had been conquered; and to receive their laws. To this demand the *Romans* returned a suitable answer, commanding the *Sabines* to return to their former duty, and to come, in a suppliant manner, to beg pardon for their attempts against the authority of their masters. After these mutual bravadoes, the consuls on one side, and the *Sabines* on the other, took the field again with all the forces of their respective states. Both armies encamped near *Eretum*, about ten *The Ro-* miles from *Rome*, where they soon came to a general engagement, in which *Posthumius*, desirous to redeem his credit, *mans gain* behaved with extraordinary valour, and, together with his *a complete* colleague, obtained a complete victory. No sooner did the *victory* over them.

\* DION. HAL. l. v. p. 314. LIV. l. ii. c. 16. PLUT. in *Poplic.* p. 109.

(H) In some editions of the *Latin* historians we read *Publicola* instead of *Poplicola*; but the *fasti Capitolini*, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, *Plutarch*, and *Dio*,

call him constantly *Poplicola*, which is an abbreviation of *Poplicola*, a word denoting his regard for the people.

news of this glorious day reach the senate, but they decreed a full triumph for *Menenius*, and an inferior one, which they called *ovation* (1), for *Posthumius*, whose gallant behaviour, in the late action, had not, in the opinion of the fathers, sufficiently atoned for his miscarriage in the beginning of the war <sup>1</sup>.

They submit at last.

THE *Sabine* war continued under the new consuls *Sp. Cassius Uscellinus* and *Opiter Virginus Tricostus*. The former, entering the enemy's country, defeated them in a pitched battle near *Cures*, ten thousand three hundred of them being killed, and four thousand taken prisoners. This defeat obliged them to sue for peace, which, after many submissions, they purchased with corn, money, and ten thousand acres of arable land. While *Cassius* was thus employed against the *Sabines*, his colleague *Virginus* reduced *Cameria*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Alba*, which had revolted from the *Romans*; and, having beheaded the most guilty of the inhabitants, sold the rest for slaves, and raised the city <sup>2</sup>.

The Latins declare for king Tarquin.

IN the following consulship of *Posthumus Cominius* and *T. Lartius, Tarquin*, still restless, and not despairing to recover his kingdom by means of his son-in-law *Mamilius Octavius*, prevailed upon the *Latins*, who had hitherto stood neuter, to espouse his cause. During the alarm which this resolution occasioned at *Rome*, the *Tarquins*, in concert with some of the

<sup>1</sup> DION. HAL. ubi supra.

<sup>2</sup> LIV. I. ii. c. 17.

(1) Authors differ in their opinions as to the derivation of this word: some derive it from *obe*, denoting the admiration of the people in these ceremonies; others from the words *ovan* or *ovoe*, with which the *Greek* bacchanals rung. *Plutarch* refers the origin of this word to the kind of victim, which was offered to the gods in the ceremony of the *ovation* (6); for, in the triumph, a bull was sacrificed in the Capitol, but in the *ovation* only a sheep; so that, according to this writer, *ovatio* comes from the word *ovis*, signifying a sheep. The person, who was honoured with an *ovation*, entered *Rome* on foot, or,

at most, on horseback, and was attended by the senate only: his crown was of myrtle, not of laurel; and his robe only the *prætexta*, the common habit of magistrates. The *ovation* of *Posthumius*, the first that had been ever seen in *Rome*, is marked in the *fasti Capitolini*, on the third of the nones of *April*. Two days after, *Menenius Agrippa* appeared with all the magnificence of a triumph; being mounted on a chariot, seated in a curule chair, clothed with a robe embroidered with palm-branches, he was conducted to the Capitol with the sound of trumpets, and the acclamations of the army and people.

(6) *Plut. in Marcel.*

inhabitants of *Fidenæ*, made themselves masters of that city. Hereupon *Manius Tullius*, who was raised this year to the consulship with *Servius Sulpitius*, marching against the rebels, closely invested the place, and reduced it to great streights. The besieged, in that extremity, implored the assistance of the *Latins*; which occasioned a general meeting of the deputies from the several cities of *Latium*. In this assembly it was debated, whether the *Latins* should declare in favour of the *Tarquins* and the *Fidians*, or adhere to the antient treaties between the two nations. After long debates, it was resolved, that an embassy should be sent to the *Romans* with proposals, *But, be-* which were, That they should receive the *Tarquins*, *afterfore they* they had engaged by oath, to grant a general amnesty; and *take the* that they should raise the siege of *Fidenæ*. The ambassadors *field, they* were to allow the *Romans* a whole year to consider on these *send an* overtures; and to threaten them with a war, in case they *embassy to* refused to comply with them. The chief view of *Tarquin*, and his partisans in promoting this embassy, was, to lay hold of that opportunity, to raise a sedition in the city. To the embas- *A conspi-* sadors therefore of the *Latins* he joined some of his own emissaries, *racy form* who, on their arrival in the city, found two sorts of *ed by some* people disposed to enter into their measures; to wit, the slaves, *of Tar-* and the meaner citizens. *quin's*

THE slaves had formed a conspiracy the year before to seize *emissaries* the Capitol, and set fire to the city in several quarters at the same time. But the plot being discovered, those who were concerned in it had been all crucified; and this execution had highly provoked the whole body of slaves. As to the meaner citizens, who were for the most part overwhelmed with debt, and cruelly used by their creditors, they were well apprised, that there could happen no change in the government but to their advantage. These were the conspirators pitched upon; and to them were given the following parts to act: the citizens were to make themselves masters of the ramparts and gates of the city, at an appointed hour of the night, and then to raise a great shout as a signal to the slaves, who had engaged to massacre their masters at the same instant: the gates of the city were then to be opened to the *Tarquins*, who were to enter *Rome* while it was yet reeking with the blood of the senators. The conspiracy was ripe for execution, when *Tarquin's* principal agents, *Publius* and *Marcus*, both of his own name and family, being terrified with frightful dreams, had not courage enough to proceed in their design, till they had consulted a diviner. However, they did not discover to him the conspiracy; but only asked him in general terms, what success they might expect in a project they had formed. The soothsayer, without the least hesitation, returned the following answer:

*The plot discovered;* answer: *Your project will end in your ruin; disburden yourselves of so heavy a load.* Hereupon the *Tarquins*, fearing lest some of the other conspirators should be beforehand with them in informing, went immediately to *S. Sulpitius*, the only consul then at *Rome*, and discovered the whole matter to him. The consul greatly commended them, and detained them in his house, till, by private inquiries, he was assured of the truth of their depositions. Then he assembled the senate, and gave the *Latin* ambassadors their audience of leave, with an answer to their proposals, which was, that the *Romans* would neither receive the *Tarquins*, nor raise the siege of *Fidenæ*, being all to a man ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of their liberty, and willing to undergo any danger, rather than submit to the government of a tyrant.

*and laid open to the senate.* THE ambassadors being dismissed with this answer, and conducted out of the city, *Sulpitius* laid open to the fathers the dreadful conspiracy, which struck them with horror; but they were all at a loss in what manner they should apprehend and punish the guilty, since, by the law of *Poplicola*, there was an appeal to the people in all capital cases; and the two witnesses, who were strangers, might be excepted against by *Roman* citizens. In this perplexity they left the whole conduct of this critical affair to *Sulpitius*, who took a method which he thought would equally serve to prove the guilt, and punish the guilty. He engaged the two informers to assemble the conspirators, and to appoint a rendezvous at midnight in the forum, as if they designed to take the last measures for the execution of the enterprize. In the mean time he used all proper means to secure the city, and ordered the *Roman* knights to hold themselves ready, in the houses adjoining to the forum, to execute the orders they should receive. The conspirators met at the time and place appointed by the two *Tarquins*; and the knights, upon a signal agreed on beforehand, invested the forum, and blocked up all the avenues to it so closely, that it was impossible for any of the conspirators to make their escape. As soon as it was light, the two consuls appeared with a strong guard on the tribunal; for *Sulpitius* had sent to his colleague *Manius*, who was besieging *Fidenæ*, desiring him to hasten to the city with a chosen body of troops. The people were convened by curiæ, and acquainted with the conspiracy which had been formed against the common liberty. The accused were allowed to make their defence, if they had any thing to offer against the evidence; but not one of them denying the fact, the consuls repaired to the senate, where sentence of death was pronounced against the conspirators, in case the people approved it.

THIS decree of the senate being read to, and approved by the assembly, the people were ordered to retire, and the conspirators were delivered up to the soldiers, who put them all to the sword. The peace of Rome was thought sufficiently secured by this stroke of severity; and therefore, tho' all the conspirators were not punished with death, it was judged proper not to make any further inquiries. The two informers were rewarded with all the privileges of Roman citizens, an hundred thousand ases, and twenty acres of land. Three festival-days were appointed for expiations, sacrifices, and public games, by way of thanksgiving to the gods. But the general joy was disturbed by a melancholy accident: as the people were conducting *Manius Tullius* the consul from the circus to his house, he fell from his chariot, and died three days after.

THE city of *Fidenæ* was not yet reduced; it held out during the following consulship of *T. Æbutius* and *P. Veturius*; but was taken the next year by *T. Lartius*, who, together with *Q. Clodius*, was raised to the consular dignity. The *Latin* cities, distressed at the loss of this town, began to complain of their leading men; which opportunity *Tarquin* and *Mamilius* improved so far, as to make all the *Latin* cities, twenty-four in number, enter into an alliance against Rome, and to bind themselves by oath never to violate their engagements. The *Latin*s made vast preparations, as did likewise the *Romans*; but the latter could procure no assistance from their neighbours. As the *Latin* nation was much superior to them in strength, they sent deputies to solicit succours from the several states with which they were surrounded; but their negotiations proved every-where unsuccessful: and, what was worse than all, the republic had rebellious sons in her own bosom, who refused to lend their aid in defence of their country. The poorer sort of people, and the debtors, refused to take the military oaths, or to serve, alleging their poverty, and the fruitless hazards they ran in fighting for the defence of a city, where they were oppressed and enslaved by their creditors. This spirit of mutiny spread among the inferior classes, most of them refusing to lift themselves, unless their debts were all remitted by a decree of the senate; nay, they began to talk of leaving the city, and settling elsewhere.

THE senate, apprehending a general insurrection, assembled to deliberate on the means of quieting these domestic troubles. Some were for a free remission of all debts, as the safest expedient at that juncture; others urged the dangerous consequences of such a condescension, advising them to lift such only as were willing to serve, not doubting but those who re-



refused their assistance, would offer it of their own accord, when it was no longer desired. Several other expedients were proposed: but at length this prevailed; to wit, that all actions for debts should be suspended till the conclusion of the war with the *Latins*. But this the indigent debtors thought only a suspension of their misery; and therefore it had not the intended effect on the minds of the unruly multitude. The senate might indeed have prosecuted the ringleaders of the sedition; but the law of *Poplicola*, called the *Valerian law*, which allowed appeals to the assembly of the people, was a protection for the seditious, who were sure of being acquitted by the accomplices of their rebellion. The senate therefore, to elude the effect of a privilege that put such a restraint upon their power, resolved to create one supreme magistrate, who, with the title of *dictator*, should have an absolute power for a time: but as this could not be done without striking at the law of *Poplicola*, and transferring the power of the people in criminal cases to a magistrate superior to all laws, it was necessary to use artifice, in order to obtain the consent of the curiae. They therefore represented to them in a public assembly, that, in so difficult a conjuncture, when they had their domestic quarrels to decide, and, at the same time, a powerful enemy to repulse, it would be expedient to put the commonwealth under a single governor, who, superior to the consuls themselves, should be the arbiter of the laws, and, as it were, the father of his country; that his power should have no limits: but, however, lest he should abuse it, they ought not to trust him with it above six months.

Judge it necessary to create a dictator.

The people agree to the proposal.

The first dictator.

THE people, not foreseeing the consequences of this change, agreed to it; but the greatest difficulty was to find a man duly qualified, in all respects, for so great a trust. *T. Lartius*, one of the consuls, seemed to be of all men the most unexceptionable; but the senate, fearing to offend his colleague by an invidious preference, gave the consuls the power of choosing a dictator, and obliged them to name one of themselves, not doubting but *Clælius* would yield to the superior talents of his colleague; nor were they disappointed in their expectation. But *Lartius*, with the same readiness, named *Clælius*; and the only contest was, which of the two should raise the other to the supreme authority. Each persisted obstinately in remitting the dignity to his colleague, till *Clælius*, starting up on a sudden, abdicated the consulship, and, after the manner of an interrex, proclaimed *Titus Lartius* dictator (K), who thereupon was obliged to take upon him the government of the republic <sup>b</sup>.

LARTIUS

<sup>b</sup> LIV. l. ii. c. 18. DION. HAL. ubi supra.

(K) This supreme officer was called *dictator*, either because he was *dictus*, that is, named by the consul, or from his dictating and

LARTIUS indeed took as much state upon him, after he had entered upon his office, as he had shewn modesty in refusing it. He began by creating, without the participation either of the senate or people, a general of the Roman horse (1.), an office which lasted only during the dictatorship, and which all subsequent dictators revived immediately after their election. *Sp. Cassius*, formerly consul, and honoured with a triumph, was the person he advanced to this second station in the republic. *Lartius*, having by this means secured the Roman

Year of the flood  
1853.  
Bef. Chr.  
495.  
Of Rome  
253.

c Liv. *ibid.* l. ii. c. 18.

and commanding what should be done. No one could be created dictator till he had been consul. The time assigned for the duration of the office was the space of six months. As to the perpetual dictatorships of *Sylla* and *Julius Caesar*, they were notorious usurpations, and violations of the laws of their country. The dictator was not allowed to march out of *Italy*, lest he should take advantage of the distance of the place, to attempt something against the common liberty. He was always to march on foot, except in case of a tedious or sudden expedition; and then he formally asked leave of the people to ride (7). In all other things his power was absolute and uncontrouled. He might proclaim war, levy forces, lead them out, disband them, &c. without consulting the senate. He could punish as he pleased; and from his judgment lay no appeal. To make his authority more awful, he had always twenty-four fasces with axes carried before him, if we believe *Plutarch* (8) and *Polybius* (9). *Livy* ascribes the first rise of this custom to *Sylla* (1). The authority of all other magistrates ceased, or were subordinate to

him. He had the naming of the general of the horse, who was wholly at his command. When his authority was expired, he was not obliged to give an account of any thing he had done during his administration. In short, the dictatorship was a kind of absolute monarchy, tho' not durable, and was looked upon as the only refuge of the commonwealth in time of danger, till *Sylla* and *Caesar*, converting it into a tyranny, rendered the name of dictator odious, inasmuch that, upon the murder of the latter, a decree passed in the senate, forbidding the use of that dignity upon any account whatsoever for the future (2).

(L) As the regal power was revived in the dictator, he was allowed to create a chief officer in the army, under the name of *magister equitum*, that is, master or general of the horse, which answered to the office of the *tribunus celerum* in the time of the kings. It was the second dignity in the Roman state, but, like the dictatorship, temporary. The *magister equitum* served as the dictator's lieutenant-general, but could act nothing without his express order.

(7) *Dio*, l. xlv. *Appian*, l. iii. l. iii.

(1) *Liv. epist.* l. lxxxix.

(8) *Plut.* in *Fab. Max.*

(2) *Dio Cass.* l. xlv.

(9) *Polyb.*

knights, resolved, in the next place, to make the people respect and fear him. With this view he never appeared in public, but attended by twenty-four lictors, to whose falces he again added the axes, which *Poplicola* had caused to be taken from them. The novelty of this sight was alone sufficient to awe the seditious, and, without executions, to spread consternation throughout *Rome*. The murmurs of the inferior classes

*The dictator commands a census to be taken.*

being by this means silenced, the dictator commanded a census to be taken, according to the institution of king *Servius*. Every one, without exception, brought in his name, age, the particulars of his estate, &c. and there appeared to be in *Rome* one hundred and fifty thousand seven hundred men, who were past the age of puberty. Out of these the dictator formed four armies; the first he commanded himself; the second he gave to *Clælius* his late colleague; the third to *Sp. Cassius* his general of the horse; and the fourth he left in *Rome*, under the command of his brother *Sp. Lartius*, who was to guard the city. The *Latins* not being so forward in their preparations as was expected, all their hostilities against *Rome* this campaign amounted to no more than the sending a detachment into the *Roman* territory to lay it waste. The dictator gained some advantage over that party; and the great humanity with which he treated the prisoners and wounded, disposed the *Latins* to listen the more readily to the overtures which he at the same time made them for a suspension of hostilities. At length a truce was agreed on for a year; and then *Lartius*, seeing the republic restored to its former tranquillity, resigned the dictatorship, tho' the time appointed for its duration was not yet expired<sup>d</sup>.

*A truce is made with the Latins for a year.*

THE following consulship of *Sempronius Atratinus* and *M. Minutius Augurinus*, produced nothing memorable. But the next year the truce expired, when *Aulus Posthumius* and *T. Virginus* took possession of the consulship. Both *Romans* and *Latins* were busied in making the necessary preparations for war. The nobility of *Latium*, who were for the most part in the interest of the *Tarquins*, having found means to exclude the citizens from the *Latin* diets, carried all before them in those assemblies: whereupon many of the citizens removed with their families to *Rome*, where they were well received. The *Latins* being bent upon war, the senate, notwithstanding the perfect harmony that reigned between them and the people, thought it expedient to create a dictator. The two consuls were therefore impowered to name one of themselves to that dignity; whereupon *Virginus* readily yielded it to his colleague *Posthumius*, as the more able commander. The new dictator,

*A new dictator created.*

having created *Æbutius Elva* his general of the horse, and divided his army into four bodies, left one of them, under the command of *Sempronius*, to guard the city, and with the other three, commanded by himself, *Virginus*, and *Æbutius*, marched out against the *Latins*, who, with an army of forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, under the command of *Sextus Tarquinius*, *Titus Tarquinius*, and *Mamilius*, had already made themselves masters of *Corbio*, a strong-hold belonging to the republic, and put the garison to the sword. *Posthumus* encamped in the night on a steep hill near the lake *Regillus*, and *Virginus* on another hill over-against him. *Æbutius* was ordered to march silently in the night, with the cavalry and light-armed infantry, to take possession of a third hill upon the road, by which provisions must be brought to the *Latins*.

BEFORE *Æbutius* had fortified his new camp, he was vigorously attacked by *Lucius Tarquinius*, whom he repulsed three times with great loss, the dictator having sent him a timely reinforcement. After this *Æbutius* intercepted two couriers sent by the *Volsci* to the *Latin* generals, and, by letters found upon them, discovered, that a considerable army of the *Volsci* and *Hernici* were to join the *Latin* forces in three days. Upon this intelligence, *Posthumus* drew his three bodies of troops together, which amounted in all to no more than twenty-four thousand foot, and one thousand horse, with a design to engage the enemy before the arrival of the succours they expected. Accordingly he encouraged his men, and, with his army in battle-array, advanced to the place where the enemy was encamped. The *Latins*, who were much superior to the *Romans* in numbers, and besides began to want provisions, did not decline the engagement. *Titus Tarquinius*, at the head of the *Roman* exiles and deserters, was in the centre, *Mamilius* in the right wing, and *Sextus Tarquinius* in the left. In the *Roman* army the dictator commanded in the centre, *Æbutius* in the left wing, and *Virginus* in the right.

THE first body which advanced was that of the dictator; and, as soon as it began to march, *T. Tarquinius*, singling out the dictator, ran full-speed against him. The dictator did not decline the encounter, but, flying at his adversary, wounded him with a javelin in the right side. Upon this, the first line of the *Latins* advanced to cover their general; but he being carried out of the field, they made but a faint resistance when charged by the troops of the dictator. They were destitute of a leader, and therefore began to retire, when *Sextus Tarquinius*, taking the place of his brother, brought them back to the charge, and renewed the fight with such vigour, that the victory in the centre was still doubtful. On the side of *Mamilius* and *Æbutius*, both parties, encouraged by the example of their

leaders, fought with incredible bravery and resolution. After a long and bloody contest, the two generals agreed to determine the doubtful victory by a single combat. Accordingly the two champions pushed on their horses against each other. *Æbutius* with his lance wounded *Mamilius* in the breast; and *Mamilius* with his sword *Æbutius* in the right arm. Neither of the wounds were mortal; but both generals falling from their horses, put an end to the combat. *Marcus Valerius*, the brother of *Poplicola*, supplying the place of *Æbutius*, endeavoured, at the head of the *Roman* horse, to break the enemy's battalions; but was repulsed by the cavalry of the *Roman* royalists. At the same time *Mamilius* appeared again in the van, with a considerable body of horse and light-armed infantry. *Valerius*, with the assistance of his two nephews, the sons of *Poplicola*, and a chosen troop of volunteers, attempted to break through the *Latin* battalions, in order to engage *Mamilius*; but, being surrounded by the *Roman* exiles, he received a mortal wound in his side, fell from his horse, and died. The dead body was carried off by the two sons of *Poplicola*, in spite of the utmost efforts of the exiles, and delivered to *Valerius's* servants, who conveyed it to the *Roman* camp; but the young heroes being afterwards invested on all sides, and overpowered by numbers, were both killed on the spot. Upon their death, the left wing of the *Romans* began to give ground, but were soon brought back by *Posthumius*, who, with a body of *Roman* knights, flying to their assistance, charged the royalists with such fury, that they were, after an obstinate resistance, obliged to give way, and retire in the utmost confusion. In the mean time *Titus Horminius*, one of the dictator's lieutenants, having rallied those who had fled, fell upon some close battalions of the enemy's right wing, which still kept their ground under the command of *Mamilius*, killed him with his own hand, and put that body to flight. But while he was busy in stripping the body of his enemy, he received himself a wound, of which he died soon after.

Poplicola's brother killed;

and his two sons.

*SEXTUS TARQUINIUS* in the mean time maintained the fight with great bravery, at the head of the left wing, against the consul *Virginus*; and had even broke through the right wing of the *Roman* army, when the dictator attacked him unexpectedly with his victorious squadrons. Then *Sextus*, having lost at once all hopes of victory, threw himself, like one in despair, into the midst of the *Roman* knights, and there sunk under a multitude of wounds, after he had distinguished himself in a most eminent manner. The death of the three generals was followed by the entire defeat of the *Latin* army. Their camp was taken and plundered, and most of their troops cut in pieces; for of the forty-three thousand men who came

Sextus Tarquinius killed.

The Latins defeated, and their camp taken.

into

into the field; scarce ten thousand returned home. The next morning the *Volsci* and *Hernici* came, according to their agreement, to assist the *Latins*; but finding, upon their arrival, how matters had gone, some of them were for falling upon the *Romans* before they could recover from the fatigue of the preceding day; but others thought it more safe to send ambassadors to the dictator, to congratulate him on his victory, and assure him, that they had left their own country with no other design than to assist *Rome* in so dangerous a war. *Posthumius*, by producing their couriers and letters, gave them to understand, that he was well apprised of their designs, and treacherous proceedings. However, out of a regard to the law of nations, he sent them back unhurt, with a challenge to their generals to fight the next day: but the *Volsci*, and their confederates, not caring to engage a victorious army, decamped in the night, and returned to their respective countries before break of day<sup>e</sup>.

THE *Latins*, having now no remedy but an intire submission, sent ambassadors to solicit a peace at *Rome*, yielding themselves absolutely to the judgment of the senate. As *Rome* had long since made it a maxim to spare the nations which submitted, the motion of *Titus Lartius*, the late dictator, prevailed; and the antient treaties with the *Latins* were renewed, on condition, however, that they restored the prisoners they had taken, delivered up the deserters, and drove the *Roman* exiles out of *Latium*<sup>f</sup>. Thus ended the last war which the *Romans* waged with their neighbours on account of their banished king, who, being now abandoned by the *Latins*, *Hetrurians*, and *Sabines*, retired into *Campania*, to *Aristodemus* tyrant of *Cumæ*, and there died, in the ninetyeth year of his age, and fourteenth of his exile<sup>g</sup>.

THE freedom which the *Romans* recovered by the expulsion of *Tarquin*, being now secured to them by the death of that prince, who was the last of his family, and the *Latin* war ended, greatly to the advantage of the republic, *Posthumius* laid down his office, the courts of justice were again opened, and the creditors began to prosecute their debtors (M) with more

<sup>e</sup> DION. HAL. l. vi. p. 342—358. LIV. l. ii. c. 19, 20.  
<sup>f</sup> DION. HAL. LIV. *ibid.* <sup>g</sup> CIC. *Tusc.* l. iii. n. 27.

(M) When the debtor was insolvent, the creditor had a right to put him in irons, or to sell him as a slave. After a certain number of summonses, the law granted to the debtor thirty days of grace, to raise the sum for

which he was accountable. The words of the law are: *Æris confessi, rebusque jure judicatis, triginti dies justi sunt. Post dein manum endojacito—Vincito aut nervo, aut compedibus.* "When the debt is confessed, and the  
 C c 3 "trial

Domestic  
broils at  
Rome.

more rigour than ever; which revived the complaints and murmurs among the inferior classes. To prevent the disturbances which this affair might occasion, the senate procured the consulship for *Appius Claudius*, who had ever opposed, with great warmth, the pretensions of the people; but, lest he should exert too great severity, they gave him for his colleague *P. Servilius*, a man of a gentle and humane temper, and greatly beloved by the people. The latter exhorted the senate, as soon as he entered upon his office, to ease the people, and restrain the severity of the creditors; but *Appius* maintained, with his usual constancy, that it was a manifest injustice to relieve the debtors at the expence of the creditors. The senate assembled daily, in order to settle the tranquillity of the city upon a lasting foundation; but met with so many difficulties, the consuls being of different opinions, that they could never come to any conclusion. In the mean time the oppressed populace held secret assemblies in the night, and seemed disposed to rise up in arms; so that the senate began to apprehend nothing less than a civil war. In the midst of these

trial passed, let there be thirty days of forbearance. Afterwards lay hands on him— Bind him either with a cord, or fetters." After the thirty days were expired, if the debtor had not discharged the debt, he was led to the prætor, who delivered him over to the mercy of his creditors. These bound him, and kept him in chains for the space of sixty days. Afterwards, for three market-days successively, the debtor was brought to the tribunal of the prætor: then a public crier proclaimed in the forum the debt for which the prisoner was detained. It often happened, that rich persons redeemed the prisoner, by paying his debts; but if nobody appeared in behalf of the debtor, after the third market-day, the creditor had a right to inflict the punishments appointed by the law. *Tertius nundinis capite pœnas dato, aut trans Tiberim peregre venundato*; that is, "Let him on the third market-day be punished with

death, or sold beyond the Tiber as a slave" If there were several creditors, they were allowed, in consequence of this severe law, to divide the body of the prisoner into several parts, and share it among them, in proportion to the sum they demanded: but, according to *Quintilian* and *Cæcilius*, humanity and custom had given prescription against so barbarous a law, which was never put in execution. This punishment was changed to coercion; that is, the creditors had a right to imprison their debtors in their own houses, and make them slaves. These were called *nexi*, and not *servi*, because their slavery lasted no longer than till their debts were paid. This coercion was afterwards changed into public imprisonment, which was a less rigorous punishment than the slavery the debtors underwent in the creditors houses, where they were often cruelly treated, and whipped unmercifully.

disturbances,

disturbances, the *Volsci*, who were well acquainted with the present state of the city, having drawn together what forces they could, advanced towards *Rome*, promising themselves great advantages from the domestic disorders and universal confusion which reigned in the city. It was therefore necessary for the consuls to raise an army; but the *Roman* youth absolutely refused to serve. This disobedience occasioned new disputes between the consuls, *Claudius* being for severity, and *Servilius* for moderation. As the time drew near to take the field against the *Volsci*, the senate decreed, that *Servilius* should command the army, and *Claudius* govern the city. But tho' *Servilius* was looked upon as a friend to the people, yet they refused to list themselves, unless the senate came first to some determination about the important affair of debts. *Servilius* was therefore obliged to march against the enemy with such only as offered to serve out of a personal affection to him. The *Volsci*, depending on the civil broils at *Rome*, had not been so expeditious in their preparations for the war as to be in a condition to face a *Roman* army in the field; and therefore they had recourse to intreaties, by which they prevailed upon the good-natured consul to favour them, and grant them a peace, upon condition that they supplied his troops with cloaths and provisions, and delivered to him three hundred hostages of the best families<sup>b</sup>.

Not long after the return of *Servilius*, the senate was informed from *Latium*, that the *Volsci* were making new preparations for war; that they had engaged the *Hernici* and *Sabines* to join them against *Rome*, and sent deputies to their nation for the same purpose. These deputies the *Latin* ambassadors brought with them, and delivered them up to the senate. Such a treacherous proceeding in the *Volsci*, after they had been so kindly treated by the consul *Servilius*, fired the senate, and war was immediately declared; but while the senators were yet sitting, a plebeian, loaded with chains, appeared in the forum. He was advanced in years, tall of stature, lean, pale, with his eyes sunk into his head, a long beard, and his hair in disorder. At his clamours and gestures the people crowded about him, and all looked on him with great attention, till at length several knew him, and remembered to have served with him in the wars, and to have seen him fight in the first ranks of the legions with great valour. The bare sight of him raised the compassion of the multitude; but, when they had heard him give an account of his misfortunes, they were all filled with rage and indignation. He told them, that he was born free; that he had, in eight-and-twenty-battles, exposed his life for the good

<sup>b</sup> DION. HAL. p. 361—367. LIV. l. ii. c. 22—26.



of his country ; that, in the last war with the *Sabinus*, he not only had been hindered from cultivating his little inheritance, but that the enemy, in an incurſion, after having plundered his houſe, had ſet it on fire ; that the neceſſities of life, and the tributes, which, notwithstanding his miſfortunes, he was obliged to pay, had forced him to contract debts ; that the intereſt being grown, by degrees, to an exceſſive ſum, he was reduced to the melancholy expedient of yielding up his inheritance to diſcharge part of it ; but that the mercileſs creditor, not being yet quite paid, had dragged him to priſon, with two of his children ; that, to oblige him to haſten the payment of the reſidue, he had delivered him over to his ſlaves, who, by his order, had torn his body with whips. At the ſame time he flung off his garment, and diſcovered his back ſtill bloody, and, on his breaſt, the ſcars of the honourable wounds, which he had received in fighting for his country.

*The people  
incenſed  
againſt  
the ſenate.*

AT this ſight, the people, already ripe for ſedition, uttered a thouſand curſes againſt the patricians, and made ſuch outcries, as terrified the ſenate, who were then ſitting. The people ſlocked from all quarters of the city into the forum ; the artificers left their ſhops ; and thoſe who were confined for debt, having found means to eſcape from their creditors, with the frightful figure they made, with their ragged cloaths, and the noiſe of their chains, raiſed both pity and indignation. Theſe unhappy wretches ſpread themſelves all over the city ; and, if any one offered to ſtop them, he was immediately maſſacred by the enraged multitude. The conſul *Appius*, ſeeing that the fury of the mutineers was like to fall upon him, left the ſenate, and, by favour of the tumult, got ſafe to his own houſe. *Servilius*, having pulled off his robe, that he might be thereby more agreeable to the people, ran into the thickeſt of the croud ; and, though he embraced ſome, threw himſelf at the feet of others, and ſhewed great compaſſion for all, yet he could not prevail upon them to ſuſpend all acts of violence to the next day, till he had promiſed, that the ſenate ſhould have regard to their complaints ; nay, he went further, and proclaimed by an herald, that no one ſhould moleſt any *Roman* citizen for debt, till the ſenate had decreed otherwiſe<sup>1</sup>.

*Servilius  
appeaſes  
the tumult.*

THE next day, the forum was ſoon filled, both with citizens and country-people, brought thither by their common intereſt. The ſenate aſſembled ; and *Servilius* laid before them the neceſſity, in ſuch a conjuncture, of abating ſome-what of the ſeverity of the laws. On the other hand, *Appius* pretended, that this project tended to the ruin of the ſubordination neceſſary in a well-governed ſtate ; and that the conde-

*The con-  
ſuls quar-  
rel.*

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid.

scension which *Servilius* was for shewing to the necessities of the people, would be looked upon by the seditious only as a disguised weakness, and so breed new pretensions. As *Appius* could not bear contradiction, his speech was tinged with the harshness of his manners: he even came to personal reflections, and represented his colleague as a vile flatterer of the plebeians, and a favourer of the revolt. *Servilius*, in his turn, reproached him with the obstinacy of his temper, his pride, and the animosity he shewed against the people. The senators were divided between these two great men; so that there was no end of their disputes. In the mean time, the people expected with impatience a decree in their favour; and, there not being a sufficient number of senators assembled for that purpose, they imputed their absence to the consuls management, in order to frustrate their hopes. While the people were yet in the forum, they saw some horsemen come full-speed to acquaint the *Romans*, that the *Volsci* were advancing, with a design to besiege *Rome*. The plebeians were overjoyed to see their country in danger; and, when the debtors were invited to take up arms in defence of the common liberty, they shewed the chains with which their creditors had loaded them: *Is it not the same thing to us*, said they, *whether these chains are put on us by the enemy, or by our own countrymen? Let the patricians expose their lives, since they alone reap advantage from our victories. Shall we make a rampart with our bodies, only to hinder the enemy from pulling down our prisons, and carrying away our chains?* It was necessary, in this extremity, that something should be done to quell the tumult, and induce the people to lend their assistance against an insulting enemy.

*The Volsci advance to besiege Rome.*

*Appius* was obstinate and inflexible; but *Servilius* was prevailed upon, by his friends, to make the people such promises in the name of the senate, as the senators were firmly resolved never to perform. He told them, That it was not consistent with the dignity of the senate to comply with their demands, as it were out of fear; but that, when the war should be ended, the senate would, in gratitude, remit all their debts. This discourse abated the fury of the populace; and the reading a decree, which passed the same day, intirely quelled it. All creditors were thereby forbidden to prosecute any *Roman* citizen for debt, who was willing to serve, or to seize his children, or his goods; but the creditors were commanded to prosecute all such debtors with the utmost severity, as either should refuse to serve, or desert after they were enrolled. To this wise law *Rome* owed her preservation; for it was no sooner published, than multitudes crowded to the capitol, and even made interest to be admitted into the legions. When the levies were completed, *Servilius* marched to meet the enemy, and encamped

*The consul Servilius, by fair promises, engages the people to enlist.*

*Defeats the Volsci,* encamped near the Pontine lake (N); where the *Volsci*, attempting to surprize his camp, were intirely defeated. The consul, to reward his soldiers, gave them all the spoil, that they might have wherewithal to pay their debts (O). He then *and takes their capital.* marched to *Suessa Pomertia*, the capital of the *Volsci*, took it by assault, and put all to the sword who were able to bear arms. He gave likewise this wealthy city up to be plundered by the soldiers, without reserving any part of the spoil for the public treasury. In the mean time *Appius*, who had been left in *Rome*, beheaded the three hundred hostages, which the *Volsci* had given to the *Romans*, upon *Servilius*' first expedition <sup>k</sup>.

*He is refused a triumph;* So glorious a campaign had merited the honours of a triumph for the consul, who returned to the city with hopes of obtaining it; but, on his arrival, he was informed, that his colleague *Appius* had persuaded the senate to refuse him it, under pretence that he was a seditious man, who aimed at popularity, by

<sup>k</sup> DION. HAL. & LIV. *ibid*.

(N) The Pontine lake took its name from the city of *Pomertia*, formerly one of the most considerable cities of *Latium*. This part of *Latium*, before it was laid under water by the overflowing of the *Nymphæus*, the *Amasena*, the *Astura*, and the *Ufens*, was thought the garden of *Italy*. There were, according to *Pliny* (3), twenty-three cities in it, which are supposed to have been drowned by inundations, or overturned by earthquakes; for there were no remains of them to be seen in the time of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*.

(O) It was customary, in the beginning of the commonwealth, to divide the spoils between the victorious army and the public treasury. The product of these spoils was generally applied to the building of temples, the celebrating of public games, or the adorning of the city. *Servius* tells us (4), that the generals

thought themselves obliged to appropriate part of the fruit of their victories to the god, whose protection they had invoked. Agreeably to this custom, adds the same writer, there was a temple in *Rome* consecrated to *Jupiter the Plunderer*, *Jovi Prædatori*. *Servilius* was accused, by his colleague, of acting contrary to the law, which ordained, that the general, who returned from any military expedition, should not dispose of the spoil as he pleased. This law made him accountable for it; but, nevertheless, the republic often dispensed with it, and left it to the discretion of the general to distribute such military rewards among his soldiers, as he thought fit; provided he gave an account of his administration to the people, and did not appropriate to his own use the fruits of the conquests he had made in the name of the republic.

(3) *Plin. l. iii. c. 5.*

(4) *Serv. in l. iii. Æneid.*

an excessive indulgence and profuseness to his soldiers. *Servilius*, being sensibly affected with the unjust proceedings of the senate, took a bold step; which afterwards proved a fatal precedent to his country. He no sooner came before *Rome*, which none were allowed to enter who demanded a triumph, but he caused the people to be called together in a field without the walls, and there complained to them, both of the jealousy of his colleague, and the injustice of the senate: upon which, the people encouraged him, by their acclamations, to attempt whatever he pleased. Without regard therefore to the <sup>but</sup> decision of the senate, he decreed himself a triumph, and <sup>triumphs</sup> marched, with the usual pomp, to the capitol, followed by <sup>in spite of</sup> his army, and attended by all the people <sup>the senate.</sup>.

WHILE the people were taken up with public games and rejoicings, on account of the victory over the *Volsci*, ambassadors arrived from the *Aurunci*, demanding, that the Roman garison in *Ecetra*, a *Volscian* town, which had lately submitted to *Rome*, should be removed from thence; and adding threatenings, in case of refusal. As *Ecetra* stood on the confines of the country of the *Aurunci*, they had taken umbrage at the neighbourhood of that garison. The senate therefore sent the envoys back with this answer; *Go, tell your masters, that it is a dangerous thing to attack those, whose very neighbourhood is formidable to them.* The *Aurunci*, provoked at this answer, <sup>The Au-</sup> entered *Latium*, and advanced as far as *Aricia*; where they <sup>runci en-</sup> were met by the Roman army, under the command of *Servilius*, and the famous *Posthumius*, surnamed *Regillensis*, from <sup>tium.</sup> the victory he had gained over the *Latins* at the lake *Regillus*. The battle, when ensued, was very bloody; but the *Romans*, though at first greatly disheartened at the gigantic stature, fierce looks, and martial air, of the enemy, gained at length a complete victory, and made themselves masters of the camp of the <sup>Are de-</sup> *Aurunci*, who retired into their own country <sup>their camp</sup>.

OF all the plebeians, who served in this and in the late war <sup>taken.</sup> with the *Volsci*, none behaved with more gallantry, than those who were most in debt: the people therefore thought, that, after so many victories, they might demand of the senate the performance of *Servilius's* promise. But the inflexible *Appius* <sup>The seve-</sup> even doubled the severity of the judgments he gave against such <sup>city of Ap-</sup> debtors as were brought before his tribunal: he ordered all <sup>pious to-</sup> those, who had been set at liberty during the war, to be brought <sup>wards the</sup> back to their creditors prisons by force. Those who were <sup>debtors.</sup> arrested, appealed to *Servilius*, urging the promises he had made before the campaign, and the services they had done in the war; but, *Appius* having got the ascendant in the senate,

<sup>1</sup> DION, HAL. & LIV. *ibid.*      <sup>m</sup> *Iidem ibid.*

*Servilius treated by the people with contempt. Becomes their enemy.*

*Servilius* had not interest enough to prevail upon them to make good his word given in their name, or to protect the unhappy debtors ; so that he became as much despised, as *Appius* was hated. This appeared very remarkably, when the time came to consecrate a temple, which had been erected to *Mercury*. The consecrator was to enjoy considerable powers and privileges ; and, on this account, the senate, unwilling to disgust either *Appius* or *Servilius*, referred the whole matter to the people. The curiæ were therefore assembled, with full power to choose whom they pleased ; and they, to shew how much they were displeased with both the consuls, bestowed the honour of consecrating the temple on one *Latorius*, who was only a centurion. Hereupon *Appius* and *Servilius*, equally enraged, joined with the senate in putting in execution the laws against debtors with the utmost severity ; but the people, paying no regard to their authority, when any plebeian was prosecuted for debt, crowded into the forum, and made such a noise, that the sentence pronounced by the judges could not be heard. They no longer endeavoured to appease their creditors, or mollify the senate by intreaties ; but insulted both : so that the patricians, and not the plebeians, were now in danger of imprisonment and slavery <sup>n</sup>.

*The Sabines revolt ; but the people refuse to serve.*

In the mean time, the *Sabines*, encouraged by these intestine broils, revolted, and engaged the *Roman* colony of *Medulia* to enter into an alliance with them ; which was confirmed by mutual oaths. The new consuls, *A. Virginus* and *T. Veturius*, both men of little note, summoned the tribes, in order to raise an army for the war, which threatened them ; but the people obstinately refused to list themselves, till such time as all debts should be cancelled. Hereupon the consuls, ascending their tribunal, called upon one of the most factious by name to come and be inrolled. As the man did not answer the summons, he was instantly seized ; but the populace tore him out of the lictors hands, and insulted both the consuls, and patricians who attended them. While the city was thus rent into factions, and all things seemed to tend to a civil war, envoys arrived from the *Læti* and *Crustumini*, complaining of the hostilities of the *Æqui* and *Sabines* ; and, at the same time, ambassadors from the *Volsci*, demanding restitution of the lands, which had been taken from them in the late war. These embassies filled the *Romans* with consternation, or joy, according to the party each had embraced. As it was necessary to give all these deputies proper answers, the senate assembled, and, after long debates, returned the following answer to the ambassadors of the *Volsci* ; to wit, “ That it was not consistent

*The Volsci threaten a war.*

<sup>n</sup> Liv. *ibid.*

“ with

"with the honour of the republic to comply with their demands." As to the *Latins* and *Crustumini*, who were in alliance with *Rome*, they were assured, that the republic would not leave them exposed to the insults of their enemies, without sending them succours. With these answers, the ambassadors were dismissed; but, as *Rome* could neither protect her allies, nor repulse her enemies, unless peace were first established at home, the senate met again the next day, to deliberate about the methods necessary to procure that happiness.

THE consul *Virginus* was for protecting those debtors, who had fought so successfully the last year, and for leaving the others to the severity of the law. *Titus Lartius*, that venerable senator, who had been formerly dictator, pleaded in behalf of all debtors. *Appius*, when it came to his turn to speak, enumerated all the motives, which had engaged him to side with the patricians; declared that he could not change his opinion; urged the dangerous consequences of violating contracts between debtors and creditors; and, in the close of his speech, proposed the naming a dictator in the present extremity. This expedient was thought dangerous by some of the oldest senators; but the motion was carried by a majority: and *Manius Valerius*, a man of seventy years of age, brother to the famous *Poplicola*, was nominated by one of the consuls, contrary to the law, which required, that the dictator should be chosen out of such as had been, or were actually consuls; but, as no man was judged more proper for that station at this time, the necessity of the case made the senate overlook rules. *Valerius*, as soon as he was proclaimed dictator, named for his general of the horse *Quintus Servilius*, brother to the last year's consul; and, finding the minds of the people well inclined to his government, he ascended the tribunal, and harangued the multitude, putting them in mind of the great zeal his family had always shewed for their interest, and desiring, in return, their confidence. He promised, that, if they would lend their assistance, and serve their country at this time, he would procure for them, from the senate, all the reasonable concessions they could expect: And, in the mean time, said he, *I command, that no mention be made of confiscations or imprisonments during my administration.* The people, depending on the promises of the dictator, took arms with pleasure; and ten legions were soon raised, three of which were given to each consul, and the people four reserved for the dictator. *Veturius* was ordered to march against the *Æqui*; *Virginus* against the *Volsci*; and the dictator himself led his legions against the *Sabines*. The three generals were all attended with good success, and it proved a glorious campaign for the republic. *Valerius*, on his return, was honoured with a triumph, and, as a further mark of distinction, both

*Manius Valerius, brother to Poplicola, created dictator.*

*He prevailed with the people to serve.*

*The Æqui, Volsci, and Sabines defeated.*

both the senate and people agreed in allotting him an honourable place in the circus at the celebration of the public games, and appointed, that a curule chair should be always placed there for him; an honour which they made hereditary in his family.

*The senate refuses to comply with the demands of the dictator in favour of the people.*

But now *Valerius*, remembering his promises to the people, demanded of the senate the performance of them; but the patrician usurers had made such a party in the senate during his absence, that the senators not only refused to comply with his demands, but reproached him with the affection of his family for the plebeians, and taxed him with betraying the interests of the senate. The prudent dictator, to prevent, in some degree, the misfortunes which threatened the republic, sent a colony of poor debtors to *Velitrae*, which had been just taken from the *Volsci*; but, as there still remained a great number of those unhappy persons, he solicited anew the senate in their favour. But, his motion being rejected, he told the senators in great anger, That perhaps, in a short time, they would wish for such an intercessor with the people; and, leaving the senate abruptly, summoned the people. When the assembly was formed, he appeared in it with all the ensigns of his dignity; and, in the first place, acknowledged his obligations to them; then he made great complaints of the unsincere conduct of the senate, with regard both to them and him; and, lastly, declared his resolution to retire, or to surrender himself up to their resentments, if they suspected that he had betrayed their interest. Having ended his speech, he laid down his employment, and stripped himself of the ensigns of the dictatorship. The people, who had heard him with sentiments of respect and veneration, conducted him quite to his house with loud acclamations, as if he had procured the abolition of their debts. The senate, to prevent the disorders, which, they foresaw, must attend the abdication of an injured dictator, ordered the two consuls, who still held the soldiers engaged by their oath (P), to lead the

*He excuses himself to the people, and resigns his dignity.*

• DION. HAL. *ibid.* LIV. I. ii. c. 30, 31.

(P) The giving the military oath, called *sacramentum*, was, properly speaking, the legal method of forming the Roman armies. After the soldiers had been chosen out of each tribe, this oath was administered to them in the following manner: the tribunes of each legion assembled the bodies they commanded; then one soldier in a legion swore, in the name of all the rest, to obey the commander of the Roman army. After this, every soldier came, and singly engaged to perform what had been sworn. In process of time, another oath, called by *Livy* (5) *jusjurandum*,

(5) *Liv. I. xxii.*

the army into the field, under pretence, that the *Æqui* and *Sabines* were making fresh preparations for war. The soldiery, who were well apprised of the artifice, went out of *Rome* with the utmost rage; and therefore, as soon as they were in the field, some of the most seditious proposed the assassinating of the consuls, not out of any personal hatred, but merely to free themselves from the oath, which bound them to their command. Others thought it would be monstrous to put an end to the religious engagements they had entered into with the consuls by criminal means, and, on that account, rejected the motion. After the leaders of the mutiny had considered of various projects, they concluded at last to carry away the military ensigns and standards, and engage all the troops to follow them, without the privity of their officers (Q). This design was executed

was added to this; by virtue of which rebels and deserters were punished with death, and no appeal admitted. There was likewise another way of inlisting men, called *conjunctio*, which took place in unforeseen commotions, and sudden irruptions of an enemy. Then, that no time might be lost in raising the necessary forces, the soldiers were excused the formalities usually observed in inrolling them. The general only went up to the capitol, and there erected two standards; one red for the foot; and the other blue for the horse. After this, he pronounced these words: *Let those, who love the safety of the Republic, make haste and follow me.* A third way of inrolling men was this: the consuls committed to the care of persons appointed for that purpose the raising of troops in different places, as the republic had occasion for them: and this was called *evocatio*. The military oath was so essential in inlisting men, that no Roman could serve in the army, even as a volunteer, or kill an enemy, till he had bound

himself by a solemn promise to obey his general. In consequence of this custom, which was authorized by law, *Tully* tells us (6), that *Cato* wrote to *Pompius*, to inform him, that his son could not continue in the army, without taking the military oath again, the time of his former engagement being expired.

(Q) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* gives us the reason why the legions so readily followed their ensigns. The *Romans*, says he, when they are in the field, respect nothing more than their ensigns and standards: they swear by their military ensigns, and pay them a sort of religious worship. On certain festivals, they crown them with flowers, and perfume them. Animated by this superstitious prejudice, they exposed themselves to the greatest dangers, and despised death itself, to secure those precious pledges, and prevent their being taken by the enemy. Those, to whose care they were committed, were either put to death, or whipped, if they suffered the enemy to take

(6) *Cic. de off. l. i. i.*



*The soldiers desert Bellutus.* The troops marched away, and encamped beyond the *Anio*, three miles from *Rome*, on an hill called afterwards the *Sacred Mount*, as their retreat was stiled the *secession* <sup>P</sup>.

*The senate dispatch two deputations to the malcontents :* THE first thing the rebellious army did was, to choose themselves a general; and *Sicinnius* was the man they pitched upon. Then they secured themselves within strong intrenchments, where they lay quiet, without committing any hostilities. The consuls and officers, seeing themselves thus deserted by their troops, dispatched a messenger to *Sicinnius*, exhorting him to return to the camp, and bring back the troops to their duty : but he returned such an answer, as shewed, that he was determined to keep no measures with the patricians. A desertion so general, and which looked like the beginning of a civil war, gave great uneasiness to the senate, and occasioned a general consternation in the city. The patricians were forced to guard the gates themselves, in order to prevent the citizens from going out to join the malcontents ; but, notwithstanding this precaution; those who were burdened with debts, and such as loved novelty, escaped, and fled to the camp of *Sicinnius*. In this general confusion the senate met daily, and, after warm debates, in which they mutually accused each other of indulgence and severity, they at length agreed to send a deputation to the malcontents, offering them a general pardon, and exhorting them to return to the city. But this step only served to increase the insolence of the soldiers: the deputies were therefore sent back contemptuously, with no other answer, but that the patricians should quickly find what enemies they had to deal with. This answer occasioned new alarms in the city <sup>Q</sup>.

*which serve only to increase their insolence.*

In the mean time, the two consuls, whose magistracy was expiring, assembled the centuries, which were left in *Rome*, for the election of their successors ; and as nobody, at so dangerous a conjuncture, stood candidate for that dignity, they obliged

<sup>P</sup> DION. HAL. *ibid.* LIV. l. ii. c. 32. <sup>Q</sup> LIV. *ibid.*

them. The *Romans*, in the times of their first simplicity, had no other ensigns, or colours, but a bundle of hay or grass fastened to the top of a long pole, as we have observed above. In succeeding ages, they made use of the figures of monsters and animals, to wit, of eagles, dragons, boars, wolves, &c. Each manipulus had its own ensign. The

horse made use of a standard, called *vexillum*, which consisted of a piece of rich stuff, about a foot square. It was fastened to a cross piece of wood, which was fixed to the top of a pike. But the form of the ensigns and standards varied according to the times, and the temper, of the *Romans*, as we shall have occasion to observe in the sequel.

*Posthu-*

*Postumius Cominius*, and *Spurius Cassius Viscellinus*, both consulars, and equally agreeable to the plebeians and patricians, to accept the consulship. Their first care was to convene the senate, to deliberate upon the most speedy and easy methods of restoring peace and union. *Menenius Agrippa*, a Warm debater in the senate, a man of great integrity, and who had stood neuter in the divisions of the people and senate, being the first called upon to give his opinion, declared warmly for a reconciliation with the people, and proposed the sending of such deputies, as were agreeable to them, with full power to make up matters upon whatever conditions they should think necessary for the good of the republic. *M. Valerius*, the late dictator, being desired next to give his opinion, upbraided the senate with neglecting his former counsels; accused their indiscretion in not offering the people an abolition of their debts by the first deputation; foretold, that the mutineers would, besides their first demands, insist upon lasting securities for their future preservation from oppression: lastly, he declared for the opinion of *Menenius*, advising the senate not to delay one moment giving the people satisfaction, let their demands be what they would. *Appius*, when it was his turn to speak, opposed, in a very plausible harangue, the opinion of *Menenius* and *Valerius*, and declared intirely against treating with the rebels, till they had laid down their arms; but, on that condition, was for shewing them mercy and indulgence. Hereupon the senate was divided; the old men were for *Menenius Agrippa* and *Valerius*; the young senators, jealous of the prerogatives of their rank, declared all for *Appius*; and the uproar was so great, that they almost came to blows. The two consuls, who were disposed to favour the people, having conferred together in private, determined to give time to those hot spirits to cool; and with that view put off the decision of this great affair to another day. But before the assembly broke up, in order to intimidate the young senators, who had behaved in a very audacious manner, they threatened to exclude them from the senate, by fixing the age (R) necessary for a senator, unless they brought a more

(R) It is manifest from hence, that the laws had not yet determined at what age one might be admitted into the senate; and yet that there was a fixed age afterwards required, is very certain. For *Tully*, in speaking of *Pompey* (7), says, that he commanded armies before he had attained to the age that was required in a senator: the same is affirmed by *Plutarch*; and no expression is more frequently made use of by the ancient historians, in the lives of great men, than that of *atque senatoria*.

(7) *Cic. pro lege Manil.*

a more peaceable disposition of mind along with them. Some days after, the senate met anew, when every thing was transacted with great tranquillity: *Menenius*, being desired again to declare his sentiments, still continued to think it necessary, that plenipotentiaries should be sent to the malcontents, with full power to grant them whatever they should think consistent with the good of the republic. All the senators who had been consuls, agreed with *Menenius*, except *Appius*, who, when it came to his turn to speak, continued to protest against treating with rebels, till they had laid down their arms; and prayed *Jupiter*, and the tutelar gods of *Rome*, that he might be deceived in his apprehensions of the evil consequences of such a step.

Deputies  
sent by the  
senate, to  
treat with  
the mal-  
contents.

HOWEVER, the senate, determined by all means to divert the present evil, continued in their former resolution of sending commissioners to treat with the malcontents; and accordingly ten were named, and among them *T. Lartius*, *Menenius Agrippa*, and *M. Valerius*, all three in great esteem, and of whom two had governed the republic, and commanded her armies in quality of dictators. These, with their colleagues, set out for the camp, where they were received with all the respect due to their character. The presence of the deputies had been sufficient to bring back the mutineers to their duty, had not some turbulent spirits taken care to keep up the fire of discord. These were *Sicinnius Bellutus*, and another plebeian much of the same character, named *Lucius Junius*, like the founder of the republic; nay, he affected the surname of *Brutus*, thinking himself destined to deliver the people from the tyranny of the senate, as the famous *Brutus* had freed *Rome* from the oppressions of the kings. These two, being appointed by the malcontents to treat with the deputies from the senate, effaced, with their crafty and artful speeches, the impression which the presence of the de-

LIV. I. ii. c. 32.

But what age the laws fixed, is uncertain. *Dio Cassius* limits it to five-and-twenty, which was the age required for the quaestorship, the first office of any considerable note. However, we read of many persons promoted to this dignity, without any regard had to their years. *Pompey* established among the *Bithynians* a law, by which no one could become a member of their

senate till he was thirty complete. It is probable, he followed the custom of the *Roman* republic in this regulation; and the more so, because *Pliny* the younger, in one of his letters to the emperor *Trajan*, says, that the *Bithynians* made the *Romans* their patterns, especially in what related to their magistracy and senate.

puties,

puties, and their harangues, had made on the minds of the multitude. But *Menenius Agrippa*, after having assured them, *Menenius* that the senate had, with unanimous consent, determined to *Agrippa*, annul all bonds and obligations at present subsisting, so softened the populace by this promise, and the famous apologue of a conspiracy of all the members of the human body against the stomach, which he applied to the people and the senate, that they all cried out, that they were satisfied, and that he might lead them back to *Rome*. *overcomes their obstinacy.*

THIS sudden motion alarmed the pretended *Brutus*, who represented to the people, that they ought indeed to be very thankful for the favour shewed them at present in the abolition of their debts; but that he could not forbear letting them know, that he was very apprehensive about the future; and *Brutus*, therefore was of opinion, that means should be found to secure the liberties of the people against the attempts of the ambitious patricians. *What other security can you ask,* replied *Menenius*, *besides what our laws, and the constitution of the republic, already afford? Give us leave,* answered *Brutus*, *to choose annually out of the body of the plebeians a certain number of magistrates, who, without having any other authority in Rome but that of protecting them, may oppose or disannul any edicts or judgments which shall be burdensome to the people. If you come hither with a sincere intention of peace, you cannot reject so equitable a proposal.* The deputies, greatly surprised at such a demand, told them, that they asked a very extraordinary thing, which absolutely exceeded the bounds of their instructions and powers; but that *M. Valerius*, and some others of the deputies, would go and make their report of it to the senate, and return with an answer.

ACCORDINGLY, they repaired with all speed to *Rome*, where *M. Valerius* gave his opinion in favour of the people; while *Appius*, burning with indignation, exclaimed against the dreadful consequences which would attend *Valerius's* concession. But his remonstrances were neglected, and the other side prevailed, most of the senators being weary of these divisions, and desirous to have peace at any rate; so that, with almost an universal consent, a *senatusconsultum* or decree of the senate was passed, permitting the creation of these new magistrates, who were called *tribunes of the people*. This decree, which included also the abolition of debts, was carried by the deputies of the senate to the camp as a seal of peace. The people were now for returning to *Rome*; but the leaders of the sedition would not allow them to separate, before they had elected the new magistrates. The assembly was

Year of held in the very camp, and the auspices being taken, the suffrages were gathered by curiæ, when *L. Junius Brutus*, and 1858. *C. Sicinnius Bellutus*, were, according to *Dionysius*, chosen the first tribunes. These immediately named the two *Licinii*, 490. *Publius* and *Caius*, with *Sp. Icilius Ruga*, to be their colleagues. *Livy* says, that *C. Licinius*, and *Lucius Albinus*, Of Rome 258. were the first tribunes, and that they afterwards chose themselves three colleagues, among whom was *Sicinnius Bellutus*. Before they left the camp, a law was passed, whereby the persons of the tribunes were made sacred. The words of the law were, *Let the tribune of the people be exempt from all the servile offices imposed on the citizens. Let none of these offices be laid upon him, but by his own consent. Let no one strike him, or cause another to strike him. If any offend in this, let him be execrable, and his goods appropriated to the worship of Ceres. If any one kills him, any person may kill the murderer with impunity.* To make this law perpetual, all the Romans were obliged to swear, for themselves and their posterity, that they would inviolably observe it. After these regulations, the people erected an altar to *Jupiter the Terrible* on the top of the hill, where they had encamped; and, having consecrated the place of their retreat, which, from this time, was called the *Sacred Mount*, they followed the deputies of the senate, and returned to the city <sup>w</sup>(S).

The people  
return to  
Rome.

ONE

<sup>t</sup> *DION. HAL. l. vi. p. 368.*    <sup>u</sup> *LIV. l. ii. c. 33.*    <sup>w</sup> *DION. HAL. p. 386—410. LIV. l. iii. c. 30—33.*

(S) The tribunes were at first five in number; but a few years after five more were added. They were always chosen by the plebeians, and out of their body. Their sole function was to defend the liberties of the plebeians, and to interpose in all grievances offered them by their superiors. This interposing, in matters determined by the senate, or other magistrates, was called *intercessio*, and was performed by standing up, and pronouncing only one word, *Veto*, *I forbid it*. They had their seats placed at the door of the senate, and were never admitted into it, but when the consuls called them to ask their opinion upon some

affair that concerned the interests of the people. As for the ensigns of their office, they had no *toga prætexta*, lictors, or curule chair; but were habited like private men, and attended only by one servant, called *viator*. Their power was confined within the walls of *Rome*, or extended at most to a mile round the city. They were not allowed to be absent from the city a day, *Dio* says an hour, except in the *seriæ Latine*. To shew their readiness to protect the people, they were obliged to keep their doors open night and day. Their authority was very great; for though at first they pretended only to prevent oppression, yet after—

ONE of the first steps of the tribunes towards an increase of *The tri-* power was, to ask permission of the senate to choose two assist- *bunes cre-* ants in the execution of their office. This new demand was *ate two* also complied with, and two men were chosen out of the ple- *new offi-* beians to be the tribunes assistants or agents. These after- *cers.* wards had the cognizance of a great many affairs, which before belonged to the consuls, and the inspection of all buildings both public and private; from which last branch of their office they took the name of *ædiles*, with the epithet of *plebeian*, to distinguish them from the *ædiles curules*, of whom we shall speak hereafter.

ROME being now in a profound peace at home, troops were *The Vol-* easily raised to march against the *Volsci*, whom the consul *Co-* *scii and* *Antiates* *defeated.* *minius* defeated in a pitched battle, and took from them *Lan-* *gula* and *Polusca*. He marched next to besiege *Corioli*, the metropolis of the *Volsci*, and strongly fortified; which he likewise made himself master of, and gained a victory over the *Antiates* the same day. But *Caius Marcius*, a young patrician, had all the glory of both actions: for the besieged having made a vigorous sally, and driven the *Romans* back quite to their intrenchments, *Marcius*, by his words and example, rallied the fugitives, brought them back to the charge, and, having obliged the enemy to retire into the city, followed them so close, that he went in with them, and made himself master of the place. He then hastened, without suffering his soldiers to stay for plunder, to join the consul's army, which was upon the point of engaging with the *Antiates*, who were come to assist their allies. In the engagement which ensued, he behaved with equal bravery, and was attended with equal success, the victory, which was gained, being intirely owing to his courage and prudent conduct. The next day the consul, having caused his tribunal to be erected before his tent, and called his soldiers together, made an harangue to them, which was little more than a panegyric on the brave *Marcius*. He put a crown of gold upon his head; assigned him a tenth part of all the spoil; gave him a fine horse, with stately furniture, in the name of the republic; allotted him as much money as he could carry away; and, lastly, allowed him to choose out any

*The gal-*  
*lant be-*  
*haviour of*  
*Caius*  
*Marcius*  
*Coriola-*  
*nus.*

afterwards they usurped the power of doing almost whatever they pleased, having the populace to back them. They assembled the people, enacted laws, made decrees, and executed them upon the magistrates themselves, commanding some-

times the very consuls to be carried to prison. In short, they occasioned far greater disturbances in the state than those which they were first created to appease; whence they are styled by some of the antients, *the bane of the public tranquillity.*

ten of the prisoners. But of all these presents the young hero accepted only the horse, and demanded but one captive of the ten, an old friend of his family, with a design to give him his liberty. This generous and disinterested conduct silenced even jealousy itself. All respected an hero, whose sentiments were as noble as his valour signal. But the consul, to add to the glory of the brave warrior, bestowed on him the surname of *Coriolanus*, transferring thereby from himself to *Marcus* all the honour of the conquest of *Corioli* \*.

The ancient alliance with the Latins renewed.

THE enemies of *Rome*, being terrified by the reduction of the *Volsci*, kept quiet at home; so that the consul disbanded his army, and war was succeeded by works of religion, public games, and treaties of peace. The ancient alliance was renewed with the *Latins*, and a third day added to the *feriæ Latinæ*. In the mean time *Menenius Agrippa* died in as great poverty as *Popliola*. His relations resolved to bury him without ceremony; but the people, at the motion of their new tribunes, agreed to pay a *sextans*, or two ounces of brass, a head, towards the expences of a magnificent funeral. Upon this the senate, thinking it would reflect no small dishonour upon them to suffer an illustrious patrician to be buried at the expence of the people, allotted a sum out of the public treasury for his funeral, and committed the care of it to the quaestors. Nevertheless the people refused to receive back their money, ordering it to be given to the children of the deceased *Menenius* †. This memorable consulship ended with a *census* and *lustrum*, and there appeared to be but an hundred thousand men in *Rome* fit to bear arms.

Rome suffers greatly by a famine.

UNDER the new administration of *T. Geganius* and *P. Minutius*, *Rome* suffered greatly by a famine; and this calamity revived the civil dissensions. The senate, to disburden the city, sent away great numbers of people to plant colonies at *Velitrae* and *Nerba*, in spite of the opposition of the tribunes. In the mean time the *Antiates*, taking advantage of the famine with which *Rome* was afflicted, and of the discord between the people and the senate, made incursions to the very gates of the city. *Coriolanus* could not bear this insult; and therefore, as the tribunes still opposed any regular levies being made, he put himself at the head of a band of volunteers, advanced into the enemy's country, defeated them in several engagements, and returned loaded with a rich booty, consisting of corn, cattle, and slaves. At this the patricians triumphed, and the plebeians, who had remained behind, complained of their tribunes for having diverted them from following so successful a leader.

The gallant behaviour of Coriolanus.

\* DION. HAL. l. vi. p. 411—416. LIV. l. ii. c. 33. PLUT. in *Coriol.* † DION. HAL. *ibid.* LIV. *ubi supra*.

On the other hand, the tribunes, whose credit subsisted only by the misunderstanding they fomented between the two orders in the commonwealth, endeavoured to stir up the populace to a general revolt, openly accusing the patricians of being the cause of the scarcity, while their own families, they said, were plentifully supplied with provisions. The senate, alarmed at the storm that threatened them, met daily to deliberate on the means to avert it. Some of the senators were for employing soft words and fair promises to gain over the most mutinous. But the opinion of *Appius* prevailed, which was, that the tribunes should be threatened with the severest punishments, as disturbers of the public peace, if they did not amend their behaviour.

BUT, when the consuls came to declare to the curiæ the resolution of the senate, the tribunes interrupted them, and even disputed with them the right of disputing in the comitia, contending that their province was confined to the senate. The contest growing very warm, and the hottest in each party being ready to come to blows, *Brutus*, who was now but ædile, desired leave of the consuls to speak to the people, promising to quiet the dispute. *Geganius* and *Minutius*, pleased with the deference paid them, readily consented to let him say what he thought fit. But he, instead of addressing himself either to the tribunes, or the people, turned to the consul *Geganius*, who had been one of the commissioners sent to the malcontents on the *Sacred Mount*, and asked him, whether he remembered, that one of the articles of the late reconciliation was, that no patrician should interrupt those who were appointed to take care of the interests of the people? *I remember it very well*, replied the consul. *Why then*, added *Brutus*, *do you now come hither to disturb the conference between the people and their tribunes? Because*, said *Geganius*, *this assembly was summoned by us, and not by you*. The consul added too rashly, that, if the tribunes had convened the assembly, he would not even have come to hear what they said. At these words *Brutus* cried out aloud, *That's enough; you grant all we ask; speak to-day as much as you please; to-morrow I will tell you how far our power extends, and how far yours*. The next morning, before it was light, the tribunes and ædiles went to the temple of *Vulcan*, which stood near the comitium, and there assembled the people, complaining to them of the attempt that had been made the day before, to impose silence upon them in the assembly of the people, whom it was their duty to defend. They then proposed to the curiæ the following law, empowering the tribunes to harangue the people: *Let no man presume to interrupt a tribune, who is speaking in the assembly of the Roman people. If any one break this law, penal to*

*The tribunes dispute with the senate the right of speaking in the assembly of the people.*

*A law is passed, making it penal to*  
he



interrupt  
the tri-  
bunes,  
when they  
are speak-  
ing to the  
people.

he shall presently give bail to pay the fine, to which he shall be condemned; if he refuses to give this security, he shall be put to death, and his goods confiscated: the difficulties, which may arise about these securities, shall be referred to the people, and determined by them. This law was confirmed by the suffrages of the people, before the consuls could make any opposition to it. The senate indeed refused to confirm it; but then the people, in their turn, would not accept the decrees of the senate. Thus these two tribunals were ever opposing one another; but the people always gained their point by their numbers, and the unanimity of their leaders.

Fresh dis-  
putes on  
the divi-  
sion of  
corn.

THE people, satisfied with having enlarged the power of their tribunals, bore the famine patiently, and continued quiet, till plenty of corn arriving from Sicily, in the consulate of M. Minutius and A. Sempronius, furnished the tribunals with a new occasion of rekindling sedition. The senators who favoured the people, were for distributing gratis, among the poor, the corn which had been bought with the public money. But the opposite faction was for holding up the price of bread, in order to keep the populace in dependence and subjection. The famous Coriolanus, at the head of the severe party, spoke loudly against shewing any indulgence to the people, proposed the abolishing of the tribunship, and taking vengeance of the mad rabble for their past insolence. The senators were divided in their opinions, but the major part were for re-establishing the government upon its antient foundations, and annulling the treaty concluded on the *Sacred Mount*. These proceedings enraged the tribunals, who left the assembly in the greatest fury, calling out aloud on the gods, the avengers of perjury, to witness the solemn oaths by which the senate had authorized the establishment of their dignity. The people, fired by their factious tribunals, were ready to break into the senate, and there sacrifice Coriolanus to their hatred and revenge.

Coriola-  
nus sum-  
moned to  
appear be-  
fore the  
tribunes.

The tri-  
bunes at-  
tend pt to  
see him.

BUT the tribunals, that their proceedings might be regular, stopped them; and, having assembled the curiæ, summoned Coriolanus to appear before them; but he despised a summons brought him from a tribunal, which he did not acknowledge. Hereupon the tribunals, with a gang of the most mutinous among the plebeians, waited for him at the door of the senate, with a design to seize him when he came out. But as he had a stronger guard with him than they, composed of young senators, who had a great respect for his person, the tribunals and their officers were beat back. Upon this the uproar was increased on the one hand by the crowds of people, who flocked

<sup>2</sup> DION. HAL. PLUT. *ibid.* LIV. l. ii. c. 34.

together from all parts of the city; and on the other by the patricians, who hastened to the assistance of *Coriolanus*. But in the mean time the consuls coming up, dispersed the croud, and partly by intreaties, partly by their authority, prevailed upon the people to retire. The next day the tribunes, having assembled the people early in the morning, inveighed, as usual, against the whole order of the patricians, but in particular against *Coriolanus*, repeating the very words he had uttered in the senate relating to the distribution of corn. Then they exaggerated the violence he had used against them the day before; the ill treatment their officers had met with from him and his company; the great number of men he had always about him, whom they called the tyrant's guards, &c. After they had, with long and bitter invectives, made *Coriolanus* odious to the people, they added, that if there was any patrician, who would undertake his defence, he might mount the tribunal, and speak to the people. Then *Minutius*, the eldest consul, presenting himself, in a long speech, cleared the senate from being the cause of the famine, excused the imprudent warmth of *Coriolanus*, desired them to remember his virtues as well as his faults, and intreated them, in the name of the senate, to forgive him.

THE gentle words of *Minutius*, joined with promises of *The consul* sudden plenty, softened and calmed the people. But the art-ful *Sicinnius*, now tribune of the people a second time, *Minutius* faced all impressions made on their minds in favour of *Coriolanus*. After having thanked the consuls and patricians for their favourable disposition, he exhorted *Coriolanus* to have recourse to the clemency of the people, and to make an apology for his conduct. The tribune well knew, that *Coriolanus* was a man of too lofty a spirit to stoop to supplications; and therefore did not doubt but he would provoke the people afresh with the haughtiness of his answers. Accordingly, the young patrician, instead of appearing as a criminal, assumed the air of a judge, and, by an ill-timed resoluteness, destroyed the effect of the consul's speech: for he not only owned what he had said in the senate, but gloried in it, and refused to submit to any tribunal, but that of the consuls; protesting, with a loud voice, and a threatening look, that he would not have vouchsafed to appear in a tumultuous assembly of seditious men, had it not been to reproach them with their crimes, and put some check to their boundless desires. Lastly, he declared his hatred to the tribunes, whom he called the bane of the public happiness.

*Coriolanus provokes the people with the haughtiness of his answers.*

Coriola-  
nus con-  
demn'd to  
death by  
the tri-  
bunes; but  
is rescued  
by the pa-  
tricians.

It is easy to imagine, that such a speech must greatly offend the plebeians. Some of them were for massacring him on the spot: but *Sicinnius*, thinking it necessary to observe, at least, some appearance of justice, put a stop to the fury of the enraged multitude; and having consulted apart with his colleague, without so much as giving himself the trouble to collect the voices of the assembly, pronounced sentence of death upon him, and ordered him to be thrown down headlong from the top of the *Tarpeian* rock; a punishment inflicted upon such as were enemies to their country. The ædiles instantly advanced with their officers to put the sentence in execution. But the senate, and all the patricians in the assembly, hastening to his assistance, placed him in the midst of them, determined to oppose force with force. And now the people, either thinking their tribunes had carried their animosity too far, or awed by the presence of the consuls, refused to give assistance to their ædiles. *Sicinnius* therefore, by the advice of *Brutus*, resolved to prosecute *Coriolanus* in a legal way, and to convene the people by tribes for his trial. Of this resolution he gave *Coriolanus* notice with the following words: *We cite thee, Coriolanus, to appear before the people in seven-and-twenty days. He then added, As for the distribution of corn, if the senate does not take due care of that matter, the tribunes will give directions about it themselves.* Having thus spoken, he adjourned the assembly.

The senate  
endeavour  
to allay  
the heat of  
the people.

IN the mean time the senate, in order to soothe the people, fixed the price of corn at the lowest rate it ever had been at, even before the sedition. The consuls likewise, fearing lest the prosecution of *Coriolanus* should deter others from speaking their mind freely in the senate, did all that lay in their power to appease the tribunes. *Minutius* represented to them, that, by an immemorial custom, all proceedings in capital cases were to begin in the senate; and that it belonged to the senators to declare whether it was proper to refer them to the people: he added, that the kings themselves had paid this deference to so august a body, and that he hoped the tribunes would not violate the antient rules of the government, but apply to the senate, if they had any grievances to lay to the charge of *Coriolanus*. He concluded by assuring them, that, according to the nature of the crime, and the solidity of the proofs, the senate would refer the whole matter to the judgment of the people. *Sicinnius* exclaimed against this proposal, pretending that the affair naturally devolved upon the people, as the supreme court of judicature. But the other tribunes, plainly perceiving that they should make themselves odious even to the plebeians, if they so manifestly deviated from the usual forms of justice, agreed to let the senate decide,

as usual, whether the people should take cognisance of the matter depending. However, they insisted upon two conditions, which were; 1<sup>st</sup>, That the tribunes might be heard in the senate, with relation to the grievances which they pretended they had to lay to the charge of the person accused. 2<sup>dly</sup>, That the senators, after having been sworn, should deliver their opinions regularly, and the consuls pronounce sentence according to the plurality of voices. These preliminaries being agreed on, the tribunes were introduced into the senate. *Decius*, the youngest of them, but a man of great eloquence, undertook to shew, that it belonged to the people to hear and determine the present cause. He cited a law of *Poplicola*, by which the plebeians, when ill-treated by the patricians, were allowed to bring their complaints before the assembly of the people: he urged, that *Coriolanus*, having been guilty of a notorious insult on the authority of the people, and the dignity of their tribunes, the people were therefore his legal judges: he exaggerated the heinousness of *Coriolanus's* offence, and advised the senate to withdraw their protection from so proud and insolent a patrician b.

WHEN the tribune had ended his speech, the consuls asked the opinion of the assembly, beginning with the oldest and most venerable senators; for in those days, says *Dionysius*, the young senators were not so presumptuous as to make speeches, or to think themselves capable of instructing their elders. They only gave their opinion by some sign, or by walking over to that side which they thought to be most in the right; whence they were called *senatores peditarii*, from the Latin word *pes*, a foot. *Appius Claudius*, when it came to his turn to speak, appeared to be still the same man, an irreconcilable enemy to the people: he enumerated, with great warmth, all the encroachments of the plebeians. At first, said he, they pleaded poverty, and only demanded an abolition of debts. In the beginning of their seditious separation, they seemed to be content with impunity, and leave to return home. After this they thought fit to demand a college of tribunes to protect them against our decrees. The authority of these officers they would have to be sacred, and their persons inviolable. Then, by the help of these new magistrates, they made laws without our privity, despised the authority of the senate and consuls, and disannulled our decrees. And now, by an unheard-of usurpation, they summon a most illustrious patrician to appear at their tribunal, where he is to be tried as a criminal, only for delivering his opinion freely. After this he exclaimed against submitting *Coriolanus* to be tried by the people, or making any concessions to them; and ex-

horted the senators not to fear a civil war, telling them, that both gods and men would join in their defence.

*Valerius speaks in behalf of the people.*

*The senate consent that Coriolanus shall be tried by the people.*

BUT the popular *Valerius* was of a contrary opinion. He exaggerated the horrible consequences of a civil war, and endeavoured to shew, that their paying some deference to the people, and their tribunes, was the only means to quiet their fury both against their threatened country and the offender. His opinion prevailed, and it was carried by a majority, that *Coriolanus* should be tried by the people. When the decree was ready to be drawn up, *Coriolanus*, finding the senate was deserting him, desired to know what crime in particular he was to be accused of. The tribunes answered, that they would confine their whole accusation to the single crime of usurping tyrannical power. Upon that foot, replied *Coriolanus*, *I have nothing to object to the decree of the senate; let it be put in writing; I will appear before the people, and answer that frivolous charge.* Thus, with the consent of all parties, the decree was drawn up, and put into the hands of the tribunes, who immediately assembled the people, read it to them, and exhorted all the citizens of the republic, as well those who dwelt in the country, as the inhabitants of *Rome*, to be in the forum on the day appointed for the decision of this affair. The decree of the senate allowed the accused seven-and-twenty days to prepare his defence; during which time the tribunes frequently conferred among themselves, and with the leading men among the plebeians, as if the preservation of the republic had depended on the destruction of *Coriolanus* c.

*New disputes about the form of the comitia.*

WHEN the appointed day came, new disputes arose about the form of the comitia, by which the accused was to be tried. The tribunes had separated the people by tribes before the senators came; whereas, from the reign of *Servius Tullius*, the voices had always been gathered by centuries. The consuls were for keeping up the antient custom, being well apprised, that they could save *Coriolanus*, if the voices were reckoned by centuries, of which the patricians themselves, and the richest citizens, made the majority. But the artful tribunes, alleging that, in an affair relating to the rights of the people, every citizen's vote should have its due weight, would not by any means consent to let the voices be collected otherwise than by tribes. The people being assembled, *Minutius* the consul spoke first, and endeavoured to persuade the people to be satisfied with *Coriolanus's* submission in being brought to a trial before them, and not suffer it to be said, that so illustrious a citizen underwent the forms of justice like a criminal. "But if you persist (said he), and are determined

c DION. HAL. *ibid.* PLUT. in *Coriol.* LIV. I. ii. c. 34.

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to vote, remember that the whole senate is come hither to sue for his pardon. Will you refuse it to three hundred of the most venerable men in the republic? No; the most bitter enemy can never hold out against such powerful intercessors." *Sicinnius* answered, with an haughty air, That he was not so cowardly as to betray the interests of the people; and that the assembly should not be dismissed till the affair was determined by a majority of voices. "Well then, replied *Minutius*, since you obstinately insist, that *Coriolanus* shall be tried by this assembly, notwithstanding our intreaties, I demand that, pursuant to your agreement with the senate, you confine your accusation to the single article of tyranny, and bring proofs and witnesses of this crime." *Sicinnius* then began the accusation, and, running over the whole life of *Coriolanus*, represented him as aiming, in every part of it, at regal power.<sup>d</sup>

*Coriolanus is tried in an assembly of the people by tribes.*

As soon as the tribune had done speaking, *Coriolanus* presented himself in the assembly, and answered the calumnies thrown upon his conduct by a bare recital of his services. He first enumerated the many campaigns he had made in the service of the republic. Then he exposed to the view of the people many crowns with which he had been rewarded by the *Roman* generals; and every time he shewed the people any of those proofs of his valour, he called upon the commanders who had honoured him with them, to testify the truth of what he said. He likewise named the many citizens he had saved in battle, and desired them to stand up and witness what he advanced. These men immediately appeared in the midst of the assembly, and, stretching out their hands as suppliants, conjured the assembly not to destroy a man to whom they were indebted for their lives: they offered to take the place of the accused, and to secure his life at the expence of their own. As these were mostly plebeians, their sighs and pressing solicitations made such an impression on the multitude, that they could not refrain from tears. Then *Coriolanus*, tearing away his robe, shewed his breast all covered with the scars of the many wounds he had received; and, at the same time, with an air of confidence mixed with modesty, "It was to save these worthy men (said he), that I have received the wounds you see: let the tribunes shew, if they can, how such actions are consistent with the treacherous designs they lay to my charge. Is it easy to believe, that a man who has done nothing to gain the favour of the people, but hazard his life for them, could have a design of usurping the throne?"

*His noble defence.*

<sup>d</sup> *DION. HAL. l. vi. p. 470.*

He

Several  
among the  
people de-  
clare in his  
favour.

A new  
charge  
brought  
against  
him.

He had scarce done speaking, when the most worthy men among the plebeians cried out, That so good a citizen ought to be acquitted; and that a man of his birth and merit ought not to have been brought to a tryal upon such slight presumptions. Even the most mutinous thought, that the accusers had not given sufficient proofs of the crime laid to his charge. So that the assembly was just ready to break up, much to the reputation of *Coriolanus*, when the tribune *Decius*, alarmed at this change, brought in a new charge against him; to wit, That, contrary to the *Roman* laws, he had disposed of the spoils taken from the *Antiates* in his late expedition, during the famine, among his soldiers, instead of delivering them to the quaestor. "This (said *Decius*) is a plain proof of his evil designs: with the public money he secured to himself creatures and guards, and supporters of his intended usurpation. Let him make it appear, that he had power to dispose of the booty without violating the laws. Let him answer directly to this one article, without dazling us with the splendid shew of his crowns and scars, or using any other arts to blind the assembly." Neither *Coriolanus* nor his friends were prepared for this chicane; so that the tribunes, taking advantage of their surprize, exaggerated this breach of the law. *Sicinnius* insolently asked him, whether he was king of *Rome*; and by what authority he had disposed of what belonged to the republic, and the *Roman* people. All *Coriolanus* could say was, That those of the people who had attended him in that expedition, had received the whole benefit of that pillage. But the tribunes, urging he had by that distribution violated a law which was as antient as *Rome* itself, rekindled the former animosity of the people against him, especially of those who had not been sharers in the booty.

*Coriola-*  
*nus is con-*  
*demned to*

Of this animosity they laid hold, as the most favourable opportunity to collect the suffrages, and get *Coriolanus* condemned to perpetual banishment. Of the twenty-one tribes but nine voted for him, and the rest against him. The joy of the people upon this great event is not to be imagined; they never expressed more, even after the greatest victories; and, indeed, not without reason; for, by the advantage they had gained over the senate and the nobility, the form of government was absolutely changed; and the plebeians, who had been hitherto dependent on the patricians, were become their judges, and possessed of a right to call before their tribunal the greatest men in the commonwealth, and to decide their fate. As the assembly was dispersing, it was easy to distinguish the patricians from the plebeians by the sorrow or joy which appeared in their countenances. *Coriolanus* was the only person among the former who seemed unconcerned. He neither said nor did

any thing unworthy of his usual magnanimity. He repaired immediately to his own house, where he found his mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his wife, drowned in tears, and in the first transports of their grief. He exhorted them, in a few words, to behave with constancy and fortitude under the various events of life; and, having recommended to them the care of his children, who were yet but infants, he took his leave, not suffering any body to attend him in his exile, except three or four of his clients. A great number of the senators and other patri- cians attended him to the gate of the city; but he, justly of- fended at the weakness of their conduct, said not one word to them by the way, and parted from them with the same re- proachful silence \*.

THE illustrious exile spent the first days of his banishment at a country-seat of his own, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. There being left wholly to himself, he could not resist the strong motions of his resentment, but resolved to revenge the affront which the senate had suffered the people to put upon him. Having taken this resolution, he cast his eyes upon the several nations that were neighbours and enemies to *Rome*; and, finding none more exasperated against the *Romans*, or in a bet- ter condition to undertake a war, than the *Volsci*, he deter- mined to seek a retreat among them, not doubting but he should prevail upon them to espouse his quarrel, and join with him in pursuing their common revenge. The *Volsci* were at that time a republic, consisting of several small cantons united by a league, and governed by an assembly of deputies from each of them. One *Attius Tullus*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Tullus Amphidius*, a man of great experience in war, and who had a considerable interest throughout the whole nation, was then their general. In the late wars between the *Romans* and the *Volsci* he had been often encountered, and always conquer- ed, by *Coriolanus* †.

HOWEVER, the *Roman* thought he could disclose his resent- ments, and intrust his life, with nobody more safely than with a brave man, who perhaps might entertain as great an esteem for him as he had for *Attius*. He therefore came to a resolution to apply himself directly to him. Accordingly, he left his re- treat in disguise; and, in the evening, entering *Antium*, one of the chief cities of the *Volsci*, where *Tullus* resided, he went to An- strait to his house with his face covered, and sat down by the tium, the hearth of the domestic gods, a place sacred in all the houses of the antient pagans. *Attius* was at supper in an inner apart- ment, when news were brought him, that a stranger, of a very

\* DION. HAL. l. vi. p. 472. LIV. l. ii. c. 35. PLUT. in Coriol. † DION. HAL. l. vii. p. 473. LIV. ibid.



Is kindly  
received  
by Attius,  
general of  
the Vol-  
sci.

majestic air, was, without speaking to any body, come into his house, and had placed himself by the hearth of his lares. Attius immediately came out, and asked him who he was, and what he required. *Coriolanus* then uncovered his face; but, the other not recollecting him, he told him his name, acquainted him with his case, and offered to assist the *Volsci* against *Rome* with his counsels, and all his experience in war. Attius immediately gave him his hand, received him with great kindness, and assured him of the friendship of the *Volsci*. He then led him into his apartment, where they spent the following days in private conferences about the means of punishing *Rome* for the mischiefs she had done to the *Volsci*, and the hard usage *Coriolanus* had received from her.

Concerts  
with him  
a strata-  
gem to stir  
up the  
Volsci to  
renew the  
war with  
Rome.

BUT the great point was, how to bring the whole nation to a declaration of war with *Rome*. The *Volsci* had suffered greatly in the last war, and had, by yielding some of their towns, and part of their territory, obtained of the republic a truce for two years. As this truce was not yet expired, *Tullus*, though he had a great interest in the diets of the cantons of his country, could not promise, that he should be able to persuade the whole nation to take up arms. However, the two generals found means at last to compass what they desired. The *Romans* were making great preparations for public sports, which drew crouds of strangers from all parts. The *Volsci* especially went thither in great numbers, which gave no small uneasiness to the consuls, whose apprehensions were increased by an artifice which the two generals had concerted together. This was to suborn one of the *Volsci* to go to the consuls, and pretend to make a discovery of a design his countrymen had to set fire to *Rome*, while the *Romans* were taken up with the games and public sports in the circus &c. The new consuls, *C. Julius* and *Pinarius Rufus*, who had been just chosen, in the room of *Q. Sulpitius*, and *Sp. Lartius*, immediately made the report of the pretended plot to the senate; and the senate caused the same day a decree to be published throughout the city, requiring all the *Volsci* to leave it before sun-set, on pain of death. The consuls, being ordered to see this decree put in execution, caused all the gates of the city to be shut, except the gate *Capena*, through which all the *Volsci* were driven out with shame and ignominy. *Tullus* met them, as by chance, and, hearing how they had been treated, exaggerated the affront they had received. *We alone*, said he, *of all the different nations now in Rome, are not thought worthy to see the games. We alone, like the profanest wretches and outlaws, are driven*

from a public festival. Go and tell in all your cities and villages the distinguishing mark the Romans have put upon us.

HE found no difficulty in exasperating minds already prejudiced; a general diet was tumultuously assembled, when all the deputies were of opinion, that they were at liberty to begin the war, without waiting till the truce was expired. When *Tullus*, who conducted the affair, saw his countrymen ready to carry fire and sword into the territory of *Rome*, he advised them, before they broke up, to send for *Coriolanus* into their assembly; telling them, that he now bore more enmity to the *Romans* than they themselves, and was capable of doing them more hurt than they had received from them. The *Roman* was accordingly sent for; and, being introduced into the assembly, he related his misfortunes, made a merit of choosing a retreat among the *Volsi* rather than among the *Latins*, *Hetrurians*, *Sabines*, &c. persuaded them to demand back all the cities the *Romans* had taken from them; and, lastly, offered to assist their generals with his counsels and sword, without aspiring to any command in their armies. His speech was received with great applause; and ambassadors were dispatched to *Rome*, to demand the restoration of the lands and cities which had been taken in the late war. But the only answer they brought back was this: That the *Romans* would not give up what they had conquered; and that, if the *Volsi* were the first to take arms, the *Romans* would be the last to lay them down <sup>h</sup>.

UPON this the *Volsi* unanimously appointed *Tullus* and *Coriolanus* to command their troops; and to bind the latter more strictly to them, conferred on him the dignity of senator. The two generals immediately raised a numerous army, which they divided into two bodies: *Tullus* with one staid in the country to cover it on the side of *Latium*, while *Coriolanus* with the other, consisting of the flower of the *Volsian* troops, entered the territory of *Rome* before the consuls had taken any measures to oppose him, and there made himself master of *Circaum*, *Corbio*, *Vitellium*, and *Trebia*. *Toleria*, *Bola*, *Laticum*, and *Pedum*, all in *Latium*, or on the confines of that country, were taken sword in hand, and the inhabitants given up to the fury of an enemy victorious and enraged. As this irruption was not expected, *Coriolanus* found many *Roman* citizens dispersed about the country; and these he made slaves. He burnt their farms, carried away their cattle, broke in pieces all their instruments of husbandry, and, in short, carried fire and sword into all parts. However, in that general devastation, either out of regard to his old friends, or to keep up a

*The Volsi resolve upon a war with Rome.*  
Year of the flood  
1862.  
Bef. Chr.  
486.  
Of Rome  
262.

*Coriolanus appointed to command their troops, in conjunction with Tullus.*  
*Takes many cities from the Romans.*  
*Lays waste their territory.*

<sup>h</sup> LIV. l. ii. c. 38. DION. HAL. p. 475.

reciprocal animosity between the two parties, he spared the houses and lands of the patricians. This conduct had the desired effect. The plebeians complained of the patricians; as if they had brought so formidable an enemy upon them. The patricians, on the other hand, upbraided the people with having forced so great a captain to throw himself in despair into the party of the enemy. As mutual distrust, suspicion, and hatred, reigned in both parties, they were not so eager to repulse the *Volsi* as to decry and ruin each other: so that *Coriolanus*, finding no army in the field to oppose his designs, carried on his conquests, took *Lavinium*, and at length came and encamped at the *Fossa Cluilia*, within five miles of *Rome*.

Encamps  
near

Rome.

The people  
are for re-  
calling  
him from  
banish-  
ment.

THE consternation in the city was then general. The people, terrified at the approach of so formidable an enemy, hastened into the forum, and there with loud cries demanded peace, and the abolition of the decree of *Coriolanus*'s banishment. But the senate, who had formerly protected the exile, now refused to comply with the demands of the people, either to clear themselves from the suspicion of maintaining a correspondence with *Coriolanus*, or perhaps out of that spirit of generosity which made the *Romans* averse from peace, when they were attended with bad success in war. However that be, the *Roman* general no sooner understood the opposition the senate made to his return, but he advanced to *Rome*, and invested the place, as if he designed to besiege it. As he continued there that evening, and a good part of the next day, without making any motion, the *Romans* imagined he only waited for an opportunity of reconciling himself with his country. The senate therefore, in the following consulship of *Sp. Nautius* and *Sex. Furius*, resolved to send a deputation to him, consisting of five senators, who had been his most zealous friends. These were *M. Minutius*, *Posthumius Cominius*, *Sp. Lartius*, *P. Pinarius*, and *Q. Sulpitius*, who had all been consuls. When *Coriolanus* understood, that the deputies were coming, he pleased himself with the thought of humbling those proud republicans. He made them pass through two ranks of soldiers standing to their arms, and gave them audience sitting, and surrounded by the most considerable men amongst the *Volsi*. *Minutius*, who had been his chief advocate, put him in mind of the regard the patricians had always shewn him; and endeavoured to excuse, in some measure, the people, of whom nine tribes had voted for him. He expostulated with him for carrying his resentment to such an excess, reminded him of the instability of fortune, and, lastly, invited him to throw himself into the arms of his native city, which stretched them out,

The senate  
send a de-  
putation  
to him.

How he  
received  
the depu-  
ties.

like a tender mother, to receive him into her bosom. *Coriolanus* answered, with an haughty air, That, as general of the *His an-Volsci*, he must advise them to apply to the nation he served, *favour to* and, in a suppliant manner, sue to them for peace, which he *the deputies* engaged to procure for them, upon condition that *Rome* restored to the *Volsci* the country she had taken from them, granted them the same rights of citizenship which she had granted to the *Latins*, and recalled the *Roman* colonies from those towns of which she had unjustly got possession. As to the liberty offered him of going back to *Rome*, he said it was not worth his acceptance. *Is a bare re-establishment in Rome*, said he, *a sufficient satisfaction for the affronts I have received? Can there be any safety for me, while a Scinnius or a Decius is able to arm the populace against my life? No: Rome is an unnatural mother, who has cast off a son that was useful to her, and zealous for her glory. She shall soon know, by the effects of my resentment, whose cause it is that the gods espouse.* Having thus spoken in an haughty, strain what concerned the interests of the *Volsci*, and his own injuries, he assumed a more gentle air towards the deputies; assured them, that he remembered, with pleasure, his obligations to them; returned them thanks for the generous protection they granted to his wife and children; and told them, that, to shew his gratitude, he would even allow the *Romans* a truce for thirty days, with respect to the proper territory of *Rome*; but that, after the expiration of that time, he should expect from them a decisive answer <sup>k</sup>.

*CORIOLANUS* employed the thirty days in making new conquests in *Latium*, and then returned and encamped before *Rome* with all his forces. The senate had spent the thirty days in deliberations; and the result of their debates may give us a true notion of the temper of those haughty republicans. They resolved never to receive law from their enemy, nor treat of peace with him, till he had laid down his arms, and retired from the territory of *Rome*, and from those of her allies. Their pride did not abate, notwithstanding the present calamity. They chose ten new deputies to carry this message to *Coriolanus*, who returned them this short answer, That the *Romans* had no choice but compliance with the articles, or war; and that he allowed them three days more to come to a final determination. He even refused to hear their reply, threatening to treat them as spies, if they did not quit his camp immediately. The report of the deputies threw the city into the utmost consternation. All that could be done in this universal dejection, was to appoint every one his post, either on the ramparts, the

*Makes new conquests in Latium, and retires before Rome*  
*and returns before Rome*  
*A new deputa- tion.*

<sup>k</sup> DION. HAL. l. vii. p. 478. LIV. l. ii. c. 39. PLUT. in Coriol.

*A third  
deputa-  
tion.*

capitol, or in the towers. The tribunes were not now so much as heard of; the consuls, being at a loss what to do, assembled the senate; expedient upon expedient was proposed; and, at last, they all agreed to send a new deputation to the enemy's camp, consisting of all the ministers of the gods, with which they thought *Coriolanus* could not but be affected. Accordingly, all the priests, augurs, sacrificers, and guardians of the sacred things, were ordered to march out of the city, in their pompous habits; and to conjure *Coriolanus*, by the respect he owed to the gods, to grant peace to his country. But this deputation was as fruitless as the former. *Coriolanus* sent them back to the city, with orders to acquaint the senate, that the attack would immediately begin, if they did not submit to the conditions which he had proposed in the name of the *Volscian* nation <sup>1</sup>.

*The Ro-  
man ma-  
trons re-  
solve to  
intercede  
with him.*

UPON the return of the priests, they all looked upon the republic as lost; the men ran in disorder to the walls, and the women in despair to the temples, especially to that of *Jupiter* in the capitol, where, with tears in their eyes, they implored of the tutelar gods of *Rome* the preservation of their country, then on the brink of ruin. Such was the face of affairs in the city, when a *Roman* matron, named *Valeria*, sister of the famous *Valerius Poplicola*, as if she had been moved by a kind of divine inspiration, turned to the other matrons, who were come in crowds to the temple of *Jupiter*, and suggested to them a resolution which saved *Rome*. Let us not suffer ourselves, said she to them, to sink under our present afflictions. What men could not do, women may perhaps accomplish. We may perhaps soften the heart of a conqueror hitherto inflexible. Let us go in this mournful dress to the house of *Veturia*, the mother of *Coriolanus*, and agree with her to repair to the camp of her son. *Coriolanus* will never be able to hold out against the tears of his mother, his wife, and his children, when attended with all the women of distinction in *Rome*. This motion being approved of by all who were present, they went immediately to the house of *Veturia*, whom they found with *Volumnia*, her daughter-in-law, deploring their own misfortunes, and those of *Rome*. *Veturia*, surprised to see so many women of distinction crowd to her, asked what had brought them to an house overwhelmed with sorrow. You, replied *Valeria*, are the only refuge we have left in our misfortunes. We come to intreat you to preserve our estates, our honour, and our liberty, from the *Volsci*. Repair then with us to the camp of *Coriolanus*, and bring with you *Volumnia*, and these tender children, who may soften the heart of their beloved father. Your presence will persuade him to pre-

<sup>1</sup> DION. LIV. *ibid*.

for the preservation of his destitute family to the pursuit of his resentment, and the honours he may expect from the Volsci. Nothing can be more glorious for you, Veturia, than to recover your son, deliver your country, and save the lives of your fellow-citizens. Make no delay, since the danger is great, and requires a speedy remedy. At these words Veturia burst out into tears, recollected herself a moment, and then replied: *Alas! my interest in Coriolanus is but a poor refuge. What impressions can women make on a warrior spirited by revenge? I am not wanting in affection to my country; but what am I now in my son's eyes more than other Roman women, who share the aversion he has for Rome? This he sufficiently shewed at his departure into banishment. Coriolanus, said he to us, is now lost to you for ever. I have no longer either mother, wife, or children. I renounce all, even my domestic gods. Can we then hope to soften so hard an heart? What shall we persuade him to do? To love a country which has treated him so injuriously? To betray a nation which has received him in its bosom? Shall we desire him to shew* *Prevail*  
*compassion for a people who had none for him? Let me spend my upon his*  
*days, Valeria, in grief and sorrow, and do not force me to suffer mother*  
*the mortification of a refusal, which will be equally dishonourable* *Veturia*  
*to Coriolanus and his mother. But Valeria renewing her in-* *to make a*  
*treaties, and with her all the Roman matrons embracing her* *fourth at-*  
*knees, and conjuring her not to refuse her country this last* *tempt upon*  
*assistance, Veturia, at length overcome, promised to comply* *his resolu-*  
*with their request, if the senate agreed to it.*

VALERIA immediately gave advice of this design to the consuls, who proposed it in the senate, where, after long debates, it was approved of by the fathers. Then Veturia, and the most illustrious of the Roman matrons, in a great many chariots, which the consuls had ordered to be got ready for them, took their way to the enemy's camp. Coriolanus, being informed by his scouts, that his mother, his wife, and a great number of other women, were coming to his camp, determined to receive them with the same respect that he had paid to the ministers of religion, but in the main to grant them nothing; for he was well apprised of the views the Romans had in so unheard of a deputation. But, notwithstanding his resolution, he no sooner saw his mother and wife at the head of this troop of women, than he began to relent. He walked out of his tent; and, ordering his lictors to lower their fasces before persons so dear to him, he ran hastily to embrace them. They expressed their joy upon seeing each other again chiefly by tears; and, Coriolanus when they had given some time to the first emotions of nature, Veturia began to enter upon the subject for which she came. Coriolanus, that he might not give any umbrage to the Volsci, called the chief officers of his army to be witnesses of what

*The senate approve what the matrons had proposed.*

*The interview between Coriolanus and his mother.*

passed in this interview. They were no sooner come, than *Veturia* told him, that the *Roman* matrons who attended her, had omitted nothing, during his absence, that could comfort her and his wife *Volumnia* in their affliction; that they were come to beg peace of him once more; and to conjure him, by all that was dear to him, to turn his arms against other enemies, &c. *Coriolanus* replied, That he could not think of betraying the interests of a nation that had trusted him with the command of their army, and honoured him with a place in their senate; that he had found more honours at *Antium* than he had lost at *Rome*; and that nothing would be wanting to his happiness, if she and *Volumnia* would leave the ungrateful city, and come and enjoy among the *Volsci* the honours which they would pay to the mother and wife of their general.

THE *Velvian* officers seemed much pleased with this answer; but *Veturia*, avoiding any comparison between *Rome* and *Antium*, which would have offended them, said, That she would never require any thing of him that might be a blemish upon his honour; but that, without being any ways wanting in what he owed to the *Volsci*, he might mediate a peace equally advantageous to both nations. Then raising her voice, she added:

Her affecting  
speech.

*And can you, my son, reject a proposal so equitable? Can you prefer a cruel and obstinate revenge to the tears and intreaties of your mother? Consider, that your answer is to decide the fate of my glory, and of my life too. A Roman woman knows how to die when her honour calls upon her so to do. If I cannot move you, know I have resolved to give myself death in your presence. You shall not march to Rome without treading under your feet the body of her to whom you owe your being.*

He begins  
to relent.

VETURIA, perceiving her speech made a deep impression on his mind, continued her discourse, conjuring him by the great *Jupiter*, who presided in the capitol, and by the manes of his father and ancestors, to withdraw his troops from before *Rome*, and allow the *Romans* for her sake a truce for a year, that, in this interval, measures might be taken to procure a solid and lasting peace. Grant this, my son; said she; and if my tears and prayers are not able to move you, behold your mother at your feet, imploring of you the preservation of her country. With these words, melting in tears, she embraced his knees; his wife and children did the same; and all the *Roman* matrons, who were with him, begged for mercy by their cries and tears. *Coriolanus*, seeing his mother at his feet, could hold out no longer; but, amidst a struggle with different passions, cried out, *Ah! my mother, you disarm me*; and tenderly pressing her hand in lifting her up, he added, in a low voice, *Rome is saved, but your son is lost*; well foreseeing, that the *Volsci* would never forgive him the regard he was going to pay

His mother  
pre-  
vails upon  
him to  
raise the  
siege of  
Rome.

to her intreaties. He then retired into his tent with his mother, wife, and children; and there conferred with the two persons that were most dear to him, about the measures he should take with respect to the *Volsci* and to the *Romans*.

THE articles agreed on were these: 1<sup>st</sup>, That *Coriolanus* should decamp the next day, without committing any hostilities in the *Roman* territory. 2<sup>dly</sup>, That, after he had assembled the chiefs of the *Volsci*, he should use his utmost endeavours to persuade them to conclude a peace with *Rome* upon reasonable terms. 3<sup>dly</sup>, That, if the *Volsci* would not hearken to an accommodation, he should then lay down the command of their army, which would probably be a means to bring them to a better temper. *Veturia*, after a conference so beneficial to her country, taking leave of her son, returned in the evening with the other *Roman* ladies to *Rome*, where they were received with the acclamations of the whole city. The senate desired them to ask what reward they pleased for so important a service. But *Veturia*, after having consulted with the others, replied, That they asked nothing but leave to build a temple, at their own expence, to the *Fortune of women*. The senate, applauding their disinterestedness, ordered both the temple and the statue to be erected at the expence of the public, in the very place where *Veturia* had overcome the obstinacy of her son. *Valeria*, who had proposed so successful a deputation, was the first priestess of this sanctuary, which was much frequented by the *Roman* women<sup>m</sup>.

EARLY next morning *Coriolanus* led back his troops into the country of the *Volsci*, and there divided all the spoil among his soldiers, without reserving any thing for himself. This liberality increased their affection to him; so that they made his apology where-ever they went. However, some murmured at the respect he had shewn for his mother and country. Among these was *Attius Tullus*, who, growing jealous of the esteem and credit which his rival had gained with the soldiers, publicly gave out, that he had betrayed the interest of the *Volsci*. Hereupon *Coriolanus* desired he might be allowed to clear his conduct before the general council of the nation. An assembly was accordingly held; but, while *Coriolanus* was beginning to answer the charge brought against him by his adversaries, *Tullus*, who no less feared his eloquence than his valour, raised a tumult, by the advantage of which some of the opposite faction, suborned by *Tullus*, threw themselves upon him; and stabbed him. The soldiers who had served under him greatly lamented his death, and the people of *Antium* performed his obsequies with great pomp, and erected a stately tomb

The articles he agrees to.

He is assassinated by the Volsci.

<sup>m</sup> DION. HAL. p. 479, 480. LIV. l. ii. c. 40. PLUT. in *Coriol.*



Honours  
paid him  
by the Ro-  
man ma-  
trons.

to his memory. The *Romans* had their reasons of state for not decreeing him the same funeral honours; for he had borne arms against his country, and was not yet reconciled to *Rome* by a regular treaty. However, the *Roman* matrons, upon their presenting a petition to the senate, obtained leave to wear mourning for him ten months. Such was the end of the famous *Marcus* surnamed *Coriolanus*, who, for his eminent virtues, and great services, deserved a much better treatment both from the *Romans* and the *Volsci*. He was descended from one of the most illustrious patrician families in *Rome*. He had an excellent understanding, was frugal, disinterested, of strict probity, and inviolably attached to the observation of the laws. These pacific virtues were never known to be accompanied with a more heroic courage, or so great a capacity for the art of war. *Rome* never bred a more able general: he was always successful, because always equally brave and prudent. But he was imperious, inexorably severe, and so far from affecting popularity, that he ran into the other extreme, which passed for pride. Tho' he was too haughty for a republican, his country has ever honoured him as one of her heroes; and history has done him the justice to say, That he could, at the head of a *Roman* army, have more enlarged the dominions of the republic than all the generals who went before him: but unhappy factions hindered *Rome* from reaping any benefit from his virtues. She was at last sensible of the loss she had suffered by banishing him; and her own misfortunes taught her how many calamities she might have avoided, and how many conquests gained, if she had not provoked a man of such eminent parts.

UPON the news of *Coriolanus's* death the consuls ventured to take the field. These were *Sp. Nautius* and *Sextus Furius*, men of no courage, or experience in war. They encamped separately on eminences, at a small distance from the enemy. But though the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, who had entered into a confederacy against *Rome*, quarreled about the choice of a general, and even fought a bloody battle, the timorous consuls did not venture to attack them in their retreat, but led their troops back to *Rome*, where they were received with the hisses of the people.

THE people had of late placed such persons at their head as were pliable and submissive, without regarding any other qualifications; but having experienced the inconveniencies of being governed by men of little merit, they resolved for the future to change their conduct; and therefore chose two consuls who had given distinguishing proofs of their courage and skill in

war, *Aquilius Tuscus* and *Sicinnius Sabinus*. The former *The Ro-* gained a complete victory over the *Hernici*, and the latter over *mans* the *Volsi*, who had been so formidable under the command of *gain two* *Coriolanus*: their army was intirely defeated, their camp taken, *complete* and their general *Attius Tullus* killed in the battle. This vi- *victories,* ctory being of greater consequence than that of *Aquilius*, *the one* *Sicinnius* was decreed a triumph, and the other only an ovation. *over the* These consuls were succeeded by *Sp. Cassius*, who had been *Hernici,* twice consul before, and had obtained a triumph, and *the other* *Præculus Virginus*, a patrician of known courage. The latter *over the* marched against the *Æqui*; who, upon the approach of the *Volsi.* *Year of* *Roman* army, retired, with all their effects, into their cities. *the flood* The consul therefore, who was not in a condition to undertake *1864.* sieges, returned to *Rome*. It had fallen to *Cassius's* lot to make *Bef. Chr.* war with the *Hernici*; and accordingly he took the field, and, *484.* entering their country, by the mere terror of his arms, reduced *Of Rome* them to submit, and sue for peace, and an alliance with the *264.* republic. The consul, however, would not settle the conditions of the alliance, till they had first obtained a decree of the senate for it; which deference so obliged the fathers, that they impowered *Cassius* to draw up the articles of the treaty himself, promising to ratify whatever he should determine. This mark of distinction emboldened the consul to demand the honours of a triumph, which, though not due to him (for he had gained no victory), were nevertheless granted. He was no sooner honoured with a second triumph, than he drew up the conditions of the treaty with the *Hernici*, which was only a copy of the treaty he had made with the *Latins* in his second consulship. This condescension gave no small umbrage to the senate: they could not bear, that a foreign nation, but just reconciled to *Rome*, should be raised at once to equal honours and privileges with the *Latins*, who were allied to them by blood, and had done them many important services.

As *Cassius* was a man naturally vain and ostentatious, some penetrating republicans began to suspect, that, in thus favouring the *Hernici*, he had private views, prejudicial to the state: and indeed he soon convinced them, that his views and interests were very different from those of the commonwealth; for, the *The consul* very next day after his triumph, having, according to custom, con- *Sp. Cas-* vened an assembly of the people, to give them an account of what *sus courts* he had done for the service of the republic during the campaign, *the favour* among other things, he told them, "That he proposed, be- *of the* fore the end of his magistracy, to render the condition of *people.* " the plebeians so happy, that they should no longer envy that " of the patricians." The next day, he assembled the senate, and there made a long speech in praise of the plebeians; which he concluded, by proposing a new division of the lands be- *The agra-* longing *rian law.*

longing to the public; saying, "It was but reasonable, that the lands, taken from the enemy, should be divided among those, who had exposed their lives to enlarge the bounds of the republic." He added, "That he likewise thought it reasonable, that the poor citizens should be reimbursed what money they had paid in the late famine for the corn, which Gelo, one of the princes of Sicily, had made a present of to the republic, and which ought to have been distributed gratis among the people." Both these proposals were rejected by the senate with great indignation. Most of the senators, without any respect to the dignity of Cassius, publicly reproached him with his pride, his ambition, and the desire he betrayed of raising new troubles in the commonwealth. But Cassius, flattering himself that the people would declare in his favour, convened a new assembly; and, having there bitterly inveighed against the patricians, he exhorted the multitude to free themselves at once from the indigence to which the avarice of the nobility had reduced them, by making a solemn law for the partition of the conquered lands in their own favour. He did not stop here; but advised them, by the same law, to admit the Latins and Hernici to share with them in the distribution. To make the people relish this part of his proposal, he insinuated to them, that, by this means, those two nations would be united with them in one common interest, and consequently would not fail to support them, in case of any attempt made by the patricians to drive them from their possessions. This law, as it related to the division of lands, was called the *agrarian law*, from the Latin word *ager*, signifying land.

Why the  
tribunes  
opposed it.

THE people, at first, received the proposal with great applause; but the tribunes, displeased to see a consul author of a law which favoured the people, opposed it to the utmost of their power, and brought over to them great numbers of the people, who, at first, had been fond of Cassius, and had blamed both tribunes and patricians as betraying their interest: *It is a shame*, said the tribunes, *to suffer lands, which you have acquired by your blood, to be profusely distributed among allies, who had no share in your conquests. Why are the Hernici to have one-third of their lands left to them? Ought they not, as a conquered people, to be intirely deprived of them? There is, without all doubt, O Romans, a design upon your liberty. Your slavery will be the consequence of this fatal division of lands, which the artful consul would make between you and foreigners. By that extraordinary distribution of lands between the conquerors and the conquered, he designs to make the old enemies of Rome his creatures, to the prejudice of the republic, and to plain himself a way to sovereign power.* One day, when Cassius, and his colleague Virginius, who opposed this law, were disputing before the people, Ra-  
buleius,

*buleius*, a cunning tribune, addressed them both thus : *Is not The artful your dispute, whether the people of Rome shall themselves take conduct of possession of all the conquered lands, or share them with the Her-* *the tribune* *nici and Latins ?* The consuls agreed it was : upon which the *Rabuleius* tribune, turning to the people, *Our consuls agree,* said he, *as to the main point : neither of them is for excluding you from the lands in question. Lose no time therefore, Romans, in taking possession of what is unanimously granted you. As to the other article, leave it to be considered of hereafter.* This advice pleased the people, who were for having the clause in favour of foreigners dropped ; but *Cassius*, who was fond of his own scheme, dismissed the assembly, before they came to any resolution. As the people were then all inclined to favour *Virginius*, *Cassius* did not appear for some days in public, pretending to be indisposed ; but, in reality, contriving new expedients to get his law passed. To this end, he brought as many *Latins* to *Rome* as he could ; for they had the privileges of *Roman* citizens. But *Virginius*, aware of his colleague's design, published a decree, commanding all those, who were not inhabitants of *Rome*, to leave it immediately. *Cassius*, on the other hand, made a contrary edict, declaring it lawful for any one, who was inrolled among the citizens of *Rome*, to remain there ; so that a sedition was like to ensue.

THE senate assembled, to prevent the calamities, which seemed to threaten the state. Several opinions were offered : *Appius Claudius*, that intrepid defender of the laws, spoke first, and opposed the *Cassian* law in both its parts : he was against distributing the lands either to *Romans* or foreigners ; inveighed against *Virginius* for shewing too much indulgence to the people, and their tribunes ; proposed selling part, both of the newly conquered lands, and of those which some of the nobility had usurped, and depositing the money, arising from the sale, in the treasury, for defraying the charges of the war ; and, lastly, moved, that a college of ten senators, under the name of *decemviri*, might be created to measure these lands, and determine the differences which might arise about their limits. *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, a man much respected by the senate, spoke next ; and, after having highly approved of *Appius's* advice, observed, that there were two sorts of lands to be disposed of ; some, which were formerly conquered by the *Romans*, without the assistance of their allies ; and these, he thought, ought to be divided between the public and the indigent *Romans* only ; others, that had been lately conquered from the *Hernici*, by the assistance of the *Latins* ; and these he was for dividing between the public, the *Romans*, the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*, who were now become allies. As to the creation of the *decemvirs*, he seconded that motion.

*Appius Claudius opposes the agrarian law. His scheme with relation to the conquered lands.*

The senate  
decree a  
partition  
of the con-  
quered  
lands.

PURSUANT to the advice of these two senators, a *senatus-consultum*, or decree of the senate, was drawn up; by which it was enacted, that ten of the fathers, who had been consuls, should be appointed to divide the conquered lands between the treasury, the *Romans*, and their allies; that, for the future, all the lands the *Romans* should conquer, with the assistance of their allies, should be divided between the public treasury, the citizens of *Rome*, and those allies; and, lastly, that the choice of the first decemvirs should be left to the consuls of the ensuing year. As the estates of the principal men in *Rome* lay wholly in those conquered lands, they got this last article added to the decree, in order to put off the execution of it; nay, the chief men in the senate resolved among themselves to impeach *Cassius*, and prosecute him to the utmost, in order to deter others from stirring in this affair. Accordingly, the two new consuls, *Q. Fabius* and *Servius Cornelius*, were no sooner entered upon their office, but the quaestors, *Gaius Fabius*, brother to the first consul, and *Valerius*, nephew to the great *Poplicola*, having convened an assembly of the people, according to the power annexed to their office, accused *Cassius* of having introduced foreign troops into the city, with a design to usurp the sovereignty. The charge being plainly proved by the depositions of the *Latins* and *Hernici* themselves, *Cassius* was condemned by the unanimous voice of all his fellow-citizens, and thrown down headlong from the top of the *Tarquin* rock ° (T).

Sp. Cas-  
sius is con-  
demned,  
and exe-  
cuted.

New  
troubles on  
account of  
the agrar-  
ian law.

THE pride of the patricians, and their contemptuous treatment of the people, made the poorer citizens regret the loss of *Cassius*, who had been their zealous defender. The consuls put off, from day to day, the nominating the decemvirs for the distribution of the lands, notwithstanding the solicitation of the tribunes to have the agrarian law put in execution. This provoked the people; who, being stirred up by the seditious harangues of their tribunes, began to hold private assemblies, and threaten both the consuls and the senate. Every thing seemed to tend to a revolt, when the consuls had recourse to the old expedient of amusing the people with a war; but, as they were well apprised, that the tribunes would oppose the

° DION. HAL. p. 537—545. LIV. l. ii. c. 41.

(T) Some writers tell us, that, as soon as the two new consuls had taken possession of their dignity, *Cassius's* own father accused him to the senate of having aspired to the sovereignty; and that, like another *Brutus*, having laid

the proofs of his crime before the assembly of the people, he took him to his own house, and there caused him to be put to death, in the presence of his whole family (8).

(8) *Val. Max.* l. v. c. 8.

necessary levies, they caused a rumour to be spread, that they were going to create a dictator, and that *Appius Claudius* would be chosen. The very name of a man so severe, and so much dreaded by the multitude, made such an impression on the people, that they lifted themselves without delay. *Cornelius* entered the country of the *Veientes*; and *Q. Fabius* that of the *Volsci*. Both consuls were attended with good success: *Fabius* returned with a great booty in spoils, cattle, and slaves; but sold the whole, and put the money into the hands of the quaestors, without giving the least part of it to his soldiers <sup>p</sup>. And now this year being expired, *Gaius Fabius* the quaestor, and *Emilius Mamercinus*, were chosen consuls in the comitia by centuries. *Emilius* marched against the *Volsci*, by whom he was defeated in the field; but, the enemy having attacked his camp, after he had received a strong reinforcement from his colleague, he sallied out upon them, put them to flight, and laid waste their country.

DURING the absence of the consuls, the senate, to divert the people's minds from the agrarian law, ordered the consecration of the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, which had been vowed by *Pejthunius* at the battle of *Regillus*. In the mean while, the time for electing new consuls being come, *M. Fabius*, brother to *Quantus* and *Gaius*, and *L. Valerius*, who, in his quaestorship, had been instrumental in the destruction of *Cassius*, were chosen. During their consulship, the war with the *Volsci* breaking out anew, the tribune *Mænius* protested against any levies for the service, till the decemvirs were named for executing the agrarian laws. The consuls, to extricate themselves from this perplexity, carried their tribunal out of *Rome*, beyond the jurisdiction of the tribunes, which was confined within the walls of the city. They then sent a summons to the people; and, if any one refused to appear, or give in his name, they ordered his house in the country to be demolished, and his lands laid waste. Thus, without having any contests with the tribunes, they brought the people to their duty, and soon formed two armies; one to march against the *Veientes*, and the other against the *Volsci*. The consuls, distrusting their troops, which consisted of men ill affected to them, and, for the most part, inlisted against their will, agreed to act only upon the defensive. This agreement was observed by *Fabius*, who marched against the *Veientes*; but *Valerius* came to an engagement with the *Volsci*, which proved very bloody, without any considerable advantage on either side; for both armies, after having fought many hours with incredible fury, retired, as it were, by common consent, to their respective

*Consecration of the temple of Castor and Pollux.*

*War with the Volsci.*

*An engagement with the Volsci, without advantage on either side.*

<sup>p</sup> LIV. l. ii. c. 42. DION. HAL. p. 547-558.

camps. *sides.*

New disturbances.

camps. The friends of *Valerius* at *Rome* gave out, that it was through want of affection in the soldiers to their general, that he had not gained a complete victory; but the soldiers, in all their letters, accused their general of incapacity in military affairs. The consuls detained their soldiers in the field as long as possible, to avoid fresh disturbances; but, the time for the election of new magistrates drawing near, they were obliged to return to *Rome*: and then discord raged again with more fury than ever.

An interregnum.

Union re-established.

THE patricians were for promoting *Appius Claudius*, son of the famous *Appius*, who had so signally shewed his aversion to the people; but, as often as the consuls ordered the centuries to assemble, the tribunes, at the head of the people, made so much noise, and raised such violent and bitter contests, that it was impossible to proceed to the election. The consuls and the senate endeavoured to appease the tumult; but to no effect, the tribunes telling them, that, unless they chose men of unquestionable characters, they should find means to prevent any election; and that they would not suffer tyrants to be imposed upon them for magistrates. As these disputes threatened a sedition, the senate agreed to reduce the republic for some time to an interregnum, and commit the administration of affairs to some venerable old men, who should govern by turns, and take care to provide new consuls. *S. Atratinus* was the first who took upon him the care of public affairs, according to this scheme; and, from that time, all other authority ceased in *Rome*. To him, a few days after, succeeded *Sp. Lartius*, a man of a pacific disposition, who managed both parties so artfully, that he prevailed on each to abate somewhat of their demands. It was concluded, that the election should be made as usual, and by the votes of the centuries; and that the two parties should agree beforehand upon the persons, who should be raised to the consulate. Union being re-established upon these conditions, they proceeded, only for form-sake, to the election. The tribunes got the consular dignity bestowed upon *C. Julius Iulus*, who was of the people's party. The patricians named for his colleague *Q. Fabius Vitulanus*, who, without having ever offended the people, had, on all occasions, stood up for the rights of the senate. As for the promotion of *Appius*, the patricians, fearing the opposition of the tribunes, might raise a fatal sedition, thought it advisable to defer it to more peaceable times. The tribunes made some opposition to the new levies, in hopes of getting the decemvirs named, and obtaining the partition of the lands: but *Fabius*, notwithstanding

1 DION. HAL. l. ix. p. 559—562. LIV. l. ii. c. 42.

ing their opposition, raised such a number of troops, as enabled him to take the field, and ravage the country of the *Veientes*†.

THE civil feuds broke out afresh upon the next election of *The civil* consuls: the people insisted on choosing patricians of their party; *feuds break* and the senate were for electing such only, as were in the interest *out afresh.* of the nobility. Each party stood to its pretensions with equal warmth; but at length the affair was accommodated, and they agreed to go by the same rule as in the last election. The senate named *Cæso Fabius*, who, in his quæstorship, had destroyed *Cassius*; and the people *Sp. Furius*. The *Æqui* and the *Veientes* having renewed their incursions, the consuls ordered the people to take arms; but *Sp. Icilius*, or *Licinius*, as *Livy* calls him, one of the tribunes, revived the old quarrel about the division of lands, and declared he would vigorously oppose all the decrees that should be issued by the senate, let the matter of them be what it would, till the decemvirs were named. In the mean time, the *Æqui* and *Veientes*, with fire and sword, laid waste the territory of *Rome*, without the consuls being able to take the field, through the obstinacy of the tribunes, who prevented their making any levies. In this perplexity, *Appius* thought of an expedient, which proved very successful: this was, to gain over some of the tribunes; for, if the opposition of a single tribune could suspend the execution of a decree of the senate, he concluded, that it had the same force as to the resolutions of his colleagues. The senators there- *The senate,* fore applied themselves to gain the friendship of the tribunes; *by a stra-* wherein they succeeded, four of that college declaring in a pu- *tagm,* blic assembly, that they could not bear, that the enemy should *make the* thus lay waste the country with impunity. The opposition of *necessary* *Icilius* being therefore over-ruled, the people took arms. *levies.* *Fu-* *Great ad-* *rius*, being beloved by his soldiers, had a successful campaign, *vantages* and gained very considerable advantages over the *Æqui*; but *over the* the troops of *Fabius*, who were to act against the *Veientes*, *Æqui.* chose rather to lose their own glory, than gain any honour for their general. They refused to pursue the enemy, after they had put their troops to flight, lest, by making the victory complete, they should procure *Fabius* a triumph at his return to *Rome*. Neither did they stop here; but, the night following, *Fabius* they struck their tents without orders, and began their march *abandoned* towards the city. The consul, finding it impossible to govern *by the sol-* them, put the best face he could upon the matter, founded a *diers.* retreat, and returned with them‡.

As it was now become customary in the republic to have one of the consuls chosen according to the inclinations of the

† DION. HAL. *ibid.* LIV. l. ii. c. 43.  
LIV. *ibid.*

‡ DION. HAL. *ibid.*



*The He-  
trurians  
invade the  
Roman  
territory.*

*Year of  
the flood*

1870.

*Bef. Chr.*

478.

*Of Rome*

270.

*The eager-  
ness of the  
Romans  
to engage.*

people, and the other according to those of the senate, the patricians cast their eyes again upon the *Fabian* family, and raised to the consulate *M. Fabius* a second time, notwithstanding his brother *Cass* had been so disagreeable to the army the year before; and the people promoted *Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus*. In their consulship, the *Hetrurians*, encouraged by the divisions in *Rome*, invaded the *Roman* territory with a numerous army. *Pontificius*, one of the tribunes, renewed the old dispute; but, the senate having gained some of their college, an army of twenty thousand men was raised, and equally divided between the two consuls; who, taking the field, encamped near each other; but had so little dependence on the affection of their troops, that they kept within their intrenchments. In the mean time, lightning falling upon the tent of the consul *Manlius*, the augurs declared, that his camp would be taken by the enemy: upon which prediction, he quitted it the same night, and joined his army to that of *Fabius*. The *Hetrurians*, interpreting the omen to their advantage, seized the deserted camp, and then insulted the united armies in their intrenchments. Upon this, those very soldiers, who, a little before, had agreed not to come to a battle, began to complain of their commanders for not leading them out against the enemy. The generals seemed to consult together, whether it were proper to engage the enemy; but their true design was, to increase the eagerness of the soldiers by further delays.

ACCORDINGLY, they grew so impatient to fall upon the insulting *Hetrurians*, that the consuls were obliged to take away their arms, lest they should come to an engagement without orders. Then they crowded about the generals tents, making great clamours; and *Fabius* laid hold of that opportunity to reproach them with their former behaviour, and to increase their ardour, by expressing a diffidence of their courage and honour. He had no sooner ended his speech, but they all cried out with one voice, *Lead us on, and lay aside your suspicions*. One *Flavoleius* a centurion, in great esteem among the troops, hearing these words, got upon an eminence, and thus addressed himself to the consuls: *I plainly see you have not quite laid aside your distrust of us; and indeed you have reason to fear, that we shall not act answerably to our promises; but, for my part at least, I declare, I will behave in the battle like a true Roman*. *Fellow-soldiers*, continued he, *do you take the same oath that I am now about to take*. At which words, he drew his sword, and, lifting it up towards heaven, cried out, *O great Jupiter, Mars, and thou god, whosoever thou art, who punishest breach of faith, I call you to witness, that I will never return to Rome till I have conquered*. The consuls, inferior officers, and all the soldiers, took the same oath, and confirmed it by sacrifices.

fices. Then the consuls restored the soldiers their arms, and led them out of the camp in silence, and good order, to take possession of an advantageous post, where they drew them up in battalia. On the other hand, the *Hetrurians* were surprised to see the cowardly *Romans* come out of their intrenchments, and offer them battle. As this was a thing they did not expect, they had not brought the soldiers of the two camps together. However, either of their armies was considerably more numerous than that of the *Romans*; and besides, it was confidently reported, that the *Romans* would betray their generals, and desert them in the heat of the engagement.

FULL of these hopes, they sounded the charge. The consul *Manlius* commanded the right wing of the *Roman* army, *Q. Fabius* the left, and *M. Fabius*, the other consul, the main body. Both armies advanced with great shouts, and came to a close engagement. The front of the right wing of the *Hetrurians* being more extended than that of the left wing of the *Romans*, and more numerous, *Fabius*, with great difficulty, withstood the multitude that faced him. However, he had *Manlius*, broken into a great body of *Vcientes*, and put them in disorder, when an *Hetrurian* of a gigantic stature, attacking him, plunged his lance into his breast. *Fabius* drew it out; but soon after fell from his horse, and died. Upon his death, the left wing was surrounded; which the consul *Fabius* hearing, he immediately quitted his post, and flew to their assistance, with his brother *Cæso*, and such troops as he could confide in; and, finding the *Romans*, disheartened at the loss of their leader, giving way, and ready to betake themselves to a disorderly flight, he cried out; *Fellow-soldiers, have you forgot your oaths? Will you shamefully fly back to the camp? Are you more afraid of the Hetrurians, than of Jupiter and Mars?* Having uttered these words, he threw himself, with his brother *Cæso*, into the midst of the enemy; and, being seconded by the troops he brought with him, obliged the *Hetrurians* to retire with great slaughter. In the right wing, commanded by *Manlius*, the *Romans* fought with great courage and resolution, till the brave consul, being wounded, was carried out of the field. Then his absence, and the report of his death, made a great alteration on that side. The *Romans* began to lose ground; but the consul *Fabius*, and his brother, appearing unexpectedly in the first ranks, and assuring the frightened *Romans*, that the enemy's right wing and main body were put to flight, and that the consul *Manlius* was still alive, they returned to the charge, and would have gained a complete victory, if a new battle had not begun in another place.

A BODY of *Vcientes*, in the heat of the action, attacked the *Roman* camp, which was guarded by a small number of troops,

and afterwards killed.

The Romans gain a signal victory, chiefly by the bravery of the Fabii.

and were ready to enter it, when *Manlius*, wounded as he was, hearing of their danger, caused himself to be carried thither; but while, forgetful of his wound, he was defending, at the head of a small body of chosen horse, one of the avenues to the camp, his strength being quite exhausted, he fell from his horse, and, being surrounded by the enemy, was killed on the spot. His death was followed by the taking of the camp, the *Romans*, who defended it, being overpowered with numbers. Hereupon the consul *Fabius*, who was still engaged in the plain, leaving his mæ, came unexpectedly upon the *Hetrurians*, retook the camp; and then, hastening back to the field of battle, gave the finishing stroke to the defeat of the enemy, who retired into their intrenchments in disorder. Thus the *Romans* gained the victory; but it cost them dear, one of the consuls, the surviving consul's brother, and a greater number of persons of distinction, being killed, than in any former action. The consul was so affected with the death of his brother, that, at his return to *Rome*, he declined the honours of a triumph, which had been decreed him while he was yet in the camp. He entered the city in mourning, bringing with him the bodies of his colleague and brother; and, mounting the rostra, made a panegyric on those two heroes, without saying any thing of his own exploits. As he was now the sole governor of the republic, he was afraid of countenancing the least appearance of monarchy; and therefore he abdicated the consulship two months before it expired, and, leaving the government in an interregnum, retired, to cure the wounds he had received in the action. This modest and generous behaviour in a person of so great merit, gained him the hearts of the people; so that, from this time, the *Fabii* became popular.

The consul Cæso Fabius advises the senate to put the agrarian law in execution.

THE *Roman* people, assembling in the *Campus Martius*, chose *Cæso Fabius* the third time; so that now the three brothers had enjoyed that office for seven years successively. The colleague whom the centuries gave him was *T. Virginius*. The new magistrates had no sooner entered upon their office, but *Fabius*, actuated by his new affection for the people, laboured to reconcile them to the senate. The demands of the people about the distribution of the conquered lands, and the refusal of the patricians, had been too long the source of divisions in the republic. The consul therefore, before the tribunes had presented any petition on that head, which they did every year, exhorted the senators to prevent the complaints of the people, and put an end to the daily disturbances, by making the distribution of those lands themselves. But *Fabius* was not heard; some rallied him on his new zeal for the interests of the people;

DION. HAL. l. ix. p. 562—570. LIV. l. ii. c. 44—47.

others

others murmured; and some even accused him of ambition. He was attended with better success in his military expeditions; for he dispersed the *Æqui*, who had committed great ravages in the *Latin* territories, without the loss of a single man; and afterwards hastened to the relief of his colleague, who, being surrounded by the *Veientes*, without timely assistance, would have been obliged to surrender at discretion. Nor was this the only remarkable service that *Cæso Fabius* did the republic in his third consulate: the two consuls were scarce returned to *Rome*, and their armies disbanded, when the *Ætrurians* entered again the *Roman* territory, and made incursions even to the foot of the hill *Janiculum*, carrying off the cattle, and laying the whole country waste. The senate assembled, to deliberate upon the means of putting a stop to these devastations; but, the people refusing to take arms till the agrarian law was put in execution, the fathers were greatly at a loss what to do. In this perplexity, *Fabius* formed a project worthy of his affection for his country: he assembled all the men of his own name and family; and, having communicated to them his design, which was, that the family of *Fabii* should alone, and at their own expence, take upon them to secure the frontiers against the *Veientes*, the *Fabii* readily consented to the motion, and communicated their design to the fathers; by whom it was received with applause, and unanimously approved. Early the next morning, those illustrious patricians, being in all three hundred and six, appeared under arms at *Cæso Fabius's* door, and from thence marched through the city in good order, with about four thousand men, partly their vassals, and partly their clients, all under the command of *M. Fabius*, who had last year gained the battle of *Veii*, and was now cured of the wounds he had received on that occasion. The whole city ran in crowds to see them, and made vows to heaven for their preservation. They went out of the city at the gate *Carnentalis*; and, marching to the banks of the *Cremera*, now the *Baccano*, a small river, which discharges itself into the *Tiber*, there built a fort in a steep place, surrounded it with a double ditch, and erected towers at certain distances. When the works were finished, they divided their men into four small parties, one of which was left to guard the fort, while the other three marched into three several parts of the enemy's country, and pillaged it. Their first expeditions were attended with great success: no husbandmen durst appear in the plains, or bring out their cattle.

In the mean time, new consuls being chosen at *Rome*, to wit, *Lucius Æmilius* a second time, and *C. Servilius*, *Cæso*

• DION. HAL. p. 570—583. LIV. l. ii. c. 48; 49.

Cæſo Fabius the first proconsul. War with the Hetrurians, the Volſci, and the Æqui.

The Hetrurians intirely defeated by Æmilius, who grants them a peace.

*Fabius*, the last year's consul, obtained leave to join his family on the banks of the *Cremera*; but the conscript fathers, to gain him the more respect, created for him a new office, declaring him a proconsul, a title which gave him the same power over the troops he commanded, as if he had been consul; but no other authority (U). The new consuls had scarce entered upon their office, when news were brought to *Rome*, that the *Hetrurians* were raising a formidable army, in order to fall upon the *Fabii*; and that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* had already invaded the country of the *Latins*. Hereupon the consuls divided their army into three bodies: *Æmilius* led one against the *Veientes*; *Servilius* another against the *Volſci*; and *Sp. Furius* the third, with the title of proconsul, against the *Æqui*. The *Volſci*, being attacked by *Servilius*, repulsed him, and obliged him to keep in his camp, without attempting any thing else that summer. The *Æqui* fled at the approach of *Furius*, who laid waste their country. The *Veientes*, having received strong reinforcements from the other *Hetrurian* nations, came to an engagement with *Æmilius*; but were intirely defeated, and forced to sue for peace. The consul, out of respect to the senate, referred their deputies to the conscript fathers; and they, in return, gave him full power to conclude a treaty upon what conditions he should think proper. Hereupon the consul granted them a peace, without demanding hostages, or requiring any thing more than two months provisions for his army, and money to defray the expences of the war for six months.

(U) *Livy* does not mention the creation of a proconsul till the year of *Rome* 289. when he speaks of *T. Quinctius Berbatus*, as commanding the army of the republic against the *Æqui* in that quality. This dignity, when it was, if we may be allowed the expression, in its infancy, was confined to the command of the troops, when the presence of the consul was necessary at *Rome*, or when the republic, being attacked by several different nations at once, was obliged to send several armies into the field, and consequently to increase the number of her generals. When the expedition was ended, the proconsulate expired: but afterwards, when *Rome* became mistress of *Italy*, and gave law to distant na-

tions, she then appointed governors over the conquered provinces in quality of proconsuls and propraetors. These offices had then great privileges annexed to them, as we shall observe in a more proper place. It is not plain from the *Latin* historians, whether the proconsulate was at first disposed of by the senate, or people; or whether they both joined in the election of a proconsul; but, when the proconsulate became a common office in the republic, it is certain, that the people, assembled by tribes, sometimes by curiæ, and more rarely by centuries, had their share in the election; of which we shall find instances in the sequel of this history.

THIS indulgence highly offended the senate, infomuch that *The senate,* they refused him a triumph. However, as he was an excel- *provoked* lent commander, they promised to reward him, according to *at his in-* his merit, on condition he relieved his colleague, who was kept *dulgence,* blocked up in his camp by the *Volsi.* But *Emilius,* piqued *refuse him* at the refusal he had met with, returned to *Rome,* and com- *a triumph;* plained to the people of the proceedings of the senate, as if they were displeased with him for no other reason, but because he had put too speedy an end to the war with the *Veientes.* *The patricians,* said he, *preleng the wars abroad, with no other view but to put off the execution of the Cassian law, and the distribution of the conquered lands.* He did not stop here; *who out of* but, to shew his resentment, instead of marching to the assist- *pique dis-* ance of *Servilius,* he disbanded his army, and recalled *Furius,* *bands his* who, as proconsul, was obliged to obey him w. *army.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the peace concluded with the *Ve-* *The Vei-* *entes,* the *Fabii* did not abandon their post, but continued on *entes* the frontiers to keep a people in awe, whose *inconstancy,* and *obliged by* inclination to break treaties, were well known. In the fol- *the other* lowing consulship of *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius,* the other *lucumo-* *nies to* *Hetrurian* lucumonies being offended at the separate peace *break the* the *Veientes* had made with *Rome,* summoned them to appear *treaty* in the general diet of the nation; and there gave them to un- *made with* derstand, that they must either break the treaty they had made *the Ro-* with *Rome,* or sustain a war with the other eleven lucumo- *mans.* nies. The *Veientes,* being reduced to this dilemma, chose the former; and accordingly sent to the *Fabii,* requiring them to demolish their fort, and quit the frontiers. The *Fabii* re- jected the proposal with indignation; whereupon hostilities were immediately renewed, and all *Hetruria* espoused the quarrel of their countrymen. The *Fabii* continued to ravage the country, and often engaged the *Veientes* in the open field with their usual success, till they were at last unfortunately surpris- ed in an ambush.

THE *Veientes* lodged a whole army of *Hetrurians* in a neigh- *The Fabii* bouring wood, and posted centinels on all the eminences, to *surprised* give them notice when they should sally out. Then they *in an am-* brought forth all their cattle and horses into a valley under a *bush.* small guard, as if they had no other design but to feed them. The *Fabii* no sooner saw them, than they marched out in a great body, leaving no more men in the fort than were necessary to secure it from a surprize. They advanced in good order, and the herdsmen, with their guard, flying on their approach, some of the *Fabii* pursued the fugitives, while others seized the cattle, and a small number of them continued drawn up

in order of battle. Immediately the *Hetrurians* sallied out of the wood, surrounded the *Romans* on all sides, and cut in pieces those who were in pursuit of the booty. Hereupon the *Fabii*, who had kept their ranks, drawing themselves into a close compact body, which faced every way, quitted the plain, and gained an eminence, opening themselves a way with their swords through the enemy's forces. When they had got half-way up the ascent, they fell into another ambush, and were quite encompassed anew by a fresh body of *Hetrurian* troops, which had been posted in a wood near the hill.

*The miserable state of the Fabii. Surrounded on all sides.*

THE *Fabii*, though quite spent, and out of breath, renewed the fight with great vigour, made a dreadful slaughter of the *Hetrurians*, and at length, in spite of all opposition, gained the top of the hill. There they spent the night without any provisions, being on all sides beset by an army of *Hetrurians*. The next day the *Fabii*, who were left to guard the fort, being informed of the danger of their relations, hastened to their relief; but, being attacked in the plain by a numerous body of the enemy, they were cut off to a man. Not long after, those, who were on the top of the hill, being pressed by hunger and thirst, broke their way through the enemy, of whom they killed great numbers. The *Hetrurians*, surprised at their courage and intrepidity, in the heat of action, offered to let them retire unmolested, upon condition they would throw down their arms, and give their word, that they would abandon the fort. But this the brave men looked upon as a dishonourable proposal, and therefore chose rather to die with glory, than save their lives by an action which they thought would reflect disgrace on their family. They renewed the attack; upon which the *Hetrurians*, changing their way of fighting, avoided coming to a close engagement; and, keeping at a distance, showered from all parts darts and stones on those illustrious warriors. They held out some time against the unexpected storm, and pushed forwards against the enemy, who had not the courage to come near them. At length the *Hetrurians*, perceiving that the swords of the *Romans* were, for the most part, broken, and their specklers split in pieces, ventured to attack them man to man.

*killed on spot.*

THEN the *Fabii*, like men in despair, threw themselves, with incredible fury, into the midst of the *Hetrurian* battalions, and, snatching the arms of their enemies, fought them with their own weapons. Hereupon the *Hetrurians* were again obliged to have recourse to javelins and stones, with which those brave men were overpowered, and all killed on the spot. The *Hetrurians* cut off their heads, and, carrying them in triumph on the tops of their lances, shewed them to the

the *Fabii*, who had staid in the fort. At this sight they gave themselves up to despair, and, instead of defending the ramparts, sallied out upon the enemy, without observing any order, aiming at nothing but to sell their lives dear. These were likewise cut in pieces; so that, of the three hundred and six *Fabii*, not one escaped (W).

Year of  
the flood  
1873.  
Bef. Chr.  
475.  
Of Rome  
273.

ROME shewed all the concern for those brave warriors that gratitude could express. The gate *Carmentalis*, through which they marched out of the city, was thenceforth called *Porta Scelerata*, or the *Accursed Gate*; and the day of their defeat was reckoned among the unlucky days, on which it was not lawful to begin any thing of consequence \* (X).

THE

\* DION. HAL. *ibid.* Liv. l. ii. c. 5c

(W) *Livy*, and those who have copied after him, tell us, that only one of the name was left in *Rome*, a youth not fourteen years of age, from whom the *Fabii* we find afterwards mentioned, were all descended. But *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* looks upon this as a mere fable, invented to give something of a miraculous air to so tragical an event. And indeed we can hardly believe, that of all the *Fabii*, who perished at the *Cremera*, one only left a child behind him.

(X) We have followed *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* in our account of the unfortunate defeat of the *Fabii*. But other historians are said, by that writer, to relate it in the following manner. The family of the *Fabii*, say they, being obliged to offer up a sacrifice, and celebrate a family-feast together, they marched out of the fort on the *Cremera*, in order to discharge this religious duty, guarded by a small number of their clients. They passed through the enemy's country, without using the precaution of sending out scouts to reconnoitre, or marching in order of battle, as if they had

been at peace with the *Ætrurian* nation. But the *Veiientes*, being informed of their departure, posted part of their troops in an ambuscade, on the road the *Romans* were to take, while a small body marched to meet the guard, and attack it. The *Fabii*, who suspected nothing of this nature, fell into the snares which had been laid for them. The troops, which lay concealed, sallied out unexpectedly, and attacked them with vigour, some in front, others in flank, while a troop of *Veiientes*, who followed them close, fell upon their rear. Being thus surrounded on all sides, and overpowered with numbers, they were all cut off. This account has not, according to *Dionysius*, the least appearance of truth. Is it credible, says he, that all the *Fabii* should abandon so important a post, without an express order from the senate? As for the care of the sacrifice, it might have been committed to such of their family and name as were dispensed with by their age from bearing arms. If we suppose, that all the *Fabii*, not one excepted, were shut up in the fort.



THE consul *Menenius*, who had received orders to march against the *Hetrurians*, was but thirty furlongs from the field of battle, when the *Fabii* were cut in pieces. But it was believed, that he, out of jealousy, gave them up to destruction, when he might have easily relieved them. He afterwards encamped disadvantageously on the side of an hill, with-  
*The consul* out securing the top of it; so that the *Hetrurians*, encamping  
*Menenius* above him, attacked him from the higher ground, gave him

it would have been sufficient for them to have dispatched three or four of the family to discharge their obligations in the name of all the rest. Besides, it would have been highly imprudent in them to leave such an important place defenceless, and at the enemy's mercy, and to march through their country with as much confidence as in the most peaceable times.

*Livy* observes, that the *Fabii* marched out of the city at the gate *Carmentalis*, leaving the temple of *Janus* on their right hand. *Ovid* speaks of the departure of the *Fabii*, of the curse annexed to the gate *Carmentalis*, and of the temple of *Janus*, in the following verses:

*Carmentis portæ dextra est via proxima Jano.  
 Ire per hanc noli, quisquis es: omen habet.  
 Illa fama refert Fabios exisse trecentos.  
 Porta vacat culpa: sed tamen omen habet (9).*

To *Janus* leads *Carmenta's* right-hand gate:  
 Forbear to pass that way, or meet your fate.  
 That way three hundred *Fabii* rush'd to war.  
 The gate is innocent: but fate is there.

The same poet tells us, that family, not yet fourteen years only one youth of the *Fabian* of age, was saved.

*Una dies Fabios ad bellum miserat omnes:  
 Ad bellum missos perdidit una dies.  
 Ut tamen Hercules superesset? semina gentis,  
 Creditile est ipso consuluisse deos:  
 Nam puer in pube, & adhuc non utilis armis,  
 Unus de Fabia gente relictus erat (1).*

One day the *Fabian* race to battle sent:  
 One day destroy'd them who to battle went.  
 Yet, that the line of *Hercules* might last,  
 The gods themselves perhaps the sentence pass'd,  
 A stripling, then for wielding arms too young,  
 Was the sole remnant of th' illustrious throng.

(9) *Ovid. f. ff. l. ii.*

(1) *Idem ib. d.*

an intire defeat, and made themselves masters of his camp. *defeated by*  
 Puffed up with this victory, they advanced to the hill *Janicu- the He-*  
*lum*, and posted themselves on the top of it, whence they *trurians*;  
 could see all that passed in the city, and observe what prepara-  
 tions were made against a siege. This obliged the senate  
 to recal the consul *Horatius*, and the army which was ap-  
 pointed to act against the *Volsi*. The brave *Horatius* imme-  
 diately came to a battle with the *Hetrurians*, near the gate  
*Collina*, the success of which was pretty equal; but in a se- *who, in*  
 cond, near the temple of *Hope*, about a mile from *Rome*, he *their turn,*  
 gained a victory, which revived the *Roman* courage, and se- *are de-*  
 cured the city. However, the enemy did not decamp from *feated by*  
 the *Janiculum*, nor quite lay aside the design of besieging *him.*  
*Rome.*

AT the same time a famine began to be felt in the city, oc- *A famine*  
 casioned by the incursions of the *Hetrurians*. The lands hav- *in Rome.*  
 ing been left unsown the last year for fear of their ravages,  
 and most of the barns in the country burnt or plundered, there  
 was a great scarcity of corn. The meaner sort of the people  
 got together in companies, threatening to plunder the grana-  
 ries of the rich; and their clamours and mutinies were so-  
 mented by the tribunes, who did not fail to throw all the  
 blame on the conscript fathers. On the other hand, the se-  
 nators, to clear themselves, did all that lay in their power to  
 relieve the people. They sent out merchants to buy corn,  
 fixed the price of it at a low rate, and ordered that none of  
 the patricians should keep more in their granaries than was ne-  
 cessary for the maintenance of their families. But these wise  
 precautions were only servicable for a time. The *Romans*  
 found themselves at last under a necessity either of starving,  
 or driving the enemy farther off. They marched out there-  
 fore under the conduct of their new consuls, *A. Virginus*  
 and *P. Servilius*; and, engaging the *Hetrurians*, gained a *The He-*  
 complete victory over them. But when by the dead bodies, *trurians*  
 that were brought to *Rome* to be burnt, the senate saw how *intirely de-*  
 many *Romans* had perished in the engagement, they refused *feated.*  
 the consuls the honour of a triumph.

THE departure of the *Hetrurians* restored plenty to the  
 city, provisions being brought thither from all the neighbour-  
 ing countries. But the people were no sooner delivered from  
 the fear of a foreign enemy, than they renewed their com-  
 plaints about the distribution of the conquered lands. As they  
 could not bring about the execution of the *Cassian* law, they  
 laid the whole blame upon the consuls, citing them before the  
 assembly of the tribes, as soon as the new consuls, *C. Nautius*

*Menenius  
accused be-  
fore the  
people, and  
sentenced  
to death.*

*The sen-  
tence of  
death  
changed  
into a fine.*

*He dies of  
grief.*

*The ani-  
mosity be-  
tween the  
patricians  
and ple-  
beians in-  
creased.*

*Servilius  
accused,  
but ac-  
quitted.*

and *C. Valerius*, were chosen. Thus *Menenius*, the son of the famous *Menenius Agrippa*, was accused by the tribunes of having connived at the destruction of the *Fabii*, and summoned to give an account of his conduct before a tribunal, where his most inveterate enemies were his judges. The patricians used the same arts they had formerly practised in the affair of *Coriolanus*, to prevent his being tried by the people, but to no purpose; for the tribunes continued obstinate, and their obstinacy prevailed. *Menenius* was tried, not by the curiæ, but by the tribes, and almost unanimously condemned to death. But the senate, and all his friends, soliciting earnestly in his behalf, the tribunes changed the sentence of death into a fine of two thousand asces, that is, about five pounds of our money; a considerable sum, when men of the first rank lived upon the product of their small farms, which they often cultivated with their own hands. Nay, this fine was excessive, with respect to *Menenius*, whose father had left him no other patrimony, but his glory. His friends offered to pay it for him, but he rejected their generous offers; and, being sensibly affected with the injustice and ingratitude of his fellow-citizens, shut himself up in his house, where he soon died of grief and hunger.

THIS melancholy accident greatly increased the animosity between the patricians and plebeians; the former, determining to keep no measures with the latter, openly declared that they would never suffer the *Cassian* law to be put in execution. On the other hand, the tribunes, more enraged than ever, omitted no opportunity of prosecuting the nobility. They took great pleasure in humbling the patricians, and summoning the consuls, as soon as they had laid down their office, to appear before the tribunal of the people. *Servilius*, as we have observed above, had lost a great number of men in the engagement with the *Ætrurians*, when he drove them from the *Janiculum*. He had therefore scarce laid down the saces, when a criminal process was commenced against him, for pursuing the enemy too far, and, by that indiscretion, exposing the lives of many citizens to unnecessary dangers. But this was only a pretence for the prosecution. The real crime, both of *Servilius* and *Menenius*, was, their omitting to name the decemvirs for the partition of the lands. *Servilius* had too much confidence in the goodness of his cause, to beg the senate to intercede for him. He faced the danger boldly, and, without changing either his habit or countenance, appeared before the assembly of the people, and made so judicious a defence, that he was unanimously acquitted.

THE following year, *A. Manlius* and *L. Furius* being chosen consuls, the former marched against the *Veientes*, who, at his approach, shut themselves up in *Veii*, where they were so distressed for want of provisions, that they sued for peace, and obtained of the senate a forty years truce. The consul *Manlius*, for this successful and unbloody expedition, was honoured with an ovation <sup>a</sup>.

PEACE abroad was always followed by intestine broils at home. The old disputes about the distribution of the lands were revived by the tribunes; but the consuls, without being in the least shaken by their clamours and menaces, finished their year, and left affairs in the same situation they had found them. They had no sooner resigned the fasces to *L. Æmilius*, now the third time consul, and *Vopiscus Junius*, than *Cn. Genucius*, a daring, enterprising tribune, cited them to appear before the people, accusing them of having neglected to name the commissioners, with a design to debar the poor citizens, and brave soldiers, of the share they had so well deserved in the conquered lands. He exhorted the people to do themselves justice; representing to them, that if they inflicted an exemplary punishment on those criminals, they might, by that means, oblige their successors to put in execution the *Cassian* law. Accordingly a day was appointed for their trial. These violent proceedings greatly alarmed the senate, who now saw, with no less indignation than sorrow, that the tribunes aimed equally at their lives and fortunes; and that they had formed a design of destroying all the senators one after another. They therefore had private meetings among themselves, and resolved to rescue *Furius* and *Manlius*, if they were condemned, there not being wanting desperate men, who offered to make the attempt. On the other hand, the people triumphed beforehand, insolently boasting, that, in spite of all the artifices of the senate, the *Cassian* law should pass, and be sealed with the blood of those who had opposed it; but the very day before the trial of *Manlius* and *Furius*, the factious tribune *Genucius* was found dead in his bed, without any marks on his body either of violence or poison. He was carried into the forum, and, being there exposed to public view, the common people concluded, that the gods did not approve of his enterprize; but the wiser sort entertained violent suspicions of the patricians. However, the religious notion having prevailed, the partition of lands was not so much as mentioned for some time after <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> LIV. l. ii. c. 54.

<sup>b</sup> DION. HAL. l. ix. p. 594—605.

LIV. l. ii. c. 54. & ZONAR. l. ii.

*The  
haughty  
and im-  
prudent  
behaviour  
of the con-  
suls.*

THE consuls and senate, finding the tribunes greatly con-founded at the unexpected death of their colleague, and more at the effect it had upon the superstitious minds of the people, began to act in a very arbitrary manner, imagining they should now meet with no opposition, either from the people, or their tribunes. As there was occasion to raise an army, the consuls held their tribunal, as usual, in the forum; and there either fined, or cause to be whipped, those citizens, who did not appear as soon as they were called to give in their names. Amongst others, they called one *P. Volero* to list himself as a common soldier. *Volero*, though by birth a plebeian, had been formerly an officer in the army; and therefore, as he had behaved on all occasions with great valour, he expected to be promoted, at least, to the post of a centurion. Not able therefore to stifle his resentment, he complained of the injustice of the consuls, and demanded to be restored to his former post, or to know for what fault he was degraded. The consuls, in great anger, sent a lictor to seize him; and, upon his making resistance, ordered him to be beaten with rods. The lictor endeavoured to execute their sentence; but *Volero*, striking him a blow on the face, declared, that he had done nothing which deserved that punishment, and, at the same time, implored the protection of the tribunes; but they, terrified at the death of *Genucius*, not daring to appear, he appealed from the consuls to the people, crying out to the multitude, *Assist me, O Romans; it is your protection I implore: since our tribunes had rather see a citizen of Rome beaten with rods, than run the hazard of dying in their beds by the treachery of the consuls, we have no remedy left us against the tyranny of the consuls but force.* At these words the mutinous populace

*A fray in  
the forum.* fell upon the lictors, broke their fasces, and drove them out of the forum.

*The consuls  
obliged to  
with-  
draw.*

THE consuls themselves, being surrounded on all sides by the multitude, who pressed hard upon them, thought it advisable to withdraw, and retire to the senate-house as a place of refuge. Hereupon the tribunes, recovering their spirits, inspired the people with new fury, which was no longer leveled at the patricians in general, but only at the consuls. These magistrates, in this sudden commotion, which put all the city in an uproar, assembled the senate, and complained of the outrages committed by the people, contrary to the respect due to their dignity. Some senators were for putting *Volero* to death, and ordering him immediately to be thrown down headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock; but the more moderate among them did not think proper to put it to the trial, whether the anger of the senate, or the fury of the people, should prevail. The tribunes, on the other hand, demanded justice

justice on the consuls, for commanding a *Roman* citizen to be whipped like a slave, after he had appealed to the people; which was a manifest and criminal transgression of the *Valerian* law. While the people were thus complaining of the consuls, and the consuls of the people, *Volero*, in order to secure himself against the fury of the patricians, engaged the people to confer upon him the office of tribune, vacant by the death of *Genucius*. He publicly boasted, that, if he were invested with that dignity, he would take such measures as should deliver the people from being any more oppressed by the senate. The multitude, charmed with this hope, readily granted him their votes, and he entered on his office after the election of the new consuls, *L. Pinarius* and *P. Furius*. Every one expected, that he would immediately begin a prosecution against the last year's consuls; but *Volero* soon discovered, that he had views far more extensive and important to the interest of his party, than a mere personal revenge. Without dropping one disrespectful word against the late magistrates, he endeavoured to lessen the authority of the patricians in general, by depriving them of the influence they had in the election of the tribunes. In a general assembly of the people, he proposed, that their magistrates and protectors might be chosen for the future in the comitia by tribes, and not by curiæ. In this the subtle tribune had two views, very prejudicial to the patricians. In the first place, the curiæ were never assembled for elections, till the senate had consented to it by a decree. In the second place, the patricians, who commanded the suffrages of their clients, often got such tribunes elected as were agreeable to themselves: but neither of these inconveniencies attended the comitia assembled by tribes; for the tribunes had the power of assembling them, without the consent of the senate; and the country-tribes, who were not so devoted to the patricians as those in the city, had a right to vote in them, as well as the inhabitants of *Rome*. The plebeian faction was highly pleased with this proposal, and warmly declared for passing it into a law: but the consuls, the senate, and the whole order of the patricians, opposed it to the utmost of their power, so that *Volero's* law became the common and only subject of dispute between the two parties, the agrarian law being for some time intirely dropped. A dreadful plague suspended, for a few months, this furious contest; but it no sooner ceased, than the tribunes resumed the prosecution of *Volero's* law. In the mean time *Volero's* tribuneship expiring, the people continued him in the same office for

The tribune *Volero* proposes a law for electing the tribunes in the comitia by tribes.

the following year, in spite of the opposition of the senate, and the whole patrician party <sup>d</sup>.

Appius  
Claudius  
set up by  
the patri-  
cians  
against  
Volero.

THE patricians, finding the people bent upon carrying their point, had but one expedient left; which was, to set up against *Volero* a man, who was not to be terrified by the clamours and menaces of the multitude. With this view, they pitched upon *Appius Claudius*, and raised him to the consul-ate. He was the son of the famous *Appius Claudius*, who had so often signalized his hatred to the plebeians, and no less zealous than his father for the interest of the senate, but more obstinate and inflexible. As he thought himself but ill qualified to govern in a time of general commotions, he had absented himself from the comitia; but the patricians, acquainted with his steadiness and intrepidity, got him elected, though absent, in the comitia by centuries, in which they had great interest. They joined with him *T. Quinctius*, a venerable senator, of a sweet temper, who was beloved by the people, though looked upon as one of the chief leaders of the other party. The new consuls having convened the senate to deliberate on the most proper methods to hinder the publication of *Volero's* law, *Appius*, following the dictates of his natural severity, was for raising an army, and sending the people to vent that martial courage abroad, which made them untractable at home. But *Quinctius* was of a contrary opinion; he thought it unjust to make war upon nations that had given *Rome* no cause of complaint; and, besides, represented to the senate, that the people themselves would soon be apprised of their design, and refuse to take arms; which would turn to the dishonour of the consular authority, and produce a general flame. The opinion of *Quinctius* prevailed; but *Appius*, who could not bear the least contradiction, lived upon ill terms with his colleague all the rest of the year; which greatly increased the affection the people had already for *Quinctius* <sup>e</sup>.

Volero  
adds two  
new ar-  
ticles to  
his law.

THE division of the consuls, and union of the tribunes, made *Volero* believe, that he should now get his law passed. He had even the confidence to add the two following articles to it; to wit, that all affairs relating to the people should no longer be brought before the curiæ, but before the tribes; and that the ædiles, as well as the tribunes, should be chosen by them. There were but four tribes in the city, and seventeen in the country, which were not any-ways influenced by the nobility; so that, in the comitia by tribes, the patricians had but little interest. They therefore exerted their utmost

<sup>d</sup> DION. HAL. *ibid.* LIV. l. ii. c. 56.

<sup>e</sup> DION. HAL. &

LIV. *ibid.*

endeavours to ward off a blow, which tended directly to destroy the authority of the senate, and to establish that of the people upon its ruins. When the senate met to deliberate upon these extraordinary proposals, Appius was for making a decree to invite all those, who loved their country, to take arms; and declaring those, who refused to obey the summons, enemies to their country: but Quinctius, who was afraid of seeing Rome become a field of battle, thought it advisable to try, whether the people could be brought to their duty by ways of gentleness and insinuation. The advice of Claudius was rejected as too violent, and even dangerous; and the more moderate counsels of Quinctius prevailing, the tribunes were desired to convene an assembly of the people, and to suffer the consuls peaceably, and without interruption, to represent to the people the true interests of the commonwealth; after which they might, in concert, agree upon such measures as should be most for the common good of the people and senate. The tribunes acquiesced to so reasonable a proposal; and Quinctius, when the time came, mounting the rostra, made such an impression on the minds of the people, by his soft and insinuating eloquence, that Valero's proposal would have been rejected, if Appius, when it was his turn to speak, had not, by his imperious behaviour, his threatenings, and his invectives against the people, and their tribunes, effaced the impressions made by his colleague.

*The consul Quinctius softens the minds of the people;*

*who are again provoked by Appius.*

CAIUS LECTORIUS, who was accounted one of the bravest soldiers in the republic, and had, for that reason, been raised to the tribuneship, when the domestic broils were like to end in a civil war, rose up to answer the consuls; but, without taking any notice of Quinctius's arguments, insisted only on the invectives of Appius, which he retorted, and concluded thus: *But to what purpose do we fight with words against a wild beast? The sword is the proper weapon to be used in such engagements: the sword, perhaps, may make you sensible, that the Roman people are not so despicable as you think them. In the mean time, you shall experience the authority of those tribunes, who are the objects of your contempt, but whom the law has made your judges.* Upon this there was a profound silence; and Lectorius, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, swore by all that was most sacred, that he would either get Valero's law passed, or perish in the attempt. Then, after having kept the people some time in suspense, turning to Appius, *I command you, said he, to leave the assembly.* Appius despised his order, and told him, that, tho' a tribune, he was but a private man, and that his whole power consisted in forming an opposition to such decrees of the senate as were prejudicial to the plebeians. Then calling about him his friends, clients,

*The bold speech of the tribune Lectorius.*

*He orders Appius to leave the assembly, and to be led to prison.*

and



## The Roman History

*A scuffle ensues.*

and relations, who were very numerous, he prepared to oppose force with force. The tribune, having conferred hastily with his colleagues, commanded one of his officers to seize *Appius*, and carry him to prison. Hereupon a scuffle began between the consuls licitors and the officers of the tribune. The senators, the patricians, and the clients, who attended *Appius*, placed him in the midst of them, and repulsed *Lætorius*, who advanced in person to assist his officers. Nothing was heard but confused cries, proceeding from mutual animosity. From reproaches they quickly came to blows; but as arms were forbidden in the city, little blood was spilt in the fray. *Quinctius*, attended by some venerable senators, threw himself into the midst of the contending parties; and, having found means to convey *Appius* out of the tumult, appeased the tribunes, and put an end to the scuffle <sup>f</sup>.

*The people seize on the capitol.*

THE next morning, the people, spirited up by their tribunes, and especially by *Lætorius*, who had been wounded the day before, seized on the capitol, fortified themselves there, and seemed resolved to begin an open war.\* The senate being assembled to deliberate on means to quiet the sedition, *Quinctius* was for yielding something in favour of the people; whereas *Appius* could by no means be brought to make them the least concession. During this disagreement, which lasted several days, *Quinctius*, having often conferred with the tribunes, gained, at length, their consent to refer both their private and public complaints to the senate, and to stand to the determination of the conscript fathers. He then convened the senators, and, after having acquainted them with the good disposition of the tribunes, got the following decree passed; to wit, *That as the scuffle, which had happened a few days before, was not premeditated, but the effect of a sudden commotion, arising on both sides from a pretended zeal for the republic, all injuries committed and received on that occasion should be buried in an eternal oblivion.* As to the law in question, since *Appius* would by no means suffer it to be proposed to the assembly of the people without a previous decree of the senate, it was agreed, that it should be referred to the senate, and that a decree should be made for that purpose. The affair was therefore disputed with great warmth, *Appius* calling both gods and men to witness, that the republic was betrayed, and that the senate were submitting to a law more detrimental to their authority, than those which had been formed on the *Sacred Mount*; but *Quinctius* brought the senate to yield to the people, and allow them to propose the law in their assembly, where it passed, and was unanimously received with

*Volero's law passes.*

<sup>f</sup> DION. HAL. & LIV. *ibid.*

plebe. From this time therefore the tribunes were made, and almost every thing relating to the people determined, not in the comitia by curiæ, but by tribes.

NOR long after this law was passed, the consuls were obliged to take the field. *Quinctius* marched against the *Æqui*, and *Appius* against the *Volsci*. The former was so much esteemed and loved by his army, that the enemy, not caring to appear against troops so well affected to their general, shut themselves up in their cities, or lay concealed in the forests. The consul therefore, having laid waste their country, returned with a great booty to *Rome*, where he was received with loud acclamations, and called the *father of the soldiers*, while *Appius* was styled by his men, the *tyrant of the army*; and indeed never was an army governed with more severity, or discipline exacted with more rigour. As his rage against the people was no longer under any restraint from the tribunes, he intirely gave way to it; the consequence of which was, that the centurions and soldiers all murmured at their general's orders, and even entered into a conspiracy, not against his life, but his glory; for they resolved, by agreement, not to oppose the enemy, lest their general should receive the honours of a triumph.

THE *Volsci*, being informed of all that passed in the *Roman* camp, drew up their men in order of battle, and challenged the *Romans* to an engagement. *Appius* marched out against them; but he was no sooner within reach of the enemy, than his men threw away their arms, and, with one consent, returned to the camp. The *Volsci* took advantage of this confusion, and, having cut to pieces those who were in the rear, attacked the intrenchments; but the *Romans*, fearing the enemy might break into the camp, faced about, made a brave resistance, and drove back the *Volsci*. The rash consul would have led them again to face the enemy the next day; but they loudly demanded of their officers to be led out of the enemy's country; and forced *Appius* to comply with their demand, and break up his camp. As soon as the incensed consul entered the *Roman* territory, where he was out of the reach of the enemy, he summoned his soldiers to assemble; and, being seated in his tribunal, he first upbraided them with their disobedience and treachery; and then, giving a loose to his resentment, he commanded the heads of the centurions, and other officers, who had abandoned their posts, to be struck off in his presence. Those who had borne the ensigns, and delivered them to the enemy, he caused to be beaten to death with rods. As for the common soldiers, he decimated them; that is, put every tenth

Year of the flood  
1879.

Bef. Chr.  
469.  
Of Rome  
279.

War with  
the *Æqui*  
and *Vol-*  
*sci*.

Appius's  
troops re-  
fuse to  
fight.

He pu-  
nishes them  
with the  
utmost se-  
verity.

1. DION. HAL. *ibid.* LIV. l. ii. c. 57. 2. DION. HAL. p. 605; 606. LIV. *ibid.* c. 58.

man to death. As the time of the comitia for the election of new consuls drew near, he led back to *Rome* the remains of his army, where he was received with the hisses of the multitude.

The old  
dispute of  
the agrarian law  
revived.

THE consuls chosen to succeed *Quinctius* and *Appius* were *L. Valerius* a second time, and *Tib. Æmilius*. They had scarce entered upon their office, when the tribunes revived the old dispute concerning the partition of the lands. Both the consuls were disposed to favour the people; *Æmilius*, out of revenge against the senate, for having refused his father the honours of a triumph, when he returned from a successful war against the *Æqui*; and *Valerius*, to gain the good-will of the people, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself by prosecuting *Cassius* during his quaestorship. As the consuls, by a decree of the senate passed in the Consulate of *Virginus* and *Cassius*, were impowered to nominate the decemvirs, in order to make a new distribution of the conquered lands, the tribunes, being secure of the present consuls, brought the affair before the senate, where it occasioned long debates. *Æmilius*, the consul's father, who spoke first, was for having the decemvirs named by the consuls, in order to proceed to the division of the conquered lands; which, said he, being public and common, ought to be for the equal benefit of all. But *Appius*, that sworn enemy of the people, opposed the opinion of *Æmilius* with so much warmth, and strength of reason, that the senate rejected the proposal of the tribunes, tho' supported by both the consuls. Hereupon the tribunes, enraged at their dis-appointment, resolved to destroy so violent an adversary; and, with that view, cited him before the people, as a declared enemy to the public liberty. *Appius*, without changing his habit, as was usual on such occasions, or even suffering his friends to solicit the multitude in his behalf, on the day of the assembly appeared in the midst of his accusers with the same dignity as if he had been their judge. His accusation was reduced to these four heads: 1st, That he had spirited up the senate against the people. 2dly, That he had raised seditions in the republic. 3dly, That he had caused a tribune to be struck, tho' the laws declared his person sacred and inviolable. 4thly, That he had sunk the courage of his soldiers by his severity, and suffered himself to be overcome by the *Volsii*. But he answered these several articles with so much strength, that the people durst not condemn him. The tribunes, who were bent upon his destruction, fearing he would be acquitted, put off giving sentence to another day, under pretence that they should not have time before night to collect the suffrages. But *Appius*, plainly

*Appius*  
cited be-  
fore the  
people.

Heads of  
his accusa-  
tion.

foreseeing that he should fall a victim to the implacable hatred of those magistrates, prevented the disgrace of a condemnation by laying violent hands on himself. The tribunes endeavoured in vain to deprive him of such funeral honours as his merit and rank in the republic deserved. His son obtained leave of the consuls to assemble the people, and make, according to custom, his funeral oration; which the people heard with pleasure, shewing him more regard after his death than they had done in his life-time \*.

*He kills himself.*

UPON the death of *Appius*, the tribunes resumed the business of the agrarian law, which his prosecution had only suspended; but, not being able to prevail upon the next consuls, *T. Numitius Priscus* and *A. Virginus*, to name the decemvirs, the people, at their instigation, refused to appear at the election of the consuls for the next year, as if they intended to separate themselves once more from the body of the republic. However, the patricians, with their clients, raised to the consulate *T. Quinctius* a second time, and *Q. Servilius*, who, to prevent the breach from growing wider, busied the people all that year with foreign wars. *Servilius* had great success against the *Sabines*, and *Quinctius* gained a complete victory over the united forces of the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, which was followed by the siege and surrender of the city of *Antium*. *Quinctius*, on his return to *Rome*, was honoured with a triumph, and attended both by the senate and people, in his procession to the capitol †.

*The Sabines, the Æqui, and the Volsci, defeated.*

THE domestic dissensions began afresh in the following consulate of *T. Æmilius* a second time, and *Q. Fabius*, son of one of the three famous brothers who perished in the battle of *Cremera*. *Æmilius*, who had favoured the people in his first consulate, renewed his endeavours to get the *Cassian* law put in execution: whereupon great disturbances ensuing, *Fabius* found out an expedient to appease both the people and patricians. He proposed to send a colony to people that pleasant and fruitful canton of the *Volsci*, which *Quinctius* had just conquered. His motion was received with great applause by the meaner sort of people; and three senators, to wit, *T. Quinctius* the consul, *A. Virginus*, and *P. Furius*, were immediately appointed to make the distribution of the lands: but, when the plebeians were to give in their names to those triumvirs, few of them appeared; nay, they began to change their stile, and complain of the senate, who, they said, were sending brave men out of their country, because they opposed their oppressions: the greater part therefore chose rather to stay at *Rome*, than leave it to take possession of the lands, for which they had raised so many

*Fabius finds out an expedient to stop the complaints of the people.*

\* Dion. Hal. p. 606-615. Liv. l. ii. c. 61. † Liv. ibid. c. 63.

disturbances. The games, the shews, the public assemblies, the hurry of business, and the share they had in the government, contributed to tie them to their old abode; and, notwithstanding their poverty, made them look upon a colony as an honourable banishment. The triumvirs, finding the people unwilling to quit *Rome*, were forced to admit of strangers to make up the number appointed for the colony. However, one advantage accrued from the refusal of the people, which was, that those who would not give in their names, were ever after ashamed to meddle in the affair of the partition of the lands<sup>m</sup>.

*The Æqui  
subdued;*

*but re-  
volt, and  
defeat the  
consul Sp.  
Furius.*

*Rome* enjoying now a profound tranquillity, *Fabius* took the field against the *Æqui*, and obliged them to sue for a peace; which was granted them, on condition of their being subject to the republic. However, in the following consulate of *Sp. Posthumius*, and *Q. Servilius* now a second time consul, they began to stir again; and the next year, when *T. Quinctius* a third time, and *Q. Fabius* a second time, were consuls, they renewed the war, and continued it under the consuls *A. Posthumius* and *Sp. Furius*. The latter, who was but a very indifferent commander, having engaged rashly with the enemy, was defeated, and so closely besieged in his camp, that not a man could go out to give notice at *Rome* of his danger. However, the senate had advice of it; and, in so great a distress, resolved upon an expedient never used but in great extremity, which was, to give up the government absolutely into the consuls hands, by these words, *Videat consul, ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat*, "Let the consul take care, that the republic suffer no detriment." *Posthumius*, who received this commission, made all take arms who were able, and gave *T. Quinctius* the command of the army, with the title of proconsul. As soon as *Quinctius* came within sight of the invested camp, the *Æqui* retired; but *Furius* had before made a sally, in which his brother *L. Furius*, and two cohorts, had been surrounded by the enemy, and cut in pieces. The consul now acted upon the offensive, and obliged the enemy to withdraw into their own country. *Posthumius* attacked a great body of their freebooters loaded with spoil, and made a great slaughter of them. By these successes *Rome* was restored to its former tranquillity.

*Quinctius  
obliges  
them to  
retire into  
their own  
country.*

*A dreadful  
plague at  
Rome.*

In the following consulate of *P. Servilius Priscus* and *Ebutius Tullus*, a dreadful plague broke out in *Rome*, and swept away almost all the flower of the youth who were able to bear arms, the fourth part of the senators, the greatest part of the tribunes, and both the consuls. Upon the news of so general a mortality among the *Romans*, the *Æqui* and *Volsi* renewed

<sup>m</sup> DION. HAL. p. 615-626. LIV. l. iii. c. i.

their

their old design of destroying the haughty republic. They began the campaign with committing hostilities in the territories of the *Latins* and *Hernici*, who immediately applied to the *Roman* senate for succours; but all the *Romans* could do was to give leave to their allies to arm and defend themselves, and to promise them assistance in better times. Hereupon the *Latins* shut themselves up in their cities, leaving their country open to the ravages of the enemy. The *Hernici* took the field, and even ventured an engagement, in which they lost a great many men, and were, on that account, tho' the success of the battle was pretty equal, forced to confine themselves to their cities: so that the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, having now no enemy to oppose them in the field, entered the *Roman* territory, and appeared unexpectedly before *Rome*. The two consuls being dead, and the few tribunes who were still alive, unable, on account of their bad state of health, to assist the republic either with their hands, or their advice, the *ædiles* took upon them to represent the dignity, and perform the functions, of the consuls. Notwithstanding so many calamities, the *Romans* seemed to have lost nothing of their antient steadiness. They crept to the ramparts, and put the best face they could on their affairs.

THE senators themselves mounted the guard, and stood centinels; and, the city being well fortified on all sides, the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, more expert at plundering than carrying on a siege, laid aside all thoughts of making themselves masters of *Rome*, and marched their forces towards *Tusculum*. In the mean time the plague continued to rage in the city. The two augurs, *Virginius* and *Valerius*, died of it, as well as *Sulpitius* the chief of the *curiones*; that is, the priests of each curia. The dead were so numerous, that they were thrown into the *Tiber* without burial: so that the calamity becoming now greater than ever, the people turned their thoughts intirely to divine assistance; all made their vows upon the altars, and the matrons swept the temples with their hair, and continued prostrate in the presence of the gods, till, at length, a more wholesome season put an end to the distemper, and delivered *Rome* from a calamity which threatened her with utter destruction. Several patricians had governed one after another during the interregnum, which had lasted from the death of the consuls; and now *Valerius Poplicola*, being interrex, assembled the centuries for the election of new ones, when *Lucretius Tricipitinus* and *T. Manlius* were chosen. In the beginning of their consulate, the tribunes, forgetting the miseries the city had suffered, undertook to renew the old quarrel about the division of the lands; but the people, without hearkening to them, turned all their thoughts upon revenging the insults *Rome* had received from the *Æqui* and *Volsci* the year before. Even those

citizens whom the laws exempted from going to war, insisted themselves for the service; so that two consular armies were immediately raised. It fell to *Lucretius's* lot to march against the *Æqui* and *Volsi*, who had united their forces; but were *scarcely* overthrown in a pitched battle, with the loss of both their generals, and of thirteen thousand four hundred and sixty men; the most dreadful defeat they had ever received. So memorable an action made *Rome* forget the misfortunes she had suffered the last year<sup>a</sup>.

The tribune *Terentius*

*Arfa* proposes the establishment of fixed laws

Year of the flood 1887.

Ref. Chr. 461.

Of Rome 287.

WHILE the two consuls were thus employed in the field, a tribune of the people, named *C. Terentius Arfa*, took the opportunity of their absence to weaken the consular authority, exclaiming, in a full assembly of the people, against the exorbitant power of the consuls; and demanding, that bounds might be set to it with regard to public affairs; and that invariable laws might be established for the consuls to be governed by, in deciding the contests that arose between man and man (Y). He urged at the same time with great vehemence, that the consuls had all the despotic power of kings, and only wanted the name; and therefore demanded, that a choice should be made of five of the best men in the republic, who should be authorized to restrain within due bounds a power so excessive; so that the consuls for the future might have no other authority over their fellow-citizens, but what those very citizens should think fit to intrust them with. The senators were all surprised at such bold proposals. *Q. Fabius*, who then governed the

<sup>a</sup> DION. HAL. p. 619. LIV. l. iii. c. 4—8.

(Y) We must observe here, that the people referred all their differences to the judgment of the consuls, who regulated their sentences either by the principles of natural equity, or by ancient usages, or by the laws of *Romulus*, and his successors; some remains of which were still to be found in the sacred books that were lodged with the pontifices, who, together with the patricians, made a mystery to the people of those first elements of their science of law. *Terentius* therefore, or, as *Livy* calls him, *Terentillus*, represented to the people, that the patrician magistrates were absolute masters of

each man's fortune; and that the consuls, having no rule to go by in deciding causes but their caprice, or laws unknown to the plebeians, might strip them, when they pleased, of all their effects, and, at the same time, make them believe, that they acted therein agreeable to the laws. To prevent this inconvenience, insupportable in a free city, he moved for an immediate establishment of laws, known by every body, to serve for a rule to the magistrates in their sentences, and to the litigants for proofs of the justice or injustice of their cause.

city in the absence of the consuls, immediately dispatched messengers to them, acquainting them with what had happened, and conjuring them to hasten back to *Rome*. He then convened the senate, and, after having enumerated the fatal consequences of such an innovation, prevailed upon the tribunes to desist from seconding *Terentius* in his first demand concerning the limitation of the consular power, but, as for the second, they still persisted in demanding a choice to be made, from among the senators and plebeians, of proper persons to form a body of laws for determining suits among the citizens. However, overcome by the intreaties of *Fabius*, they consented to suspend the prosecution of this affair till the arrival of the consuls.

THUS the city continued some time quiet, for the tribunes did not so much as mention the *Terentian law*, till the new consuls, *P. Volumnius* and *S. Sulpicius*, were chosen, and then the whole college renewed their efforts to get the law passed. The people were often assembled to hear the harangues of the tribunes on this subject, and the senate as often to concert measures to oppose their designs. The factions, and blind zeal on both sides, increased to such a degree, that there was just reason to apprehend a civil war. The animosities which these dissensions gave, were increased by the dread which some pretended prodigies occasioned in the city. At the same time the *Hernici*, who were in alliance with *Rome*, gave notice to the senate, that the *Æqui* and *Volsi* were secretly arming, and that the new colony of *Antium* was entered into that confederacy. This news authorized the consuls to raise an army of citizens, as usual, whose absence would lessen the strength of the tribunes; but these magistrates of the people, pretending that this war was nothing but a trick of the senate to get the citizens out of *Rome*, opposed the levies, and received the demand of *Terentius* for the compiling a body of laws. The contest ran high, and occasioned great disturbances. Every thing was carried by mere violence. The consuls having caused a plebeian to be arrested, because he refused to give in his name, the tribunes rescued him out of the actors' hands, and set him at liberty.

ON the other hand, the young patricians made great disturbances in the comitia, dispersed the people by violence, and, with their clamours, hindered the reading of the law, which was drawn up in these words: *Let the people, in lawful comitia, elect ten men of a mature age, consummate wisdom, and unsullied reputation, to draw up a body of laws, as well for the public administration, as for the determination of private affairs: let these laws be fixed up in the forum, and let the annual magistrate, as well as other judges, be obliged to conform to them, in their decisions of the controversies which may arise in Rome.* At



The con-  
tending  
parties  
come to  
blows.

length the tribunes gained their point of having this law proposed to the people; but when the day came for the comitia by tribes to determine the affair, the young senators and patricians, having *Quinctius Cæso*, the son of *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, at their head, rushed into the crowd, knocked down all who stood in their way, and dispersed the assembly, in spite of all that the tribunes could do to keep them together. *Cæso* was a young man, tall, well-shaped, of an extraordinary strength of body, and had signalized himself by actions of uncommon bravery, in several battles. His eloquence was not inferior to his strength and valour; for no patrician was heard with greater applause, or spoke with more dignity. He was always the first to answer the seditious harangues of the tribunes with great freedom.

*Quinctius Cæso cited before the people.*

His mean  
behaviour  
on his  
trial.

THESE magistrates therefore, enraged to meet with so much opposition from one single man, conspired his ruin; and, having agreed among themselves upon articles of impeachment, *Virginius*, the most zealous of the tribunes, caused him to be summoned before the assembly of the people. This made *Cæso* more violent in his opposition to the *Terentian* law; he reviled the plebeians, and inveighed with great bitterness against the tribunes. In the mean time, *Virginius* still went on proposing the law, not so much out of any hopes, that it would meet with a ready acceptance, as purely to increase the fury of *Cæso*, and render him, by his violent and rash behaviour, more odious to the multitude. Accordingly the inconsiderate youth, being supported by the senate, who flattered his vanity with their applauses, gave the tribunes new matter of complaint, and made, we may say, open war with them, and their party. At length the day came, which was appointed for his trial; and then his courage all on a sudden failed him. He did not imitate the constancy of *Coriolanus*, but condescended to mean intreaties, and endeavoured to save his life by low and unworthy solicitations. He put on mourning, and, with a countenance full of sorrow and humiliation, went about, begging the favour of the lowest plebeians. The tribune *Virginius* opened his accusation; and, in his discourse, enumerated the several violences of the young patrician, and produced those to be witnesses against him who had been themselves ill-used by him; but the chief crime laid to his charge, was his having hindered by violence the meeting of some judicial assemblies, legally called. When the accusation was ended, the accused was called upon to plead; but *Cæso* refused to own the jurisdiction of the assembly, offering, at the same time, to submit himself to the judgment of the consuls, his only lawful judges.

His father, L.

THIS set the people yet more against him; so that his father, *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, a man highly esteemed and respected

pected by the republic, was obliged to undertake his defence. *Quinctius* He denied the capital points in the charge; and, as to hasty words or blows, he excused them as the indiscretions of youth, which rather deserved pity than resentment. Then *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, who had been thrice consul, *Sp. Furius*, and *Lucretius*, all appeared to witness his bravery in several engagements, and his other good qualities. *Neither the Quinctian family*, said *Quinctius Capitolinus*, *nor the city of Rome*, ever produced a young patrician of greater expectation. He made his first campaign under me, and I was witness of his glorious exploits. Nor did *Sp. Furius* give a less advantageous testimony to young *Cæso*: The consul *Quinctius*, said he, often sent him to my relief, when I was in great danger; and nobody contributed more than he to the advantages we gained over the enemy. *Lucretius* likewise, who had been honoured with a triumph the year before, did justice to the valour of the accused: On this occasion, said he, I think myself obliged to share my glory with the brave *Cæso*. Nobody signalized himself more, both in single combats, and the general action, in which I was conqueror. What city is there to which this gallant youth will not be an ornament, if we drive him from ours? As to the natural impetuosity he is reproached with, age and prudence will, by degrees, correct it; and, when his virtue is arrived at its maturity, his defects will be worn away. How great a man will *Cæso* be, when years shall have tempered the ardour which now transports him! The suffrages of so many illustrious men, and the intreaties of the father, made a sensible impression on the multitude: but *Virginius*, who was bent upon *Cæso's* destruction, frustrated the hopes of the patricians.

HE rose up, and, addressing himself to *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, The public, said he, does justice to your virtues, and the affection you have for the people; but, alas! how different is your son from you! His proud temper, and tyrannical conduct, make him unworthy of pardon. The education he has received under the eye of a modest and popular father, has not been able to abate his pride. Romans, what have you to expect from him for the future? What a pernicious example has he given to the youth who follow and admire him? If you, *Quinctius*, were ignorant of it before, yet, being to-day better informed of it, you ought to join your indignation to ours. If you were acquainted with his conduct, and did not correct him, you are not worthy of the favour you ask. But what aim I saying? your son's transports were certainly concealed from you; nor have you had any share in his attempts upon the authority of the Roman people. No, *Quinctius*, you are not to be blamed for any thing but being a better father than a commonwealth's-man; but, in order to efface in your heart those remains of tenderness which the people share with you,

*Cæſo is  
faſly ac-  
cuſed of  
murder.*

you, I beg, that my colleague, M. Volſcius, may be heard in what he has to offer by way of private complaint againſt your ſon: I hope the people will not leave unrevengeſ one of their own magiſtrates, who has been ſo great a ſufferer by him. Then Volſcius, aſcending the roſtra, to act the part that had been concerted between them, directed his ſpeech to the people thus: *As I was returning one night with my brother, from a friend's houſe where we had ſupped, we met, hard-by the public ſtews, Cæſo, accompanied, according to his cuſtom, by ſeveral young patricians of the ſame character with himſelf, who, I ſuppoſe, had been making a debauch together in thoſe infamous houſes. They at firſt attacked us with abuſive language, which I indeed was for taking no notice of; but my brother, leſs patient than myſelf, returned injuries for injuries. Then Cæſo, full of anger and reſentment, fell upon him; and, notwithstanding my prayers and intreaties, ſo beat and bruised him, that he expired upon the ſpot. This happened the year the plague made ſuch havock among us. I deſigned to carry my complaints to the conſuls; but death took them from us ſoon after. L. Lucretius and T. Veturius, their ſucceſſors, took the field in an hurry, and Cæſo followed them. At their return I prepared to bring my action; but Cæſo, hearing of my deſign, waited for me one night in a by-place; and, falling upon me, repeated his blows ſo thick, that, to avoid my brother's fate, I was forced to promiſe never to mention what had befallen either of us.*

*Cæſo in  
gr. t dan  
get ſ. m  
the repl*

THE people were ſo exaſperated at this ſtory, that, without examining into the truth of the fact, they were ready to tear young Cæſo in pieces; but *Virginius*, to give ſome appearance of juſtice to his villainous proſecution, interpoſed; and moved, that Cæſo ſhould be ſecured and impriſoned, till his crime could be fully proved; ſince Volſcius had not his witneſſes at hand. This occaſioned great debates, T. *Quinctius* repreſenting to the aſſembly, that it was a thing unheard-of in the republic, that, upon a bare accuſation, a citizen ſhould be arreſted, and carried to gaol. On the other hand, *Virginius* maintained, that ſuch a precaution was neceſſary to prevent ſuch an offender from eſcaping the juſtice of the people. After the queſtion had been long debated, with great warmth and liberty of ſpeech on both ſides, the tribunes took a middle way between *Virginius's* pretentions and thoſe of the contrary party; which was, that Cæſo ſhould be ſet at liberty, provided he gave ſecurity for his appearance before the people on the day appointed. This raiſed a new debate about the ſum, in which the ſecurities were to be bound; but the ſenate at laſt fixed the ſum to three thouſand aſes of braſs, that is, about nine pounds thirteen ſhillings and nine-pence of our money; and left it to the tribunes to declare how many citizens ſhould be ſecurity for it, in caſe of his eſcape,

escape. They were content with ten securities, who bound themselves to produce *Cæso* on the day he was to be tried, or to pay the fine. And this is the first time we read of bail given for appearance in public and capital cases. *Cæso* was no sooner at liberty than he left *Rome*, and retired into *Hetruria*; but the tribunes knew nothing of his escape till he was again cited to appear, when his friends endeavoured to prove to the people, that he had executed justice on himself, and anticipated their sentence of banishment, by banishing himself; but the tribunes, seeing plainly that this was only an evasion to avoid the payment of the fine, exacted it with more rigour: so that *Quintilius*, the father of *Cæso*, having sold the best part of his estate on that account, was forced to retire to a poor cottage on the other side the *Tiber*, where he cultivated, with his own hands, five or six acres of land, which were all he had to live upon.

THE tribunes, believing that the banishment of *Cæso* would keep the young patricians in awe, called an assembly of the people, in order to propose the *Terentian* law, and get it approved by the tribes; but it was no sooner mentioned, than there sprang up, as it were, a thousand *Cæsos*, all opposing it with the same intrepidity. Hereupon the tribunes ordered all the patricians to be driven away from the assembly; but the nobility, uniting themselves more closely together after the prosecution of *Cæso*, opposed force by force; and, being attended by a great number of their clients, made the tribunes feel the evil consequences of the sedition they had begun. The people were dispersed anew, and the tribunes obliged to save themselves by taking refuge in their own houses. Thus the law was hindered from passing this year. The following year the senate and patricians, in conjunction, raised to the consulate *Caius Claudius*, brother to *Appius Claudius*, who killed himself, and *P. Valerius* a second time. The tribunes, seeing the whole body of the nobility united against them, and despairing to carry their point by a fair open contest, combined together to destroy at one stroke the better part of the senate, and such of the patricians as were obnoxious to them. In order to put in execution so detestable a project, in the first place, by many false reports spread abroad among the people, they filled the whole city with inquietude and distrust, as if some great design was secretly hatching against the public liberty. Then, to give the people strong suspicions of the whole body of the nobility, they caused a letter to be delivered to themselves in public.

*The tribunes spread a report of a conspiracy formed by the patricians.*

WHILE they were sitting on their tribunal, a stranger came and, having, in the sight of all the people, put into their hands a letter, disappeared in an instant, and was never afterwards seen. The tribunes read the letter to themselves; and, in reading it, put on an air of terror and surprize, in order to excite the curiosity of the people, and make them more uneasy. Then, rising from their seats, and causing silence to be proclaimed by the crier, *Virginus*, with looks full of consternation, addressing himself to the assembly, spoke thus: Romans, *you are threatened with the greatest dangers. If the gods, who are the protectors of innocence, had not discovered the wicked designs of your enemies, you had been all lost. But you must give us leave to acquaint the senate with the affair before it be divulged.* *Virginus* having thus spoken, the tribunes went all in a body to the consuls houses; and the senate being immediately assembled, the tribunes were admitted into it. In the mean time, the emissaries of the tribunes spread a thousand false reports among the people about the contents of the letter. Some said, that *Cæso* was advancing towards *Rome*, where he had correspondents, at the head of an army of *Volsci*; others, that the patricians had conspired to call him back, and, with his assistance, to destroy the tribunate; others confined the enterprize to the young patricians; and maintained, that *Cæso* was still in *Rome*, and would soon appear at the head of a numerous body, composed of patricians and their clients, &c. Thus the people's prejudices were kept up, and their hatred to the patricians increased.

*Virginus's speech to the senate.*

THE tribunes being admitted into the senate, *Virginus* addressed himself to the consuls and senators, in the following words: *Our discretion, conscript fathers, made us keep silence, while the misfortunes with which we are now threatened, were yet uncertain. To act upon bare conjectures against seditious men not yet discovered, is often only giving an handle to factious spirits to raise insurrections: however, we have not been unactive upon our first suspicions; and our private inquiries have been effectual. We have been faithfully served by those foreigners, with whom we live in hospitality and friendship. Their letters will convince you, that the gods watch over the republic for its preservation. The symptoms we find at home agree with the accounts we receive from abroad. Rome is betrayed. Some of the most illustrious families in this city, and some even of the senate itself, are turned conspirators, and have sworn her destruction. Among the Roman knights there are assassins, who are ready to murder us. They wait only for the opportunity of a dark night to break into our houses, and massacre us, and all those among the people who shew any zeal for the public liberty. They take it for granted, that, after this barbarous execution, they shall easily obtain*

obtain of you the abolition of the tribunate. Cæso, that Cæso, whom they rescued from his just punishment, is the instrument of their fury. He is to appear within the walls, attended by numerous troops of Æqui and Volsci, who are to be brought hither privately, and in small parties. The tribunes are to fall the first victims to his resentment; and such of the people as shall dare to make any resistance, are to be sacrificed without mercy. These are our dangers; this is the crime of your patricians. What then is now to be done? O ye immortal gods, who unite us in the same religious worship, inspire the senate with sentiments of equity; efface out of their minds all regard to rank, birth, and party-interest! We conjure you, conscript fathers, not to give us up to the rage of these assassins. In order to prevent their evil designs, we hope, you will not refuse us a decree, empowering us to make further inquiries into this conspiracy, and to secure the chief authors of it. Those who are most in danger, are most nearly concerned to avoid it, and will be most active in making discoveries. Time presses us, and our assassins are at the gates. The least delay were dangerous. Who knows but this very night may be pitched upon for the execution of the bloody design? They must be conspirators themselves, who are against inquiring into the conspiracy.

THE demand of the tribunes much embarrassed the senate: the more timorous were apprehensive, that a refusal would irritate the people, and raise a sedition; but those who had more firmness of mind, represented how dangerous it was to give the tribunes an unbounded power in an affair of a capital nature. But the consul Claudius, addressing himself to the people, replied thus: *I take upon me to answer you, tribunes, because none of you can have the confidence to say, that I am concerned in the conspiracy, with which you charge the patricians. My conduct puts me out of your reach. However, my design in speaking is not to dissuade the senators from suffering informations to be taken of such a cruel attempt, or to hinder them from giving you this commission. Were the accusation true, too much precaution could not be used to secure your lives, and the public liberty. But let us search the matter to the bottom: the tribunes last year could not get their law passed; hence their air of consternation; hence their continual deliberations, their assemblies, and their conferences. And what resolutions have they taken in them? No doubt, to invent the chimerical conspiracy they now bring to light. Let us accuse the patricians, said they, of having conspired against our lives; and then demand of the senate a power to take cognizance of the conspiracy. If they refuse it, we shall then inspire the populace with new rage against them. If they grant it, we will then give full scope to our resentment, and intimidate the opposers of the Terentian law. This is the tribunes scheme;*

*scheme; these are the snares they have laid for us. Speak, Virginius, tell us, Whence came these letters, which have so much alarmed you? Who are these guests, and these faithful allies? How came they acquainted with the misfortunes which threaten you? Where is the bearer of this foul accusation? Why has he disappeared? Let us know who are the senators and knights named in the letter you produce. Surely we have time enough to hear the names of those great criminals. Shall we wait till you are made masters of our lives by a decree of the senate, and have it in your power to convict us of treason by false evidence? You say, the symptoms at home agree with the informations from abroad. Why don't you then shew us these symptoms? Why don't you produce the accusers? Could you possibly imagine, that the senate would deliver up our most illustrious citizens to your fury, upon a bare accusation by letter, without any kind of proof? To you, conscript fathers, to your indulgence, the bold attempts of the tribunes are to be ascribed. You were too easy in delivering up the brave Cæso to the rage of his persecutors. The tribunes success against him encourages them to attempt every thing against us. To conclude, my opinion is, that, if the state be in any danger, it is only from these seducers of the people, who, while they set up for the defenders of the public liberty, are indeed its greatest enemies.*

*The people convinced, that the whole was an artifice of the tribunes.*

*Herdonius, a Sabine, attempts the reduction of Rome.*

THIS speech quite stunned the tribunes: they withdrew with no less shame than fury; and, repairing to the assembly of the people, who waited for them, began there to inveigh most bitterly against both senate and consuls. But Appius, following them, ascended the rostra, and spoke to the people with so much strength and eloquence, that the better sort were fully convinced; that the pretended conspiracy was only an artifice of the tribunes, to have it in their power to destroy their enemies. But the undistinguishing rabble continued in their first persuasion; and the tribunes took great care to maintain the belief of an error, which gave them an opportunity of raising new disturbances in the state P.

THE intestine broils of the republic encouraged a private man in Sabina, named Appius Herdonius, to attempt the reduction of Rome. He was descended of an illustrious family; and, having a great number of slaves and clients, he flattered himself, that he should be able, with their assistance, to reduce the Roman republic under his obedience, and make himself king of Rome. This bold design he imparted to his friends, representing to them, that it was not impracticable to surprize the city during the division between the people and the senate. Some of his friends, no less enterprising than himself, approve-

ing his undertaking, soon got together about four thousand men, consisting partly of their own clients, but chiefly of slaves, outlaws, and men of desperate fortunes. This was indeed a small number for so great an enterprize; but *Herdonius* took it for granted, that a great number of *Roman* exiles, the *Roman* populace, who were greedy of plunder, such citizens as were enemies to the patricians, the slaves, and also the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, would not fail to come to his assistance, upon the first news of his attempt. With these hopes, he embarked his troops on the *Tiber* by night, brought them down the river, and landed them, before break of day, by the side of the capitol. He got up the hill without being perceived, and, under cover of the darkness, possessed himself of the temple of *Jupiter*, and the fortress adjoining to it. Thence he threw himself into the neighbouring houses, and put all those to the sword, who refused to join him. Some, who had the good luck to save themselves before the *Sabines* entered their houses, raised, with their noise, an alarm in all the quarters of the city: nothing was heard, but confused voices of people, crying out, *To arms! The enemy is in the heart of the city.*

THE consuls, awakened by the noise, knew not whether this tumult arose from a domestic faction, or foreign enemy; and were therefore equally afraid to arm the people, or leave them disarmed. They therefore contented themselves with giving arms to some, on whom they could depend, and placing them in the forum, and at the gates of the city. The night was spent in doubts and uneasiness, neither the consuls nor the people knowing how many or what enemies they were to contend with. At length, the return of light discovered who was at the head of so daring an enterprize. The consuls immediately repaired to the forum, and summoned all the citizens to take arms, and follow them; but the tribunes, mounting their tribunal, with their unseasonable harangues, cooled the ardor of the people: *We don't pretend, said they, to obstruct the public good; but, after all, Romans, this is the time for turning the service you are about to do your country to your own advantage. Before you take arms, insist upon the consuls not opposing the Terentian law; and don't expose your lives to evident dangers, till they have promised, upon oath, that, as soon as you have retaken the capitol, they will suffer the Terentian law to pass. Why should you venture your lives, when you can draw no advantage from your bravery?* These words made such an impression upon the minds of the multitude, that neither the commands of the consuls, nor the danger with which they were threatened, could prevail upon them to take arms. The consul *Claudius*, full of indignation, was for having the patricians attack the citadel themselves: *The people, said he, would*



would sell you their services too dear. The patricians, attended by their clients, and a few volunteers, are sufficient to drive away the rash Herdonius. Besides, we may borrow succours of the Latins and Hernici. Our slaves, if we set them at liberty, will lend their assistance. In short, any soldiers are better than refractory citizens, who refuse to relieve their country in its utmost danger.

Valerius prevails upon the people to take arms in defence of their country.

BUT Valerius, who was more moderate and popular than his colleague, was of opinion, that, in the present circumstances, the senate ought not to refuse the multitude any thing that could induce them to take up arms immediately. The best part of the senators being of his mind, he advanced into the midst of the people, and promised them, that, as soon as the capitol was retaken, he would not hinder the tribunes from proposing the law. The people, charmed with this promise, took arms, and solemnly swore never to lay them down without the consuls leave. Then the consuls drew lots for the conduct of the attack, which fell to Valerius. Claudius was appointed to cover the city, and prevent any succours from joining Herdonius. Valerius, having drawn up his men in the forum, marched to the attack with them, and a legion of *Tusculans*, which *L. Mamilius*, the supreme magistrate of *Tusculum*, had sent, of his own accord, to the assistance of the Romans.

The consul Valerius is killed, and the Sabines driven from the capitol.

Herdonius killed.

HERDONIUS sustained the assault with such courage and resolution, that the day was far spent before the Romans had gained any advantage over him. The consul Valerius, encouraging his men, by his example, to advance boldly, notwithstanding the showers of darts, which were incessantly poured upon them, was slain at the head of the legionaries. *P. Volturnius*, who saw him fall, ordered his body to be covered, in order to conceal his death. He then took his place, and led on the Romans with so much bravery and conduct, that they carried the place before they missed their commander. Herdonius fought like a man in despair, who was resolved to sell his life very dear. As he was a man of a tall stature, and great strength, he made a terrible slaughter of the Romans, disputing the ground inch by inch, till he was at length slain, after having lost the greatest part of his followers. Those who outlived their general, either stabbed themselves, or threw themselves headlong from the top of the capitol. And thus ended this rash enterprize in the destruction of Herdonius, and all those who were concerned in it.

THE city was no sooner recovered from its fright, but the tribunes called upon Claudius, the surviving consul, to perform his colleague's promise; but he put it off, under various

preferences; and at length refused to do any thing in the affair, till a new consul was elected in the room of *Valerius*. The day for the election being appointed, the senate, and the whole body of patricians, resolved to choose some senator of great merit, who should be capable of defeating the tribunes design, and keeping the people in awe by his authority. They cast their eyes upon *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, the father of *Casus*; who was accordingly elected by the first class, consisting of eighteen centuries of cavalry, and fourscore of infantry; so that there was no occasion for the inferior classes to give their suffrages. When the deputies, sent by the senate to acquaint *Quinctius* with his promotion, presented him with the decree of his election, the venerable old man, wholly free from ambition, was in some doubt what resolution to take. He had retired, after his son's disgrace, into the country, and was so taken with the sweets of a rural life, that he preferred them to all the pomp of the consular dignity. However, the love of his country getting the better of his private satisfaction, he left the plough, which he was driving when the deputies arrived, and consented to go with them to the city: but he first took leave of his wife, and, recommending to her the care of his domestic affairs, *I fear*, said he, *my dear Racilia, that our fields will be but ill manured this year.*

HE no sooner entered upon his office, but he turned his thoughts upon reforming the senate, and restraining the insolence of the people, and their tribunes. In the first speech he made, he reprimanded both the senate and people with equal severity, without declaring himself for either party. He reproached the senate for feeding, with their continual compliance, the rebellious spirit of the people; and the tribunes for raising continual disturbances, and promoting an unbridled licentiousness among the populace: *Some seditious men*, said he, *reign in Rome with more insolence and tyranny than ever did the Tarquins; but I shall take care to carry the people out of the way of those seducers. Know then, Romans, that my colleague and I have resolved to make war upon the Æqui and Volsci. We declare too, that our intention is to pass the winter in the field, without ever returning, during our consulate, into a city so full of sedition. We command all those, who have taken the military oath, to appear to-morrow, with their arms, at the lake Regillus.* The tribunes answered, "That they would not suffer any levies to be made; and that, if *Quinctius* was determined to take the field, he might chance to go to war only with his colleague." The brave consul replied, "That there was no occasion for new levies, since the oaths the people had taken to *Valerius*, whose place he supplied, were still binding." The tribunes, to elude that engagement, cried

cried out, "That, by the oath the people had taken to *Valerius*, they had not laid themselves under any obligation to "*Quinctius*, who was then but a private man." But the answers of the tribunes seeming, even to those who were most nearly concerned, more subtle than solid, every one began to take arms, though very unwillingly. What still increased their uncares was a report spread abroad, that the consuls designed to hold a general assembly on the banks of the lake *Regillus*, and there to annul whatever had been done in former assemblies for the advantage of the people; the authority of the tribunes being confined to the city.

*Quinctius makes the tribunes desist from their prosecution of the Tentian law.*

QUINCTIUS further gave out, that, on his return, he would name a dictator, whose authority could not be curbed by the opposition of the tribunes. These reports, artfully spread abroad, struck both the people and the tribunes with terror. The women and children, all in tears, conjured the principal men in the senate to intercede for them with *Quinctius*, and to prevail upon him to suffer their husbands and fathers to return to their homes at the end of the campaign. *Quinctius* seemed inflexible; and the people, struck with consternation even at the mention of spending the winter in the camp, became very submissive. At length, a kind of treaty was made between *Quinctius* and the tribunes: the former promised not to force the troops to winter in the field, nor even to march out of the city; and the latter, on their parts, bound themselves to make no proposal to the people of new laws. To these two articles was added a third; to wit, that, for the future, neither consuls nor tribunes should be continued in their offices beyond the year. *Quinctius*, having thus restored tranquillity to the city, applied himself to hear and determine private causes, and pronounced such equitable judgments, that the people, charmed with his conduct, seemed to have forgotten, that there were any such officers as tribunes in the republic.

NOTWITHSTANDING the late agreement between *Quinctius* and the tribunes, the latter got themselves continued in their employments. Hereupon the patricians were for continuing *Quinctius* in the consulship; but he warmly opposed it, upbraiding the senators with their contemptible levity in being so ready to violate their own laws, and thereby countenancing the breach of them in the people. Before he retired to his farm, he presided at the comitia; when *Fabius Vibulanus* a third time, and *L. Cornelius Maluginensis*, were named consuls for the ensuing year. They had scarce entered upon their office, when news were brought to *Rome*, that *Antium* had revolted to the *Volsi*, who, together with the *Æqui*, had taken the field.

It fell to *Fabius*'s lot to march against the *Volsci*, and he gained considerable advantages over them; while his colleague was attended with equal success against the *Æqui*, who, after having been defeated in the field with great slaughter, shut themselves up in the city of *Antium*. *Cornelius* laid close siege to the place, took it by storm, and ordered the chief authors of the revolt to be first whipped in the market-place, and then beheaded. The *Æqui*, being disheartened at their repeated losses, had recourse to the clemency of the senate, who granted them peace, upon the same conditions on which it had been formerly granted to the *Latins*: they were to continue in possession of their cities, lands, and laws, but under the dominion of *Rome*.

WHILE the consuls were thus employed in the field, *A. Volscius Cornelius* and *Q. Servilius*, both quaestors this year, being men of great probity, began a prosecution against *M. Volscius*, for having borne false witness against *Cæso*. In virtue of the power annexed to their office, they convened an assembly of the people, and produced their evidences; of whom some deposed, that they had seen *Cæso* in the army on the very day when *Volscius* pretended he killed his brother at *Rome*. Others gave testimony, that *Volscius*'s brother died of a languishing distemper; and that he never stirred out of his house after he was seized with it. These facts, and many others, were attested by so many persons of unquestionable credit, that there was no room left to doubt of *Volscius*'s malice. But the tribunes, who had suborned *Volscius*, put a stop to this prosecution, declaring, that they would not suffer the suffrages of the people to be gathered upon any affair whatsoever, before the *Terentian* law was determined. The senate, in their turn, made use of the like pretence, declaring, that they would not suffer the *Terentian* law to be proposed, till the business of *Volscius* was determined.

THESE contests were spun out till the return of the consuls, who entered *Rome* in triumph, and, soon after, resigned the fasces to *C. Nautius* and *L. Minutius*, who were obliged to take the field, in the very beginning of their year, against the *Volsci*, who had revolted from the *Romans*, and against the *Sabines*, who, with a numerous army, committed great devastations in the *Roman* territory. The latter were routed by the consul *Nautius*, and forced to shut themselves up in their strongholds. But *Minutius*, by a stratagem of *Cluilius*, commander of the *Æqui*, being led into a valley, was there hemmed in on all sides, and in danger of being starved into a surrender at discretion. Some horsemen, having found means to make their escape in the dead of the night, carried the news to *Rome*:

The prosecution stopped by the tribunes.

The consul and his whole army, in great danger.

Quinctius  
Cincinnatus  
dictator.

Year of  
the flood  
1891.  
Bef. Chr.

457.  
Of Rome  
291.

~~~~~

whereupon *Quintus Fabius*, governor of the city, immediately dispatched a messenger to the other consul, to inform him of the danger his colleague was in. *Nautius* repaired to *Rome* in in all haste; and, having assembled the senate, all the fathers were for having recourse to the remedy made use of in their greatest calamities, which was, to create a dictator. Accordingly, the consul named *Quinctius Cincinnatus* for that high station, and immediately returned to put himself at the head of his army. The governor of *Rome* sent the consul's decree to *Quinctius*, who was found, as before, cultivating his small inheritance with his own hands. When he saw the deputies, with a numerous train of attendants, and twenty-four lictors, with their fasces, advancing to him, he put on his robe, and, going to meet them, *What tidings*, said he, *do you bring from Rome?* *Your country*, replied the deputies, *being in great danger, stands in need of a dictator, and has pitched upon you: you are the only refuge Rome has in her distress.* At these words he sighed; and, though sorry to quit his beloved solitude, obeyed the orders of the senate, and, having put on the habit of his new dignity, set out for *Rome*. The senate, having notice that he drew near, sent him a boat, in which he crossed the *Tiber*, his three sons, his friends, and the chief men of the senate, receiving him at his landing, and conducting him in triumph to his house, amidst the loud acclamations of the people. The next day, the dictator named for general of the horse *L. Tarquitius*. He was a patrician of uncommon valour; but, not having wherewithal to keep an horse, had till then served in the infantry. But the dictator, who had observed his gallantry and conduct in the campaign he had made under him, did justice to his merit, and, notwithstanding his poverty, raised him to that high station.

Marches
to the re-
lief of the
consul:

THE first order *Quinctius* made was, that all the shops and tribunals should be shut up: then he commanded all the youth in the city and country to be, before sun-set, in the *Campus Martius*, each with twelve stakes, and provisions for five days. He then put himself at the head of these troops, and, before break of day, arriving at the enemy's camp, viewed their intrenchments, as well as the obscurity of the night would allow him. He made his soldiers, by several loud shouts, give the consul notice of the arrival of succours. Upon this, the consular army expressing as much joy as the *Æqui* did terror, without waiting for day-light, ran to arms, and fell upon the enemy with another shout, which was heard by the dictator's army. The *Æqui* first turned their arms against *Quinctius*; in order to prevent him from surrounding them; but, being called back to repulse the consul, *Quinctius* laid hold of that opportunity to fortify his intrenchments with a palisado made of the stakes

stakes his men had brought from *Rome*. These intrenchments served, at the same time, to shut up the enemy's camp; so that the general of the *Æqui*, named *Gracchus Duilius*, found himself at day-light in the same situation to which he had reduced the consul. Early in the morning, the dictator and consul attacked the enemy's camp at the same time with such vigour, that *Duilius*, fearing his camp would be won sword in hand, had recourse to negotiation: he sent deputies to the consul; who, refusing to hear them, referred them to the dictator. *Quintius*, having heard their proposals, which were, to quit their camp, and retire without baggage, arms, or cloaths, sternly replied, That he did not think their death would be of any service to his republic, and therefore was willing to grant them their lives; but upon condition, that they delivered up to him their general and chief officers, and submitted to pass, every man of them, under the yoke, to imprint it deeply in their minds, that the *Æqui* were a nation conquered by the *Romans*. If they refused to comply with these conditions, he threatened to cut them all in pieces. The *Æqui*, being surrounded on all sides, and unable to sustain two attacks at the same time, submitted to what conditions the victorious enemy was pleased to impose upon them. Two javelins were therefore fixed in the ground, and a third laid over them; and under this sort of gate all the soldiers passed, naked and unarmed. At the same time, they delivered up to the *Romans* their general and chief officers, who were reserved to adorn the dictator's triumph.

*whom he
relieves,
and makes
the Æqui
pass under
the yoke.*

*Their
chief offi-
cers deli-*

Quintius would not allow the troops of the consul *Minutius* to have any share of the spoil. *Cowardly troops*, said he to the consular army, *you were almost become a prey to the enemy: it is not therefore just you should have any share of their riches*. As for you, *Minutius*, added he, *you must learn the art of war in an inferior rank, before you pretend again to command in chief*. He then obliged him to lay down his office; which the modest consul was so far from resenting, that he, and his troops, presented the dictator with a crown of gold of a pound weight, for having saved the lives and honour of his fellow-citizens. *Quintius*, after this victory, returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, being attended both by his own and *Minutius's* army, with garlands of flowers on their heads. Besides his chariot were led the enemy's general, and a great number of officers in chains, who were the chief ornament of that procession. The dictator, having finished his expedition in less than a fortnight's time, was for laying down immediately his office, and retiring to his beloved solitude; but his friends prevailed upon him to continue in the dictatorship, till *Volsius*, the accuser of his son *Cæso*, was brought to

*viewed up
to him.*

*He de-
grades the
consul*

Minutius.

*His
triumph.*

his trial. Accordingly, he assembled the curiæ; and the informer, being convicted of calumny and false testimony, was, according to the law of retaliation, condemned to perpetual banishment, and *Caso* recalled home. This done, *Quinctius* abdicated the dictatorship the sixteenth day after his advancement to it, though he might have held that dignity six months.

New disturbances
in Rome.

THE abdication of the dictator was followed by new disturbances: *Virginius* was continued a fifth year in the tribuneship; *Volscius* was recalled from banishment, and reinstated in his office; the tribunes revived the dispute about the *Terentian* law; and, at the same time, the *Æqui*, though lately subdued, together with the *Sabines*, began to make their usual inroads, and lay waste the *Roman* territory. The two new consuls, *C. Horatius* and *Q. Minutius*, were ordered by the senate to raise troops, and march, without delay, against the enemy; but the tribunes, after their old way, protested, that they would not suffer one plebeian to give in his name, till the commissioners for making a body of laws, according to *Terentius*'s proposal, were named. An extraordinary assembly of the senate was therefore summoned, to deliberate on the present troubles; and *Quinctius Cincinnatus* recalled to make head against the tribunes. He was of opinion, that the whole senate, and the body of the patricians, with their friends and clients, should take arms, and hasten into the field. His advice was received with applause: even the oldest senators repaired immediately to their houses, took arms, and, attended by their clients and friends, appeared in the forum. The people, who flocked thither from all parts, being moved at this new sight, the consul *Horatius* exhorted all good citizens to join those illustrious senators, who chose rather to expose their lives to the utmost dangers, than to see *Rome* insulted by her enemies. *Virginius*, in the name of his colleagues and the people, answered, That the plebeians would not serve, till the *Terentian* law was accepted. Hereupon *Horatius* made a reproachful speech to the curiæ, shewing them the dismal effects, which the seditious practices of their tribunes must at last unavoidably produce.

The people
refusing to
obey, the
senate and
patricians
take arms.

HIS harangue made a deep impression on the minds of the multitude; which *Virginius* perceiving, thought it advisable to conform to the present conjuncture. Assuming therefore a milder behaviour, he told the consul, "That he was ready to give over opposing the levies, nay, that he would himself exhort the people to take arms, provided the senate would grant them one favour, which would be of great service to

* DION. HAL. *ibid.* LII. l. ii. c. 28, 29. FLOR. l. i. c. 11. OROS. l. ii. c. 12.

them, and noways detrimental to the authority of the conscript fathers. The consul desired him to speak his mind freely, assuring him, that he would find the senate ready to comply with any reasonable request in behalf of the people. Then *Virginius*, having first conferred with his colleagues, replied, *All that the people request of you is, that you will suffer the number of the tribunes to be increased from five to ten. If you give us a refusal in an affair of so small importance, accuse yourselves only of the misfortunes the republic may suffer.* This unexpected request divided the senate. *Caius Claudius* opposed it with great warmth, being governed by this hereditary maxim, as we may call it, that all the requests of the tribunes ought to be suspected. But *Quintius Cincinnatus*, considering this affair in another light, was for granting the tribunes their request. He thought, that the more numerous the tribunes were, the more easy it would be to sow divisions among them. The opinion of this great man prevailed, and the senate passed a decree, giving the people leave to choose ten tribunes annually, provided they did not continue the same man in office above a year. Pursuant to this decree, the tribes were immediately assembled, and two tribunes chosen out of each of the first five classes. The tribunes being satisfied, two armies were raised without opposition. *Minutius* marched against the *Sabines*, who fled before him, and retired into their own country. *Horatius* led his troops against the *Æqui*, retook *Corbio* and *Ortona*, which they had seized; and then both consuls returned to *Rome*, to preside in the comitia at the election of their successors.

IN the following consulate of *M. Valerius Laetucinus*, and *Sp. Virginius Tricostus*, the tribunes, grown more audacious than ever by their number, proposed, that mount *Aventine*, or at least such parts of it as lay uncultivated, or were not possessed by lawful owners, might be yielded to the people, who being now very numerous, began to want habitations. The consuls looking upon this new demand as a prelude to the revival of the agrarian law, and therefore deferring to convene the senate to debate it, *Scilius*, one of the tribunes, ventured upon an attempt never heard of before. He sent an officer to them, commanding them to assemble the senate forthwith, and to repair to it themselves. The messenger was, by the consuls orders, severely beaten and ignominiously driven away by one of the lictors. Thereupon the tribunes caused the lictor to be seized, and some of them were for putting him immediately to death, for violating the sacred privileges of the tribuneship in the person of their officer. The senate, to save him, had recourse to intreaties,

* DION. HAL. p. 652—680. LIV. *ibid.* c. 30, 31.

Mount A-
ventine
yielded to
the people.

The tri-
bunes order
the consuls
to be seiz-
ed.
The tri-
bunes beat-
en by the
patricians.
The consuls
cited before
the tri-
bunes.

but without success. They were obliged to come to a composition with the tribunes. The licitor was set at liberty; but mount *Aventine* was, by a decree of the senate, yielded to the people. The senate soon found, that their compliance with the last demands of the people served only to put them upon new pretensions. *Scilius*, the most enterprising of the tribunes, formed a design to bring the consuls themselves under subjection *. In the consulate of *T. Romilius* and *C. Veturius*, the tribunes made more noise than ever about the *Terentian* law; and the consuls, knowing the republic would never be quiet at home, till she was engaged in a war abroad, resolved to revenge the inroads, which the *Sabines* and *Æqui* had made the year before; but, in raising levies, they used so much severity, that the people appealed to their tribunes, who, taking the part of the complainants, endeavoured to rescue out of the hands of the licensors those whom the consuls had ordered to be seized, for refusing to answer when called upon. The consuls advanced to support the execution of their orders; but the tribunes, supported by the populace, not only repulsed them, but ordered their ædiles to seize those sovereign magistrates, and carry them to prison. So daring an attempt provoked the patricians to such a degree, that they fell upon the tribunes, severely beat them, and forced them to fly, with those who stood up for them.

THE next day the tribunes assembled the people anew, and summoned the consuls to appear before their tribunal, and there answer for what had happened the day before. The consuls scornfully refusing to obey the summons, the tribunes brought their complaints to the senate, and threatened to assemble the tribes, in order to judge the consuls, in case they did not appear to justify their conduct. The consul *Romilius* haughtily answered, that the tribunes had been the aggressors, and the sole authors of the tumult; and protested, that, if they were so daring as to proceed a step further in this affair, he would arm the whole body of patricians against them. The senate, thinking it equally dangerous to declare either for the consuls or the tribunes, broke up, without coming to any resolution. *Scilius*, finding that nothing was to be expected from the senate, convened an assembly of the people, in order to stir them up to some vigorous resolution. Some of the plebeians were for taking arms, and retiring again to the *Sacred Mount*; others for proceeding against the consuls, and insisting upon their appearing before the people, or condemning them to death or banishment, in case they did not appear; but the most moderate advised the people to defer all proceedings against the consuls, till their consulate was expired, and, in the mean time, to profe-

cute, with the utmost rigour, those patricians, who had assisted them in the insult they had committed on the persons of the tribunes. Of these three different opinions the tribunes chose to follow the second; and accordingly summoned the consuls to appear the third market-day. This project, however, came to nothing; for *Icilius* declared, in the assembly of the people, that the college of tribunes, at the intreaties of the senate, forgave the consuls the personal injuries they had received from them; but could not neglect the interests of the people, and would therefore propose both the agrarian and *Terentian* laws to their consideration. This said, he fixed a day for a new assembly to deliberate upon those matters.

THE time appointed being come, and the people assembled, *Icilius* made a long harangue on the reasonableness of the agrarian law, and then declared, that any plebeian might speak his mind freely. Upon this, many plebeians pleaded the right their services gave them to a share of the conquered lands, and made loud complaints of the patricians, who usurped what the plebeians had gained with their blood. This was the common complaint of the plebeians; but none represented it in stronger terms than one *Sicinius* , or, as *Livy* calls him, *Siccius Dentatus* . He was a plebeian, about threescore years of age; but yet in his full strength and vigour, of an handsome shape and mien, and not uneloquent for a man of his profession. He enumerated his exploits in war during forty years service; told the multitude, that he had been in an hundred and twenty engagements; that he had received forty-five wounds, and all before, twelve of them in that single action against *Herdonius* the *Sabine* ; that for the thirty last years he had been always in some command or other; that fourteen civic crowns had been given him for saving the lives of so many citizens, three mural crowns for having been the first who mounted the breach in towns taken by storm, eight other crowns for different exploits, eighty-three golden collars, sixty golden bracelets, eighteen lances, twenty-five sets of furniture for horses, nine of which he had won from so many enemies conquered in single combat. And these military toys, added he, are the only rewards I have hitherto received. No lands, no share of the conquered countries: usurpers, without any title, but that of a patrician extraction, possess them. Is this to be endured? Shall they alone enjoy the fruits of our conquests? the purchase of our blood? No, plebeians, let us delay no longer to do ourselves justice. Let us this very day pass the law proposed by *Icilius* . If the young patricians oppose it, let our tribunes make them feel what is the extent of their authority. *Icilius* bestowed the highest eulogiums on *Dentatus* ; but, affecting to appear a strict observer of the laws, he told him, that he could not with justice

The tribunes renew their pursuit of the agrarian law.

Sicinius Dentatus pleads for it.

justice propose the law, till he had heard what the patricians alleged against it. Accordingly he adjourned the assembly to the next day.

*Resolution
taken by
the senate*

IN the mean time the consuls, having spent great part of the night in consulting with the chief men of the senate about the proper means to frustrate the designs of the tribunes, came to the following resolution; to wit, *to employ the whole art of eloquence to win over the people; but if they continued obstinately bent upon the publication of the law, in that case to hinder by main force the collecting of the votes.* This resolution being imparted to the patricians, they all repaired early in the morning to the forum, and dispersed themselves among the multitude in small parties.

The consuls being come, the tribunes caused proclamation to be made by an herald, that whoever had any solid reasons to offer against the publication of the agrarian law, might lay them before the people. Several senators presented themselves one after another; but they no sooner began to speak, than the populace set up such a clamour, that it was impossible to hear what they said. The consuls protested against all that should be done in so tumultuous an assembly; but the tribunes, without hearkening to their remonstrances, commanded the urns to be opened, and the tablets to be delivered out to the people, in order to vote.

The patricians oppose by force the passing of the law.

Hereupon the young patricians starting up, snatched away the urns, and scattered about the tablets, on which the votes were written; and, throwing themselves, at the head of their clients and friends, into the croud, by blows and main force hindered the people from dividing into their respective tribes. The tribunes, having attempted in vain to oppose the patricians, and keep the people together, were at length obliged to retire, and defer the promulgation of the law to another day.

EARLY next morning the tribunes assembled the people, and, having demanded and obtained permission of the assembly to inquire after the authors of the late disorder, they resolved to turn the whole accusation against the youth of the *Posthumian*, *Sempronian*, and *Clælian* families, who had been the most active in the fray. It was then customary in *Rome* to determine what punishment the accused deserved, in case he was convicted, before his crime was reported to the people. The tribunes therefore having assembled a certain number of the most considerable citizens to determine the punishment they should inflict upon the ringleaders of the tumult, some voted for death, others for banishment; but *Sicinius* was for the least punishment the laws enjoined, to wit, the confiscation of their effects, and his opinion prevailed. The chief men of the senate, having consulted together on this occasion, thought it advisable not to oppose the prosecution, hoping that the multitude, satisfied with this

The estates of some of the young patricians confiscated.

this revenge, would drop the more important affair of the law. As for the loss of the sufferers, they resolved to repair it at their private charges. Accordingly, when the day came for the trial, the persons accused not appearing, were condemned in a fine for default, and their goods publicly sold to pay it. But the senate caused them to be bought up by private hands, and restored to the former proprietors *.

• DURING these contentions, news were brought, that the *Æqui* had made an irruption into the territory of the *Tusculans*, who were in alliance with *Rome*. The senate immediately decreed, that the consuls should take the field, and march to the assistance of those faithful allies. The tribunes did not fail to lay hold of this opportunity to raise new disturbances about the agrarian law, protesting, that they would not suffer the plebeians to take arms, till the law was passed. But herein they were not seconded by the people, who, remembering the assistance they had received from *Tusculum* against *Herdonius*, readily gave in their names; so that two armies were immediately raised. *Sicinius Dentatus* was one of the first who joined the consuls at the head of eight hundred veterans as brave as himself, who had all served the time prescribed by law, but yet were willing to make one campaign more under the command of so famous a leader. The consuls marched out of *Rome* in great state; but the *Æqui*, on the news of their approach, retired to their own frontiers, and encamped on a steep rock. The *Romans* pitched their camp not far from the enemy, and kept close within it, to conceal their strength, and by that means encourage the enemy to offer them battle. Accordingly, the *Æqui*, imagining the number of the *Romans* to be very small, went down into the plain, and there challenged the *Romans* to an engagement. The consul *Romilius*, who commanded that day in chief, seeing the enemy thus confirmed in their false confidence, resolved to give them battle in the plain, and at the same time to attack their camp on the hill. With this view he sent for *Sicinius*, and, either out of esteem for so valiant a commander, or, what is most likely, with a design to expose him and his veterans, who were all plebeians, to be cut in pieces, gave him the charge of attacking the enemy's camp.

SICINIUS, being well apprised of the danger of so desperate an attempt, gave the consul this respectful answer: *I never yet declined any dangerous enterprise out of fear; but give me leave to represent to you, that the execution of what you command, is not so easy as you seem to imagine it. The rock we must climb up is very steep on all sides, and not accessible, but by a narrow way, which an handful of men may defend against a whole army. If*

* DION. HAL. ubi supra.

you

you will have me therefore to make this attack, inlarge my troops, and put us in a condition to shew our bravery, without dishonouring ourselves by a rash attempt. At these words, the consul told him in great anger, that his business was to obey, and not to act the general; and then added, with a scornful smile, This then is the brave man who has signalized himself in an hundred and twenty battles, who has been forty years in the service, and whose whole body is covered over with wounds! He draws back at the sight of danger, and has no courage but in words. Go, Sicinius, go to the comitia, and fight the patricians with your tongue. What you refuse to undertake, others shall put in execution for you. The brave plebeian, enraged at the general's reproaches, told him boldly, that he found he was resolved either to destroy an old soldier, or to shame him; that he had been always ready to sacrifice his life for his honour, and therefore would march up to the enemy's camp, and either win it, or fall in the attempt, with all the veterans under his command. Then turning to them, My dear fellow-soldiers, said he, let us go whither soever honour and the command of our general call us. You will bear me witness after my death, that I was destroyed only for having defended with zeal the public liberty. His veterans took their leave of the rest of the soldiers, who looked upon them as men sent to slaughter.

*He enters
the enemy's
trenches.*

*The Equi
routed by
the Ro-
mans.*

BUT Sicinius, who understood the art of war better than the consul, instead of following the narrow path, which he had pointed out to him, led his men round about, and at length entered a great wood that seemed to stretch along the hills quite to the enemy's camp. There he met with a peasant, who conducted him to an eminence, which overlooked the enemy's camp, and was not far from it. From thence he had a sight of the two armies, which were already engaged; and, at the same time, observed, that the soldiers, who were left to guard the enemy's camp, were all gone to that side which was next the plain, to see from thence the battle. In this juncture, Sicinius, with his veterans, entering the intrenchments without opposition, ordered his men to give a loud shout, and, at the same time, falling upon the *Equi*, whose eyes were turned another way, struck them with such terror, that they abandoned the camp, and fled in the utmost confusion to the main body of their army. Sicinius pursued them close, made great slaughter of them by the way, and then falling upon the rear of the main body, which was engaged with the *Romans*, quickly put an end to the conflict. The *Equi* betook themselves to flight, and the consuls, following them, killed above seven thousand men in the pursuit. Sicinius, as soon as it was dark, retired with his veterans to the camp he had taken from the enemy; and, having there put to the sword all the prisoners, killed the horses, and set fire to the

the tents, arms, and baggage, marched with all possible expedition to *Rome*, with his victorious cohort, and gave an account to the tribunes of what had passed, begging that the honours of a triumph might not be allowed to generals who had abused their authority to destroy their fellow-citizens. The people, full of indignation, promised they would never consent, that the consuls should have a triumph; and accordingly, when the generals returned from the campaign, the multitude refused to let them enter the city with the usual pomp on such occasions. The senate, fearing some new commotions, did not think proper to espouse the consuls cause; so that they returned without honour, and loaded with fresh odium.

THE two consuls had no sooner resigned the fasces to their successors *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Aterius*, but they were cited before the assembly of the people. *Sicinius*, whom the people had raised to the tribuneship, took upon him the management of the prosecution against his enemy *Romilius*, whilst *Allienus*, one of the ædiles, accused *Veturius*. On the day appointed for their trial, they both appeared, depending on the promises the patricians had made them, which were, not to suffer the suffrages of the people to be gathered. But *Sicinius* took such measures to prevent the young patricians from raising any disturbances, that they were both regularly tried for having offered violence to the tribunes, and disturbed them in the execution of their office, and, besides, for abusing their authority in the army, in order to destroy *Sicinius*, and the eight hundred veterans of his cohort. The people fined them both, *Romilius* in ten thousand ascs, and *Veturius* in fifteen thousand (Z). *The last year's consuls tried by the people, and fined.*

THE tribunes, finding they could not by any means bring the consuls to hear of the agrarian law, returned to the pursuit of the *Terentian*. The senate, to put an end to the continual contests between them and the people, which they foresaw would, at length, make *Rome* become a prey to her enemies, began to hearken to the tribunes proposal, and declared, that they would not oppose the drawing up a body of laws, which should be a guide to the magistrates, provided all the legislators were chosen out, of the nobility. On the other hand, the tribunes were for having them chosen partly out of *The tribunes resume the pursuit of the Terentian law.*

Y. Liv. l. iii. c. 31.

(Z) History has not told us why the people made this difference in their fines: *Veturius* seems to have been less guilty than his colleague, and yet his fine was one-third larger. Perhaps *Sicinius*, satisfied with humbling his adversary, did not care to reduce him to poverty.

the

Are seconded by the late consul Romilius.

the nobility, and partly out of the plebeians. On this occasion, *Romilius*, to the great surprize of both parties, declared, with great warmth, for the establishment of fixed laws; and, at the same time, proposed the sending of deputies to *Athens*, to transcribe the laws of *Solon*, and of the other lawgivers of *Greece*, in order to form thereby a body of *Roman* laws, which should be the rule for magistrates in all the parts of their administration. The opinion of *Romilius* was followed by the two consuls, and a great majority of the senators. But, before the decree passed, the tribune *Sicinius* rose up, and bestowed great encomiums on *Romilius*, protesting, that, for the future, he should ever be his friend. Nay, he went further; and as *Romilius* had not yet paid the fine, the tribune declared, that he remitted it in the name of the people. But as fines, according to the custom of those days, were always applied to religious uses, *Romilius* rejected this favour, protesting, that he would not defraud the gods of the money which belonged to them. A decree, conformable to *Romilius's* proposal, being passed by the senate, and confirmed by the people, *Sp. Posthumius*, *S. Sulpicius*, and *A. Manlius*, were appointed to repair to *Greece*, and there collect the best laws and institutions of the *Greek* cities, especially of *Athens*. The quaestors ordered some galleys to be fitted out, and magnificently adorned, to give the *Greeks* an advantageous opinion of the *Roman* republic, with which they were yet intirely unacquainted. On board these galleys the deputies set out, leaving *Rome* in the enjoyment of a profound peace, which lasted all this year and the following, when *P. Curiatius* and *Sextus Quintilius* were consuls^a; but almost all *Italy* was afflicted with a plague, which swept away great numbers of citizens at *Rome*; amongst others, the consul *Quintilius*, *Sp. Furius*, who had been named to succeed him, *Servius Cornelius*, the high-priest of *Jupiter*, the augur *Horatius Pulvillus*, four tribunes of the people, and the best part of the senators^a. The next year, *P. Sestius* and *T. Menenius* being consuls, the plague ceased, and the deputies, who had been sent into *Greece*, returned home. Upon their return, the people pressed the nomination of the ten commissioners, or decemvirs, for the great work of drawing up a body of laws. But the consuls *Sestius* and *Menenius*, being averse to the whole design, put off the election under various pretences. At first they alleged, in excuse of their delay, that their successors, in whose consulate this great affair was to be settled, ought to be previously elected. This hastened the election of the new consuls, and *Appius Claudius* and *T. Genucius* were chosen before

The law at length passes. Three deputies sent into Greece to collect the best laws there.

A plague at Rome.

^a Liv. l. iii. c. 32.

Idem ibid.

the usual time. *Appius* was the son of that *Appius* who killed himself, and grandson of the first *Appius*. All the patricians gave him their suffrages, hoping he would be no less zealous for the power of the senate than his ancestors.

AFTER this election of magistrates for the next year, the *tribunes* applied themselves anew to the present consuls for the nomination of the decemvirs. But *Menenius*, pretending to be out of order, kept at home; and *Sestius* declared, that he would not act in so great an affair without his colleague. Hereupon the tribunes applied themselves to the consuls elect. It then evidently appeared, that the Roman constancy, and zeal of the most rigid patricians for the interests of their body, was nothing else but a refined ambition. For *Appius Claudius*, who had hitherto valued himself on his immoveable attachment to the party of the nobility, and seemed to have derived it with his blood from his ancestors, changed all at once, and joined with the tribunes, in order to get the decemvirs appointed. His colleague *Genucius* followed his example, but *Claudius* with more moderation. *Appius* publicly undertook the defence of the popular faction, and, at the instigation of the tribunes, made an harangue in their favour, in a general assembly of the people. He there publicly declared, that the nomination of the decemvirs ought to be deferred no longer; and added, that, if the election of himself and his colleague to the consulate were thought to be of any hindrance to it, they were both ready to relinquish their pretensions to that dignity. *Appius* had in this his private views; he expected, that, by the favour of the tribunes, he should be placed at the head of the decemvirs, and by that means have a more absolute authority than if he had continued consul.

THE next step was, to bring the affair before the senate. *Menenius* still pretended sickness, and stayed at home; but *Sestius* was at length prevailed upon, by *Appius* and *Genucius*, to assemble the conscript fathers, and propose the nomination of those new magistrates, which did not pass without some opposition. The patricians did not find their account in establishing these laws, the authority of the consuls being much greater, while they continued to determine causes in an arbitrary manner. Many therefore among the senators were for adhering to the ancient customs, and rejecting all changes in the government of the state. But *Appius*, who had a strong party in the assembly, maintained on the contrary, that it was highly reasonable, that laws should be established equally binding all citizens, and equally favourable to all; adding, that such an establishment would put an end to the domestic feuds, which had so long divided *Rome*, as it were, into two cities. The opinion of *Appius* prevailed, and it was resolved, that

The crea-
tion of
decemvirs
is carried
by a majori-
ty in the
senate.

ten men, venerable for their age and wisdom, should be chosen to compile a body of laws out of those that had been brought from Greece. It was likewise decreed, that these commissioners should, for one whole year, be invested with the sovereign power; that the authority of consuls, tribunes, ædiles, and quæstors, should cease; that there should be no appeal from the decemvirs; and lastly, that, during their administration, they should be the sole judges of peace and war, and of all matters of justice. This is the first instance of suspending the tribuneship, which, as the tribunes were not properly magistrates, had hitherto been always preserved even under the dictators.

The tri-
bunes con-
sent to let
them all be
patricians.

BUT, when the ten commissioners came to be chosen, a new difficulty arose. The tribunes demanded, as they had done before, that some plebeians should be let into the commission; but the senate opposing with great unanimity this pretension, the tribunes yielded, for fear the nomination of the decemvirs should be dropt intirely; but upon condition, that no alteration should be made by the decemvirs in two laws favourable to the people, to wit, the *Ililian*, which gave the people ground on the *Aventine* to build upon, and that of the *Mons Sacer*, by which the tribunes were appointed to defend and protect the people against the oppressions of the patricians. These two articles being agreed upon, a solemn assembly was held of the whole Roman people, convened by centuries; and the auspices being taken, they proceeded to the election of the decemvirs.

Decemvirs
created for
making
new laws.
Year of
the flood
1897.
Bef. Chr.
451.
Of Rome
297.

Appius Claudius, and his colleague *T. Genucius*, were the first named. To them were added *Sestius* the consul, who had laid this matter before the senate against his colleague's will; *Sp. Posthumius*, *S. Sulpicius*, and *A. Manlius*, who had brought the laws from Greece; *T. Romilius*, the first who proposed that deputation; *C. Julius*, *T. Veturius*, and *P. Horatius*, all consulars, and men of great distinction. This was almost as remarkable a revolution in the government of Rome, as that from kings to consuls. Nothing could be more moderate and gentle than the beginning of this joint reign, as we may stile it, of the decemvirs. They agreed among themselves, that only one of them, at a time, should have the fasces, and the other consular ornaments, assemble the senate, confirm decrees, &c. To this honour they were to succeed by turns, each enjoying it one whole day, and then resigning it to another. The rest, who were not actually exercising their authority, affected no distinction but that of guards, their habits differing very little from those of the other senators. They repaired every morning, each in his turn, to their tribunal in the forum; and there distributed justice with so much impartiality, that the people, charmed with their conduct, seemed

seemed to have quite forgot their tribunes. *Appius* was the most popular of them all. He, who was formerly a severe and inflexible magistrate, was now all affability and complaisance. He knew most of the citizens by their names, received them with respect, and saluted them with great marks of affection; insomuch that, from being the detestation he became the idol of the people, and was looked upon as a second *Poplicola*. Before the end of the year, each of the decemvirs presented to the people that part of the laws which he had drawn up^b.

THEY were assisted by one *Hermodorus*, banished from *Ephesus*, his native city, and then accidentally at *Rome*, in understanding the Greek transcripts brought from *Athens*. We are told, that *Heraclitus*, one of *Hermodorus's* friends, wrote him a congratulatory letter on the pains he had taken in drawing up the *Roman* laws; adding, that, in a dream, he had seen all the nations of the earth bowing down before those laws, and worshipping them after the *Persian* manner^c. When the whole work was completed, the decemvirs assembled the people, and harangued them with the following words: *May the gods grant, that what we now present to you, Romans, may be equally agreeable to you, and advantageous to the republic, to you, and your remotest posterity! Go, read the laws we have drawn up. We have used all the care and attention possible; but, after all, a whole nation must see farther than any ten persons: Examine our laws therefore in private, make them the subject of your conversation; confer upon them among yourselves, and consult with one another what ought to be taken from them, and what may be added to them. Nothing that we have drawn up shall have the force of a law, till it is received with universal consent. Be you, Romans, rather the authors, than barely the approvers, of laws, which are to establish order and regularity, and to be the main foundation of the happiness both of the senate and people. A discourse so modest and candid was heard with great applause. Immediately the laws were cut in ten tables of oak, fixed up in the forum, and all, who came to start any difficulties about them, well received, and readily heard. When all necessary corrections and amendments, had been made, the ten tables were carried before the senate, where they met with no opposition; so that a decree was passed for convening the centuries for their ratification. This assembly was soon after held, and the auspices being solemnly taken, the laws were first confirmed by the unanimous voices of the whole *Roman* people, and then transcribed on*

^b DION. HALICARN. l. x. p. 680—684. LIV. l. iii. c. 32—34.

^c PLIN. l. xxxiv. c. 3. STRAB. l. xiv.

pillars of brass, and ranged in order in the forum, as the foundation of all judicial determinations, with regard both to public and private affairs ^d.

The decemviral government continued for one year.

As many eminent men in the republic were of opinion, that several regulations, which would fill two other tables, were necessary to be added to the ten already established, the continuation of the decemviral government for one year more was proposed in a general assembly of the people, and approved of by the senate and people with equal readiness, but for different reasons. The senators were glad at any rate to get rid of the tribunes, and the people extremely desirous to keep back the restoration of the consular dignity. Never was any office so much solicited by the gravest and wisest senators, as the decemvirate at this time. Those patricians who were formerly the most declared enemies of the people, and who scorned to canvass for public offices, were now wholly taken up in flattering and courting the meanest of the citizens. *Appius*, though a decemvir, forgetting his dignity, debased himself more than any of the candidates. He was perpetually seen in public places, in company with those who had been formerly tribunes, and whom he knew to be agreeable to the people. By their means he recommended himself to the multitude; for they were continually boasting of him to the populace, as the author of the happiness they enjoyed under the mild government of the decemvirs. But *Appius* himself, when asked by the patricians, whether he desired to be continued in his office for the next year, affected to dislike it, and was continually talking of the uneasiness that attends public employments. But his colleagues saw into his designs, and wisely formed their judgment of him by his actions, and not his words. They observed, that he abused the regard the people had for him to lessen the most venerable senators in the esteem of the people; that he excluded all men of known merit and steadiness from standing at the approaching election, by artfully insinuating them among the multitude; that, contrary to the pride of the *Claudian* family, he affected great affability and moderation, &c. All this gave great uneasiness to his competitors, and rendered him suspicious to his colleagues. These latter therefore formed a design to disappoint him. When the time of the comitia for the creation of the new decemvirs drew near, they appointed *Appius* to preside in them; for the president in these assemblies proposed to the people the persons who stood for the office in question; and it had never yet been known, that any one had nominated himself.

The ambitious views of Appius.

^d DION. HAL. LIV. *ibid.* CIC. *Tusc.* v. 105. STRABO, l. xiv. p. 642. PLIN. *ibid.* c. 5.

BUT *Appius*, contrary to all the rules of decency, proposed himself for the first decemvir; and the people, who were now intirely devoted to him, readily gave him their suffrages. The other persons he named were all men at his devotion, and such as he favoured. The first of the number was *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, who had been three times consul, a patrician indeed of a character hitherto unblameable. After him were chosen five other patricians; to wit, *M. Cornelius*, *M. Sergius*, *L. Minutius*, *T. Antonius*, and *M. Rabuleius*, all men little esteemed in their own body, but in great favour with *Appius*. But what most surpris'd the senate was, that *Appius*, out of complaisance to the people, propos'd three plebeians for the decemviral dignity; to wit, *Q. Petilius*, *Cæso Duilius*, and *Sp. Oppius*. These, though excluded by their birth, and by a late agreement between the patricians and plebeians from this supreme magistracy, were by a plurality of voices added to the number of the decemvirs. Several men of known probity and moderation had offer'd themselves for candidates, only to exclude those whose behaviour gave them cause to suspect them of some ill designs, namely, *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *Caius Claudius*, uncle to *Appius*. But these *Appius*, who presid'd at the election, did not so much as name, lest the people, who were well acquainted with their merit, should prefer them to his creatures °.

AND now *Claudius*, seeing himself once more at the head of the decemvirs, throw off the mask, and turned his thoughts wholly on making his domination perpetual. As he govern'd his colleagues with absolute sway before they began to exercise their office, he inspir'd them with his own sentiments. They had private meetings every day to deliberate about the most proper means of perpetuating themselves in that dignity. Above all things, they thought it necessary, and agreed, to keep up a good understanding with one another. *Appius*, at their head, directed all their proceedings, and told them what they were to do. From that time they appear'd reserved and mysterious, suffer'd few persons to come near them, and had no intercourse but with those of their own body. This close union and confederacy of ambitious men made the senate apprehensive, that the decemvirs for the ensuing year would behave themselves very differently from their predecessors. When the ides of May came, and the new decemvirs made their first appearance, the Romans were greatly surpris'd to see each decemvir appear in the forum early in the morning, with twelve lictors bearing axes among their fasces, like those that were antiently carried before the kings, and afterwards before the dictator: so that

and reign
imperi-
cously.

the forum was filled with an hundred and twenty liſtors. This was a dreadful ſight to *Rome*, the people prognosticating from thence, that this would be a year of tyranny and injustice. And they were soon made sensible, that their fears were not groundless. The decemvirs began to reign imperiously, and with a despotic power. They were always ſurrounded, not only by the numerous train of their liſtors, but also by a croud of desperate men, loaded with debts, and guilty of the blackest crimes. Many of the young patricians, preferring licentiousness to liberty, made their court to them in the most abject manner, in order to screen themselves from justice, and escape, by their favour, the punishment due to their crimes. No man's life or property was any longer safe. The young patricians, supporters of the ten tyrants, were not ashamed, upon the most frivolous pretences, to take possession of their neighbours estates; and when application was made to the decemvirs for redress, the complainants were treated with contempt, and their complaints rejected. An inconsiderate word, or an expression of concern at the remembrance of their antient liberty, was a capital crime. Some of the chief citizens were beaten with rods, for complaining of the present administration; others were banished, and some even put to death, and their goods confiscated. The new tyrants vented their fury chiefly upon the people, treating them more like slaves than *Roman* citizens. As for the patricians, most of them, dreading the tyranny of the decemvirs, gave way to the storm, and retired into the country for the remaining part of the year. They hoped that the tempest would cease with the annual power of the decemvirs ^f.

Two new
tables of
laws add-
ed to the
ten.

In the mean time, the ides of *May*, the time fixed for holding the comitia, in order to elect new magistrates, drew near; but the decemvirs, instead of assembling the people, proposed two new tables of laws, the first relating to religion, and the worship of the gods, the second to marriages, and the right of husbands. These made up the number of the twelve tables so much spoken of, which the *Romans* preserved ever after as a sacred depositum. Notwithstanding the hatred the public bore to the decemvirs, they found little to object to their laws. The last only, forbidding patricians and plebeians to intermarry, seemed an artful invention of the tyrants to keep the two parties always divided, that they might reign with more security. In the mean time the ides of *May* passed, and not a word of any comitia for an election of new magistrates. The tyrants then shewed themselves barefaced, and, in spite both of the senate and people, retained their power without

^f Liv. l. iii. c. 38.

any other title but possession and violence. All who gave them the least umbrage were proscribed; and many worthy citizens, retiring voluntarily from their country, took refuge among the *Latins* and *Hernici*. The people, groaning under so cruel a tyranny, cast their eyes upon the senate, as their only refuge. But the senators, instead of comforting them, took an ill natured pleasure in seeing them oppressed, and bearing a great share in the misfortunes they had occasioned. When any plebeian complained to them, they maliciously referred him to *Claudius*, that idol, whom they had set up, and preferred to so many illustrious defenders of their country. *C. Claudius*, greatly concerned to see his nephew become the tyrant of his country, went severl times to his house, with an intention to reprove him, and put him in mind of the glorious examples left him by his ancestors. But *Appius*, guessing at the errand he came upon, constantly eluded him, having ordered his attendants to admit none but the supporters and partners of his tyranny.

In the mean time, the *Sabines* and *Æqui*, hearing of the weak condition of the republic, and disdaining to live subject to a city, which had lost her own liberty, invaded the territory, and advanced within a few miles of *Rome*. This unexpected invasion alarmed the decemvirs. It was necessary to make head against the enemy; but the difficulty was, how to raise an army, when the people were dissatisfied with their governors. In this perplexity the decemvirs resolved to assemble the senate, and endeavour to prevail with the conscript fathers to interpose their authority, and make a decree for levying the troops. The people were surprised to hear a proclamation made in the forum for the senators to meet. They said they, *to our enemies for the appearance of this single spark of our antient liberty*. But, when the decemvirs repaired to the senate, they found nobody there but their own creatures. The others had retired to their country-seats; and thither the decemvirs sent messengers, summoning them to appear on a day appointed. Most of them obeyed the summons, and returned to *Rome*, but with views very different from those of the usurpers.

APPIUS, in a studied harangue, represented the danger which threatened the republic from the *Sabines* and the *Æqui*, and desired a decree for levies without delay. He had scarce finished, when *L. Valerius Potitius* rose up to speak, without waiting till it came to his turn. He was the grandson of the famous *Valerius Poplicola*, and son of that *Valerius*, who was slain at the head of the *Romans*, fighting against *Herdonius* the

† DION. HAL. l. xi. p. 684—725. LIV. l. iii. c. 38—42.

L. Valerius opposes the decemvirs;

and is seconded by M. Horatius Barbatus.

Sabine. Appius, apprehending he was going to propose something contrary to the interest of the decemvirs, sternly commanded him to sit down, and hold his peace, till senators, older than himself, and more considerable in the republic, had declared their opinions. But the brave *Valerius*, despising his command, complained of his pride and insolence, in presuming to impose silence upon a senator standing up for the liberty of the commonwealth; laid open the conspiracy they had all formed against the republic; and lastly, called upon *Fabius*, one of the decemvirs, as a man of justice and probity, to undertake the defence of his oppressed country, telling him, that on him chiefly the senate turned its eyes. *Fabius*, overwhelmed with shame and confusion, did not answer. But *Appius*, and the other decemvirs, starting up from their seats in a great rage, surrounded *Valerius*, and obliged him to hold his peace. Such an extraordinary proceeding raised a tumult in the assembly, most of the senators being highly provoked at the haughty behaviour of the decemvirs, but nobody more than *M. Horatius Barbatus*, the grandson of that *Horatius*, who had been consul with *Poplicola*.

As he was an intimate friend of *Valerius*, and animated with the same zeal for liberty, he could no longer bear the insolence of *Appius*, and his colleagues; but standing up, called them the *Tarquins*, and tyrants of their country. *What hinders us*, said he, *from immediately executing the same vengeance on the new Tarquins, which our ancestors did on the former tyrants? To restore liberty to Rome, is an hereditary honour in the families of the Valerii and Horatii. It is not the name of a king that makes a tyrant, &c.* He was going on, when the decemvirs, surrounding him, drowned his voice with their clamours, threatening to have him thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, if he did not instantly hold his peace. But when they perceived, that the senate in general expressed an uncommon resentment at their tyrannical proceedings, they repented of having imposed silence upon those who had a mind to speak. *Appius*, their chief, "as soon as the tumult was appeased, declared to the assembly, that it was not the intention of the decemvirs to hinder, by any violence, the conscript fathers from delivering their opinions; but that it was necessary to conform to the ordinary method, which was, that every one should speak in his turn, and confine himself to the matter in hand. He added, that whatever *Horatius* might imagine to the contrary, the commission of the decemvirs was limited to no period but that of the establishment of the laws; that they would not lay down their office till the twelve tables were settled in due form; and that then they would give an account of their administration. But, till that be done, con-

tinued

tinued he, *we will steadily maintain and execute the offices of consuls and tribunes, which are united in us.* Then turning to C. Claudius his uncle C. Claudius, he desired him to speak his mind with freedom concerning the levies. But he, without confining himself to that subject, in a long harangue, imputed all the misfortunes of the state to the usurpation and tyranny of the Appius decemvirs; exhorted the senators to insist on their being deposed; and, in a very pathetic strain, urged his nephew to abdicate an authority, which was become intolerable to a free people. Appius disdained to give his uncle any answer; but M. Cornelius spoke for him; and, applying himself directly to C. Claudius, *We don't want your advice,* said he, *to direct our conduct: if you would give particular counsels to your nephew, go to his house: the only affair in question here is the war with the Sabines and Æqui: tell us, in plain terms, your opinion concerning the levies.*

CLAUDIUS rose up a second time; and, turning to the senate, *Sin e my nephew,* said he, *will not condescend to speak to me, either in his own house, or in full senate, and I am so unhappy as to see the tyrant of my country arise out of my own family, I declare, conscript fathers, that I am resolved to retire to Regillus. I banish myself from Rome, and make an oath never from to enter it again, but with our liberty. However, to fulfil the obligation I lie under, of giving my opinion with relation to the present business, I am for coming to no determination concerning the levies, till consuls are chosen to lead them.* His opinion was followed by Quinctius Cincinnatus, Quinctius Capitolinus, and L. Lucretius, all consular persons, and by the chief men in the senate. When it came to L. Cornelius's turn to speak, he, in an harangue, which he had concerted beforehand with his brother M. Cornelius, one of the decemvirs, imputed the enmity of the old senators against the decemvirate to envy, and private resentment, for having been themselves disappointed in the pursuit of that office; urged the unreasonableness of losing time in disputes about new magistrates, when the enemy was almost at the gates of Rome; and represented, that it was impossible to come to a new election in less time than twenty-seven days, during which time the city might be besieged, and reduced to the utmost extremity. His speech was highly applauded by the creatures of the decemvirs; and even some of the oldest senators were for granting levies, hoping, that, when the war was finished, the abdication of the decemvirs would quietly follow of course, and the government resolve into the hands of the consuls. Appius, seeing with great pleasure that the majority were for granting him, and his colleagues, a power to raise levies, asked, for form's sake, the opinion of Valerius, on whom he had imposed silence in the beginning of

the assembly. *Valerius*, rising up, proposed the creating of a dictator, an expedient which had been so successfully practised on many occasions. All the senators, who spoke after *Valerius*, declared for this motion, as did also many of those who had before voted for the continuation of the decemvirate. A warm dispute hereupon arose, with much clamour and tumult. *Appius*, taking advantage of the disorder, stepped forth into the midst of the assembly, and cried out aloud, that the suffrages had been gathered, and that the opinion of *Cornelius* had prevailed. He then ordered the decree of the senate, which he had brought with him ready drawn up, and which impowered the decemvirs to raise troops, to be read in the assembly; and, immediately dismissing the senators, withdrew ^h.

Many of
the sena-
tors retire
from
Rome.

Their
estates con-
fiscated by
Appius.

THE authority of the decemvirs being now become more formidable than ever, the most timorous among the citizens became as submissive and complying as the tyrants could wish; others sought an asylum in the country, or among the neighbouring nations. *Appius*, enraged to see the best men in the republic abandon the city out of hatred to his government, placed guards at all the gates to prevent their escape. But, finding that this precaution only increased the number of the malcontents, and fearing a general revolt, he removed the guard, and left every one free to retire: but, to be revenged on those who withdrew, he confiscated their effects, or bestowed them on his ruffians and partisans. As for *Valerius* and *Horatius*, they staid at Rome; and, having gathered together in their houses a great number of their clients and friends, to secure them against the violence of the decemvirs, held private assemblies to concert measures for restoring liberty to the commonwealth.

The decem-
virs march
against the
Æqui.

The Ro-
man sol-
diers suffer
the Æqui
to gain
great ad-
vantages
over them.

IN the mean time the decemvirs raised ten legions, the people, destitute of their tribunes, being forced to lift themselves. *Q. Fabius*, with two other decemvirs, *Q. Petilius* and *M. Raulenius*, marched against the *Sabines* at the head of three legions. *M. Cornelius*, *L. Minutius*, *M. Sergius*, *T. Antonius*, and *C. Duilius*, all decemvirs, led five legions against the *Æqui*. *Appius* and *Oppius* remained with two legions in the city, to keep in awe the domestic enemy, more formidable to him than the *Sabines* and *Æqui*. The people, of whom the legions were composed, regretting the loss of their liberty, would not conquer; but suffered the enemy to gain great advantages over them, and, at last, feigning a sudden fright, dispersed in the night, and returned into the Roman territory. *Appius* did not fail to send recruits and provisions to his colleagues, exhorting them to keep the soldiers in awe by the terror

^h DION. HAL. LIV. *ibid*.

of punishments, or, in case that was dangerous, to destroy, by private ways, the most mutinous; and he himself set them an exampleⁱ.

THE famous *Sicinius Dentatus*, of whom we have spoken above, being returned from the camp, filled the city with his complaints against the decemvirs, exaggerating the faults they had committed in the management of the war. *Appius*, to get him out of *Rome*, sent for him, discoursed with him several times, and, desiring him to speak with freedom, examined him concerning the conduct of the decemvirs. *Sicinius*, without reserve or circumspection, blamed the proceedings of *Fabius*, and the other generals. *Appius*, pretending to admire his wisdom, prevailed upon him to go and assist *Fabius* with his advice; and, to deceive him the more effectually, he dignified him with the character of envoy or legate, which not only gave him the authority of a general, but made his person sacred and inviolable. As true valour is a stranger to jealousy and distrust, the brave *Sicinius* willingly embraced the opportunity of serving his country, and repaired to the camp with all speed; where the decemvirs, instructed by *Appius*, received him with outward marks of great joy; and consulted him, soon after his arrival, about the operations of the campaign. *Sicinius* advised them to remove their camp into the enemy's country, for many reasons, which he laid before them. This was what *Fabius* wanted, and accordingly he commissioned him to go and view the situation of the country, and mark out the ground for a new encampment. He appointed him an hundred chosen men, light-armed, to be his guard; but this guard consisted only of the decemvirs ruffians, who had secret orders to dispatch him. *Sicinius*, not suspecting the least treachery, led them into the narrow passes between the mountains; and there they took the opportunity of falling upon him, when he could not make his escape. The brave veteran no sooner perceived their base design, but, drawing his sword, he set his back against a rock, that he might not be attacked behind; and then, summoning all his valour, he laid fifteen of the assailants dead at his feet, and wounded above thirty more. The base assassins, not daring now to venture near him, stood at a distance, and discharged their darts at him; which he avoiding with great dexterity, some of them, climbing up to the top of the rock, from thence overwhelmed him with stones. They then went back to the camp, where they gave out, that they had been attacked by the enemy, and that *Sicinius* had been killed in the action.

ⁱ Liv. l. iii. c. 42.

His murder discovered; the soldiers disposed to a revolt. BUT when the soldiers, who marched out under arms to battle, they observed, that the slain were all *Romans*; and that they lay unstripped, with their faces towards him. This made them suspect, that *Sicinius* had been murdered by his guard; and raised loud complaints, and a general discontent, throughout the camp. The whole army, in the greatest fury and rage, demanded that the assassins might be brought to justice; but the decemvirs helped them to make their escape, and caused the body of *Sicinius* to be honourably interred, lest the soldiers should convey it to *Rome*, and there raise new disturbances. The discontent, which so odious a treachery raised in the army, came to such an height, that the greater part of the soldiers began to think in earnest of throwing off the yoke, and restoring their country to its antient liberty^k, which they soon found an opportunity to effect.

Appius Claudius the decemvir falls in love with Virginia.

APPIUS, as we have observed above, remained at home with a body of troops to keep the city in awe, while his colleagues marched against the *Sabines* and *Æqui*. As he was one day going to his tribunal, he observed a young virgin of extraordinary beauty; and, though he seemed dead to all soft passions, yet he was taken with her charms. It was then customary at *Rome* for young persons of both sexes to pursue such studies, as were proper for them, in public schools erected in the forum; and in one of these it was, that *Appius* first saw this beautiful young woman, and was charmed no less with her intent application to her book, than with her graceful mien, and engaging behaviour. As his office obliged him to appear frequently in the forum, this severe magistrate and lawgiver was observed to stop when he passed by the school of the young virgins, and there to behold, with great satisfaction, some pleasing object. The person, who thus drew his attention, was the daughter of one *L. Virginus*, a man famous in the city for his probity, and in the army for his valour. Though he was a plebeian, he made a considerable figure in the troops, and had led several detachments in the present war with the *Æqui*, as commander in chief. His daughter's name was *Virginia*. Her mother *Numitoria* being dead, her father *Virginus*, upon his departure for the war, had committed her to the care of an uncle by her mother's side, who shewed for her all the affection and concern of a father. She was now marriageable; and *Virginus* had already promised her to *Ililius*, who had been tribune of the people, and was to marry her at the end of the campaign. But in the mean time the decemvir, conceiving a violent passion for her,

^k LIV. l. iii. c. 43.

resolved at all adventures to satisfy it. He would willingly have married her; but he had a wife already, and, though divorces were allowed by law, yet there had never been any instance of one. Polygamy was strictly forbidden; and, besides, the decemvir himself had just passed a law, prohibiting all marriages between patricians and plebeians; so that he had no room to hope the accomplishment of his wishes, but by the scandalous means of debauching the young maid; and these he began to pursue, by endeavouring to corrupt, with large presents, and great offers, *Virginia's* nurse or governess. But she, equally faithful and prudent, instead of making a private market of the virtue and charms of young *Virginia*, rejected his offers with the utmost indignation, and kept a more watchful eye over her charge than ever.

He endeavours in vain to corrupt her nurse.

THE amorous tyrant, finding he could neither corrupt nor deceive the trusty and watchful nurse, had recourse to another stratagem, the execution of which he intrusted to *M. Claudius*, one of his clients, an infamous wretch, and fit for any villainous enterprize. This minister of the decemvir's passion, taking with him a band of profligate fellows, entered the school, where *Virginia* was; and, seizing her by the arm, declared that she was the daughter of one of his slaves, and therefore belonged to him. As he was carrying her to his house, with all the authority which the law gave to a master over his fugitive slave, the people flocked about him, and, being touched with so moving a sight, obliged him to set her at liberty. *Claudius*, finding he could not execute his first design, cited her to appear before the decemvir; and she, by the new laws, was obliged to follow him to the tribunal. *Appius*, who was alone upon the bench, was just ready to adjudge her to the claimant, as his lawful slave, when the people, full of indignation, cried out with one voice, that *Virginia's* relations ought first to be heard. *Appius*, absolute as he was, dared not refuse to suspend the sentence, till some of the prisoner's relations appeared. The first who came was *Numitorius*, the uncle of the young woman, attended by a great number of his friends and relations. Upon his arrival, silence being made, *Claudius* renewed his claim, founded on a lye concerted between him and the judge: he pretended, that *Virginia* was born in his house of a slave belonging to him; that her mother had given her to *Numitoria*, the wife of *Virginus*; and that *Numitoria* had imposed the child upon her husband, and made *Virginia* pass for his daughter. He added, that he would soon produce undeniable testimonies of what he advanced; that, in the mean time, it was but just, that a slave should go with her master; and that he would give security to produce the young woman again in court, when *Virginus*, her pretended

He contrives a stratagem to get her into his power.

tended father, returned from the war. *Numitorius* represented, that it was highly unjust to dispute a citizen's right to his very children, when he was not present to assert it; adding, that *Virginus*, who was serving his country in the camp, would not fail to be at *Rome* in two days; and that it was reasonable her uncle, who had the care of her person, should, in the mean time, be the guardian of her honour. This, he said, was conformable to the laws, which ordained, that during a law-suit, and before a definitive sentence, the plaintiff should not disturb the defendant in his possession.

Appius artfully eludes the law.

BUT this law *Appius* eluded, by artfully observing, that, in the present dispute, there were two circumstances, which altered the case. *Here*, said he, *are two persons claiming; one as a father, the other as a master: if the pretended father were present, he indeed ought to be allowed the possession; but, he being absent, the person, who claims her as his slave, ought to be preferred to any other, provided he gives good security to produce her again at the return of the person, who is called her father.* Having thus spoken, he ordered *Virginia* to be put into *Claudius's* hands. The iniquity of the judgment incensed all who were present. The women, who surrounded *Virginia*, made such outcries, that they were heard at a great distance. They kept her in the middle of them, and seemed resolute to defend her. At that instant, *Icilius*, to whom she had been promised in marriage, arrived, and, breaking through the croud, forced his way to the tribunal, to defend his dear *Virginia*. A licitor endeavoured to oppose his passage, crying to him, that sentence was already passed. But nothing could stop the enraged lover: he took *Virginia* in his arms; and, addressing himself to *Appius*, No, *Appius*, he cried, *nothing but death shall separate me from Virginia. Add my murder to the many crimes with which thou art already polluted. Assemble all thy licensors, and those of thy colleagues too, I will defend her honour to my last breath. Have you deprived us of the protection of our tribunes, only to subject our wives and our daughters to your lewdness? Go on to exercise your rage upon our estates and lives; but spare the chastity of our virgins. If any attempt be made upon the honour of Virginia, I call the gods to witness, that it shall not go unrevenge'd. What will not Virginus be able to do in the army, and Icilius among the people, when the one is to revenge the cause of an injured wife, and the other of a dishonoured daughter?* He was going on, when the licensors were ordered to drive him away, and to seize *Virginia*.

The officers of the decemvir dispersed.

BUT the people, moved with his misfortune and courage, fell upon the officers of the decemvir, dispersed them, and obliged *Claudius* to take refuge under the tribunal. *Appius*, seeing the people incensed against him beyond measure, called his

his client to him, whispered in his ear, and then, having caused silence to be made, *It is not,* said he, *the fury of the violent Icilius, which makes me comply, but the intreaties of Claudius my client. He is willing to give up the right he has to carry home his slave, and to commit her to the same hands in which she was before. At his request I will wait for Virginius's return till to-morrow. Let his friends take care to give him notice. If Virginius does not appear at the time appointed, I would have Icilius know, that I shall not want any assistance from my colleagues to put my decree in execution.* When he had done speaking, Claudius desired that Icilius might give security for producing Virginia the next day; which he did accordingly, all the people then present offering eagerly to be his security. Icilius and Numitorius immediately dispatched, the first his brother, the second his son, to bring Virginus from the camp. Appius, at the same time, sent a courier with orders to the generals to put him under arrest: but the other messengers were more expeditious; and Virginus, upon the first notice of his daughter's danger, had left the army, and was so fortunate as to escape two parties, which were sent, one from the camp, and the other from the city, to stop him. He appeared the next morning in the forum, leading his daughter, in deep mourning, attended by a great number of matrons of distinction. He addressed himself to his fellow-citizens as he passed, and uttered his complaints with an air of dignity, which seemed rather to demand than implore assistance. Icilius broke into the throng, inveighed loudly against Appius, and endeavoured to transfuse his own resentment into every breast: but the silent tears of the women, who attended Virginia, affected the multitude more than any words. Appius was greatly surprised to hear, that Virginus was in the forum. Full of rage, he repaired thither; and, though informed of the disposition of the people, he ascended his tribunal, being surrounded by a numerous croud of his dependents and creatures. Claudius spoke the first, renewed his claim, and produced the slave, whom he had suborned to declare, that she was the mother of Virginia, and that she had sold her to the wife of Virginus. Several other witnesses appeared to attest the same thing, all gained with great promises by Appius, and his client Claudius.

THE friends and relations of Virginia, to destroy this imposture, urged the little probability of Numitoria's imposing a child upon her husband. He had married her, when she was very young, and was almost of the same age with her. Virginia was born soon after the marriage. *Where was the necessity then,* said they, *for Numitoria's practising such a fraud as is pretended? Besides, if she had proved barren, and had designed*

Virginus,
the father
of Vir-
ginia, is sent
for from
the camp.

He arrives
at Rome.

The impos-
ture of
Claudius
made ma-
nifest.

signed to introduce a stranger into her family, why should she have chosen the child of a slave rather than of a free woman? Why a girl, when she might as easily have had a boy? Besides, was it probable, that a contrivance, carried on by so many persons, should continue so long a secret? Would not the slave have made her court to her master, as soon as Numitoria was dead, by discovering a secret to him, which would have put him in possession of a young woman well educated, and of extraordinary beauty? Why was this mystery kept undiscovered till Appius was decemvir, since the slave, for a long time past, could have no interest in concealing it? To these presumptions Virginius added undeniable proofs, and brought some of the most considerable women in Rome, who deposed, some that they had seen Numitoria when she was big with child; others, that they had assisted at her labour; and some, that they had seen her suckle young Virginia, which she could not have done, had she been barren, as Claudius pretended.

Appius
makes
himself a
witness in
the affair;

APPIUS, observing that these unanswerable proofs made a great impression upon the multitude, interrupted the evidence; and, commanding silence, signified, that he himself had something to say. All the people listened with attention, being anxious to know what he could object against so many witnesses of unquestionable credit. He then spoke thus: *I must acquaint you, Virginius, and all who are present, that this is not the first time I have heard of this affair. Claudius's father revealed the secret to me at his death, when he made me his son's guardian. Afterwards I examined into the matter, and found it to be true. However, I did not think it became me to meddle in an affair of this nature; and therefore left it to my pupil to recover his right, or to agree with the parties concerned, when he should come of age. But now that the cause is brought before me in judgment, being obliged to give sentence according to my own personal knowledge, I declare, both as judge and witness, that the young woman belongs to Claudius; and my sentence is, that she be delivered up to him as his property. Virginius, provoked to the highest degree at so unjust and cruel a sentence, was no longer master of himself. He trembled with rage, and, accompanying his words with a threatening gesture, *Infernal wretch*, said he, *I never designed my daughter for thee; I educated her for a lawful husband, and not to be a prey to a lustful rascal. Must then brutal passions among us take the place of honourable marriages! How the citizens here will bear with these things, I know not; but I trust, that the army will revenge my wrongs.* At these words the people set up a loud cry full of indignation, as if they were determined to oppose the execution of Appius's decree. But the decemvir, having first cast his eyes on all sides, to observe his*

and decrees
Virginia
to his
client.

his strength, and how his friends were posted, told the multitude, with a threatening voice, that he was not unacquainted with the plots that had been laid to cause an insurrection; but that he neither wanted power nor resolution to inflict exemplary punishments on such as should offer to disturb the public peace. *Let every one therefore, said he, retire to his own house, and none presume to give law to a supreme magistrate. As for you, Claudius, added he, seize your slave, and make use of my guard to disperse the croud.* At these words, uttered with an imperious tone, the multitude gave back; and left Virginia standing by herself, an helpless prey to injustice.

THE unfortunate father, seeing there was no other remedy, Virginius drew near Appius, and, in a suppliant manner, addressed him thus: *Pardon, Appius, the unguarded words, which have escaped me in my first transports of grief; and allow me to ask, in the young woman's presence, some questions of her nurse, that I may carry home at least the comfort of being set right in this matter.* Appius readily granted him his request, and Virginius, taking his daughter in his arms, and wiping the tears, in which she was all bathed, drew near to some shops, which were in the forum. There he snatched up a butcher's knife, and, turning to Virginia, *My dear daughter, said he, this is the only way to save thy liberty, and thy honour. Go, Virginia, go to thy ancestors, whilst thou art yet a free woman, pure and undefiled.* With these words he plunged the knife into her heart, and then drawing it out again, all smoking with her blood, and turning to Appius, *By this blood, he cried, I devote thy head to the infernal gods.* The decemvir immediately ordered him to be seized; but he, with the knife in his hand, made his way through the croud, got out of the city, and, mounting his horse, took the road to the camp. In the mean time Numitorius and Icilius, staying by the dead body of Virginia, and showing it to the people, raised a great commotion in the city. As for Appius, he seemed to have quite lost his reason; instead of endeavouring to pacify the multitude, he retired to his own house, and from thence sent his lictors to seize Iulius, and carry away the dead body. But the people opposed the execution of his orders, and, falling upon the lictors, broke their fasces, and drove them out of the forum.

HEREUPON the decemvir had the boldness to come in person, attended by a chosen company of young patricians, to support his authority. But Valerius and Horatius, those sworn enemies of the decemvirs, putting themselves at the head of their friends and clients, obliged the decemvir to retire. In this perplexity, Appius hastened to the temple of Vulcan; and there pretending to act the part of a tribune of the people, demanded that Valerius and Horatius should be thrown headlong

long from the *Tarpeian* rock, as disturbers of the public tranquillity. But his harangue was often interrupted with hisses; and in the mean time *Valerius*, having caused the body of *Virginus* to be carried to the top of a flight of steps, whence it might be seen by the people, was, from the same eminence, inveighing against *Appius*; so that there were two assemblies, and two orators, in different parts of the forum, declaiming against each other at the same time. But *Appius's* auditors soon left him, to go to *Valerius*; and *Appius*, terrified at the desertion of many of his creatures, privately withdrew, and, hiding his face with his robe, took refuge in a neighbouring house. At that juncture *Oppius*, the plebeian decemvir, rushed into the forum, to defend his colleague; but, finding that the party of *Horatius* and *Valerius* was by far the strongest, he judged, that the wisest method, in the present exigence, was to convene the senate; and this immediately quieted the multitude; for they hoped, that the decemvirate would by that means be abolished. But the senators then in *Rome*, being all friends to the decemvirs, only ordered the people to behave themselves peaceably, and commissioned some young members of their body to go to the camp near mount *Algidus*, and prevent the sedition which *Virginus* might raise there¹.

*Virginus
stirs up the
army.*

HE had entered the camp, attended by four hundred citizens, and holding the bloody knife in his hand. The soldiers, at this strange sight, flocked to him from all quarters, when he, standing on an eminence, with his face drowned in tears, related to them the plot laid by *Appius* against his daughter's honour and liberty, and the cruel method he had been forced to take for the preservation of her chastity. The centurions and soldiers, full of indignation against *Appius*, assured him, that they were determined to stand by him in whatever he should undertake against so wicked a tyrant. The decemvirs, who commanded the army, being informed of *Virginus's* return, and the disposition of the soldiers, attempted to seize the former, and appease the latter. But the soldiers, refusing to pay any obedience to the orders of men, whom they looked upon as usurpers and tyrants, flew to their arms, snatched up their ensigns, and took the way to *Rome*, which they reached about evening, and entered with making the least disturbance. They marched quietly through the city to mount *Aventine*, and there intrenched themselves, declaring, that they would not lay down their arms till the decemvirate was abolished, and the tribuneship restored. Hereupon *Oppius* convened the senate (for *Appius* was afraid to appear in public); and the conscript fathers agreed to send three of their body to the army, to ask, why they had left the

*They re-
turn to
Rome,
revolt
from their
generals,
and en-
camp on
mount
Aventine.*

¹ DIODOR. SIC. l. xii. c. 86—89. LIV. l. iii. c. 44—49.

camp without their generals orders, and what their intent was in possessing themselves of mount *Aventine*. As they had not yet chosen an head, they all cried out with one voice, *Let Valerius and Horatius be sent to us: we will return no answer to the senate, but by them*. As soon as the three commissioners were gone, *Virginus* advised the troops to choose chiefs to govern them, and manage for them. Agreeable to his advice, ten persons were elected, under the name of *military tribunes*. ^{Ten military tribunes elected.} The army was desirous to have *Virginus* at the head of them, but he declined the honour. *My daughter, said he, is dead, and I have not yet revenged her death. No kind of honour will become me, till her manes are appeased. Besides, what prudent or moderate counsels can you expect from me, who am so incensed against the tyrants? I shall be of more service to the common cause, by acting in it as a private man.*

In the mean time, the three legions sent against the *Sabines*, ^{The two armies joined.} being stirred up by *Numitorius* and *Idilius*, abandoned their Roman generals, and, having, after the example of the other army, chosen themselves ten military tribunes, marched through the city, and joined the legions on the *Aventine*. The two armies, thus united, commissioned their twenty tribunes to elect two out of their number to be supreme over all, and the choice fell upon *M. Oppius* and *Sextus Manilius*. In the mean time the senate assembled every day, but spent the whole time in debates, without coming to any resolution. At length it was carried by a majority of voices, that *Valerius* and *Horatius* should be sent to the revolted army: but they protested, that they would not move a step, so long as the decemvirs were masters of the government. The two armies, tired out with these delays, removed their camp to the *Sacred Mount*, in-^{The two armies removed to Mons Sac.} trenched themselves there, and observed the same good discipline as their ancestors had formerly done. In this decampment they were followed by such numbers of citizens, with their wives and children, that *Rome* was in a manner deserted.

THE senators, surprised to see the streets so thin of people, ^{The senate resolved to abolish the decemvirate.} resolved, at length, to abolish the decemvirate, to restore to the people their tribunes, and to the senate its consuls. The decemvirs, finding they could not retain their authority any longer, only desired, that they might not be sacrificed to the hatred of their enemies, offering to resign the power with which they were invested, whenever the senate should think fit to create new consuls. Upon this, *Valerius* and *Horatius* repaired to the army, where they were received with inexpressible joy. *Idilius*, whom the army chose for their speaker, after having returned the deputies thanks for the zeal ^{the army} they had shewn all along in behalf of the people, demanded,

to return
to Rome.

in the name of all who had retired to the *Mons Sacer*, 1. The re-establishment of the tribunes of the people, with a right of appeal to them from the decisions of the consuls. 2. An amnesty for all who had left the camp without permission from their generals. 3. That the decemvirs should be delivered into their hands, that they might be burnt alive. But the prudent deputies made a great difference between the two first articles and the last. *Your two first demands*, said they, *are agreeable to reason; but the third is the effect of passion. You are offered a shield; do not pretend to take a sword too. The senate has not yet declared you innocent, and will you already presume to give law to it?* The people, being satisfied that no tribunes whatsoever could have their interests more at heart than those two senators, impowered them to make what terms for them they should think fit. *Horatius and Valerius* returned immediately to the senate, and gave them an account of the demands of the people, but omitted their threats against the decemvirs, who, hearing no mention made of their punishment, readily consented to all that was asked; only *Appius* seemed unwilling to part with his power: *To re-establish the tribuneship*, said he, *is only to put arms into the hands of the enraged multitude. I find my life must be sacrificed to the public hatred: but since it must be so, I will not any longer oppose the rage of the populace. I am ready to resign the decemvirate, and care not how soon I do it.*

A decree
passes, a-
bolishing
the decem-
virate.

Year of
the flood
1900.
Bef. Chr.
448.
Of Rome
300.

L. Vale-
rius and
M. Hora-
tius raised
to the con-
sulate.
They get
several
laws pass-

ACCORDINGLY, a decree was passed, abolishing the decemvirate, and restoring the tribunes. Then the decemvirs, repairing to the forum, there laid down their authority, to the great joy of the city^m. When the news of their resignation were carried to the camp, the army, leaving the *Sacred Mount*, encamped a second time on mount *Aventine*, and there chose their tribunes, the *pontifex maximus* presiding at the election, *Virginius*, *Icilius*, and *Numitorius*, were first named. *C. Sici-
cinius*, *M. Duilius*, *M. Titinius*, *M. Pomponius*, *C. Apronius*,
P. Villius, and *C. Oppius*, were appointed their colleagues. An
interrex was afterwards created, who held an assembly of the
people by centuries, in which *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius*
were raised to the consulate. These consuls, being both very
popular, got several laws passed, which gave the people a su-
periority over the senate. Formerly the decrees of the peo-
ple, convened by tribes, obliged only the plebeians; but now
it was enacted, that all decrees made in the comitia by tribes
should have the force of laws with relation to all citizens.
That the tribunes might be maintained in perpetual possession
of their right of judging causes brought before them by appeal,
it was likewise enacted, that, for the future, no magistrates

^m Liv. l. iii. c. 53, 54.

of any kind should be invested with authority, without appeal to the assembly of the people; and that it should be lawful for any one to kill the man, who should attempt the creation of such a magistrate. The ceremonies were likewise renewed, whereby the persons of the tribunes were made sacred. To these regulations another was added, to wit, that the decrees of the senate should, for the future, be carried to the ædile, and kept in the temple of *Ceres*. This was done, lest the succeeding consuls should suppress the decrees now made, and by that means render them useless ^a.

THE power of the tribunes being now firmly established, Appius they resolved to prosecute the decemvirs, and begin with *Appius*, who was accordingly cited to appear. *Virginius*, who by Virginius was appointed to be his accuser, without enumerating all his crimes, insisted only on his having, contrary to law, refused a young woman, who was in possession of her liberty, the right of enjoying it till the suit was determined. *If you do not instantly clear yourself from this breach of the law, I will order you*, said *Virginius*, *to be carried to prison*. Appius kept silence; but, when the tribunes officers offered to seize him, he cried out, *I appeal*; and, having enumerated the services done to the republic by his family, and reminded the people of his own zeal for the common good, in promoting and compiling the body of laws contained in the twelve tables, he claimed the protection of the laws just made in favour of appeals. *Virginius* answered, that such a monster as *Appius* ought not to partake of the common benefits of society, nor be allowed to escape imprisonment on giving security, since he had refused that privilege to *Virginia*. He added, that it was but reasonable, that so profligate a wretch should be carried to that prison which he himself had built, and insolently named *the habitation of the people of Rome*. Accordingly, he was led, notwithstanding his appeal, to prison; but his trial was put off to the third market-day. In this interval, *Claudius*, the uncle of *Appius*, son ^{and carried to prison} who had so much disapproved of his nephew's conduct, and had always been against the decemvirs, yet, upon hearing of the danger of *Appius*, hastened to *Rome*, and appeared in the forum, with all his friends and relations, in habits of mourning. He went from citizen to citizen, beseeching them not to fix such an ignominy on the *Claudian* family; but to no purpose; *Virginius*, on the other hand, begging them to shew compassion for him and his daughter, and not for the *Claudian* family, which had tyrannized over them. But, before the day appointed for the trial, *Appius* died in prison (A). ^{and dies there.}

^a Liv. l. iii. c. 55.

(A) *Dionysius* tells us, that the tribunes gave out he had strangled himself; but that it was much suspected he had been dispatched

Oppius, another of the decemvirs, thrown into prison, where he dies. THE prosecution of *Oppius*, one of the plebeian decemvirs, followed next. He was accused by *Numitorius*, *Virginia's* uncle, as an accomplice with *Appius*, whose injustice in her affair he had not opposed, though at that time in *Rome*. Nor was this the only crime laid to his charge. A veteran, who had served twenty-seven years in the army, and had been eight times honoured with military rewards, uncovering his shoulders, exposed to the multitude the marks of the rods, with which he had been beaten by *Oppius's* order; and offered to undergo the same treatment again, if the decemvir could assign any good reason for his cruelty. The accused was, by the unanimous suffrages of the people, thrown into prison, where he died the same day. The other eight decemvirs, terrified with these imprisonments, which were followed by sudden deaths, retired into banishment of their own accord. Upon their flight their effects were confiscated and sold, and the money arising from them carried by the quaestors into the public treasury. As for *M. Claudius*, the client, who had been suborned to serve the pleasures, and carry on the iniquity, of his patron, he was condemned to death: but *Virginus*, pitying a wretch, who had offended at the instigation of a powerful magistrate, and a sovereign, from whom he had no appeal, changed the sentence of death into that of perpetual banishment, upon his confessing, that he had been suborned. After this, *Duilius*, one of the tribunes, advised his colleagues to carry vengeance no farther; and accordingly a general amnesty was granted, and the state enjoyed a profound tranquillity at home the remaining part of the year ^o.

The others retire of their own accord into banishment.

The Æqui, the Volsci, and the Sabines, defeated by the consuls. The senate refuses them a triumph, which they obtain of the tribunes. AFFAIRS being thus settled, the two consuls took the field against the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, and *Sabines*, who, during the late intestine divisions, had pillaged the *Roman* territory. *Valerius* defeated the two former, and *Horatius* the latter. But the senate, dissatisfied with their too popular administration, and moved by a speech of *C. Claudius*, who inveighed bitterly against them, refused them a triumph. But this opposition served only to gain the people a new prerogative, the right of decreeing triumphs: for the consuls applied to them, and the tribunes espousing their cause, *Tullius* declared, in the name of the people of *Rome*, that the consuls should, in spite of the senate, have the honour of a triumph, which was thought so

LIV. l. ii. c. 58, 59.

spatched by their orders. *Livy* mentions, laid violent hands on *Appius*, to avoid the infamy of a public punishment, laid violent hands on himself in prison (2).

(2) *Dion. Hal. l. xl. p. 725—727. Liv. l. iii. c. 55, 56.*

legal an one, that it had a place in the *fasti Capitolini*. The tribunes did not stop here; but formed a design of getting themselves continued in the tribuneship after the expiration of their year. This was a conspiracy not unlike that of the decemvirs; but, to prevent any suspicion, that their aim was to make themselves sole masters of the government, they were for having the people continue *Valerius* and *Horatius* in the consulate. *Duilius*, one of their college, a man of great moderation, and very zealous for the public liberty, opposed this project, and made it abortive, by prevailing upon the consuls to declare publicly, that they would not hold the consulate after their year was expired, though the people should desire it. After this *Duilius* held the assembly for electing tribunes, and, by his influence, got five new ones chosen, in spite of the cabals of the old tribunes. However, the latter prevailed so far by their intrigues, as to hinder any other of the candidates from having the necessary number of voices. Hereupon the nomination of the five tribunes yet wanting was referred to the five actually chosen, according to the direction of a law, which expressly provided, that if, upon a day of election, the full number of tribunes could not be chosen, those who were elected should have power to name their colleagues. Agreeably to this law, the new tribunes no sooner entered upon their office, but they named their colleagues, and among them, to the great surprise of all, *S. Tarpeius* and *A. Aternius*, both patricians, two old senators, and even consulars (B). The election of the consuls followed that of the tribunes, when *Lartius Hermi-* chosen tri-
nus and *T. Virginus* were chosen without any disturbance. bunes of
In their consulate, *L. Trebonius*, one of the tribunes, dissatis- the people.
fied to see two patricians in that college, gave himself intirely up to cross the senate in every thing, whence he acquired the surname of *Asper*, or *the Crabbed*. In order to exclude patricians for the future, he got a law passed, which, from his Lex Tre-
name, was called *lex Trebonia*; by which it was ordained, bonia.
that whosoever should, for the future, hold the comitia for elect-
ing tribunes of the people, should not dismiss the assembly till the
number of ten tribunes was completed by the votes of the people.
This law took from the tribunes, who were first chosen, the

(B) Some writers are of opinion, that these patricians had got themselves adopted into plebeian families; but this is a groundless conjecture; for *Livy* tells us, that the five first tribunes were directed by the senate in the choice of their colleagues;

whence it is more likely, that the senators privately joined with *Duilius*, who acted all along in concert with them, to get some of their body into the tribuneship, in order to counterbalance the power of the plebeian tribunes.

right of naming their colleagues, which the *Romans* called *co-optatio* P.

THE following consulate of *M. Geganius* and *C. Julius* produced nothing remarkable. But the succeeding consuls, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* a fourth time, and *Agrippa Furius*, found the people highly exasperated against the nobility, on account of some insults they had offered the plebeians. The aggressors were cited to appear before the people, which occasioned great contentions. Upon the news of these fresh domestic broils, the *Æqui* and *Volsi* entered the *Roman* territory, and ravaged the country to the very gates of *Rome*, the tribunes opposing the necessary levies to repulse them. Hereupon the consul *Quinctius*, a man illustrious for several victories, and greatly respected for the purity of his manners, and the wisdom of his counsels, having convened a general assembly of the people, made an harangue to them, with which they were so affected, that they concurred unanimously in taking arms. All the youth offered themselves in crowds to be enlisted; in such manner that on the same day the levies were raised, and the army marched ten miles on its way. The next day the consuls came in sight of the enemy, and the day following gave them battle, and gained a complete victory. However, the consuls, as *Livy* observes, did not demand a triumph, nor did the senate offer them one. He conjectures, that the consuls were ashamed to ask an honour for one victory, which the fathers had refused to *Iulius* and *Horatius* for two.

THIS would have been a glorious year for the republic, had not the *Roman* people dishonoured themselves by an iniquitous judgment in a cause which was referred to their decision. The inhabitants of *Ardea* and *Aricia* chose them arbitrators in a dispute concerning a large tract of land, to which they both laid claim. The tribes being assembled, and the cause heard, the votes were going to be taken, when one *Scaptius*, a *Roman*, eighty-three years old, desired to speak. He pretended, that the district in question belonged formerly to the city of *Corioli*, and consequently now to the *Romans*, who ought therefore to make no scruple of seizing it. The consuls used their utmost endeavours to dissuade the people from taking a step, which must cost a dearth on the *Roman* probity. But all their efforts were to no purpose; the people, in spite of their remonstrances, adjudged the territory to themselves.

IN the following consulate of *M. Genucius Augurinus*, and *C. Currius Philo*, the tribunes carried their pretensions farther than ever; for they not only demanded, that the law, prohib-

P LIV. l. iii. c. 61—65.
LIV. ubi supra, c. 71, 72.

DION. HAL. l. xi. p. 729.

biting patricians and plebeians to intermarry, might be repealed, but likewise, that plebeians might be admitted to the consulship. *Canuleius*, the most active of the tribunes, declared to the senate, in the most solemn manner, that he would constantly oppose all levies of troops, let the want of them be never so pressing, till these concessions were made to the people. The consuls and patricians declared, with great warmth, against these new claims of the incroaching tribunes; but the *Ardeates*, the *Æqui*, the *Veientes*, and the *Volsi*, invading at the same time the *Roman* territory, the senate found it necessary to let the law concerning marriages pass, hoping that this concession would induce the tribunes to give over intirely the pursuit of the law relating to the consulship, or at least to suspend it till the conclusion of the war. But their hopes proved vain; for the tribunes, though the alarm from abroad daily increased, still opposed the levies, and pushed their point with the same zeal as before. Nay, at the instigation of *Canuleius*, they all bound themselves, by a solemn oath, not to desist from their enterprize, till the senate had granted them their demand. *C. Claudius*, in a private assembly of the oldest senators, moved to have recourse to arms and violence, rather than yield to the people the dignity of the consulship. But *T. Quinctius*, and the majority of the assembly, thought it better to comply, than come to a rupture with the people. Hereupon *Claudius*, to prevent the debasing of the consular dignity, made a new proposal; to wit, that, instead of consuls, a certain number of military tribunes should be chosen, partly out of the senate, and partly from among the plebeians; and that these new magistrates should be invested with consular power.

THIS project being approved, the senate was assembled, and the tribunes called to it to give their reasons in behalf of the new laws in question. After they had spoken, *Claudius's* scheme was proposed, and received with great applause both by the patricians and plebeians. A decree was immediately passed for this fourth revolution in the *Roman* government, and the comitia were held without delay. But when the people came to vote, they refused to give their votes to any but patricians; so that only three military tribunes were chosen, *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, *L. Attilius*, and *S. Clælius*, or, as some style him, *Clælius*. But they did not long continue in office. *Curtius*, the late consul, who had presided at the election, declared three months after, that the auguries preceding it had been inauspicious, which made their promotion void. This was probably an artful contrivance of the nobility, to restore the ancient form of government. However that be, the three new magistrates readily resigned their office, and an interrex was named, that the commonwealth might not remain without an

Military tribunes created with consular power; but soon after abolished.
Year of the flood 1905.
Bef. Chr. 443.
Of Rome 305.

The cen-
sorship
established.
Year after
the flood
1907.
Bef. Chr.
441.
Of Rome
307.

head. *T. Quinctius*, the interrex, assembled the people to determine, whether the consular government should be restored, or that of the military tribunes continued. The senate were for the former; the tribunes for the latter; but the people, being resolved to confer the supreme dignity only on patricians, were indifferent whether it should be called *consulship* or *tribuneship*. At length all agreed to restore the old form of government; and *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, and *L. Sempronius Atratinus*, brother to one of those patricians who had laid down the military tribuneship, were appointed consuls for the remaining part of the year. Under the succeeding administration of *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, a fifth time consul, and *M. Geganius* a second time, the censorship was established. There had been no census for seventeen years, which occasioned great disorders. These the new consuls undertook to remedy; but as they had many civil and military affairs on their hands, they desired the senate to discharge them of the care of numbering the people, and to lay it upon two magistrates created for that purpose, who, with the title of *censors*, should, every five years, take a general review of the whole *Roman* people, and an account of their effects. The senate approved the motion; and the tribunes, though always upon their guard against every thing offered by the senate, thought the employment of too little importance to oppose it. They did not even demand, that the plebeians should be allowed a share in it; not foreseeing to what a pitch of power and grandeur the office of censor would in time arrive. As men generally study how to enlarge their authority, the censorship was no sooner made a distinct magistracy, than the censors began to take upon them the reformation of manners, and by that means subject to their tribunal the senators and knights, as much as the meanest of the people. *Papirius* and *Sempronius*, the consuls of the preceding year, were the first censors; this dignity being unanimously conferred upon them, to make them amends for the short duration of their consulate.

A civil
war
among the
Ardeates.

WHILE the consuls were thus easing themselves of the burden annexed to their office, a neighboring city found them employment enough at hand. The *Ardeates*, who had lately renewed their alliance with *Rome*, were unhappily involved in a civil war, which arose from a very slight cause. Two citizens of *Ardea*, one of a noble family, the other of a plebeian, had fallen in love with the same young woman. As she was a plebeian, her guardians were for giving her to a man of her own rank; but her mother, an ambitious woman, was fond

* DION. HAL. l. xi. p. 736. LIV. l. iv. c. 7. LIV. *ibid.*
c. 8, 9. DION. HAL. *ubi supra*, p. 737.

of matching her with a man of quality. The dispute about this marriage engaged all *Ardea*, the nobility declaring for one of the suitors, and the people for the other. At length the cause between the mother and the guardians was tried, and sentence pronounced by the judges in favour of the former, who, they said, had a right to dispose of her child to whom she pleased; but the latter, refusing to stand to this determination, had recourse to violence, gathered together some plebeians, and, entering the widow's house, carried away her daughter. The nobility, on the other hand, taking the mother's part, ran to arms, fell upon the plebeians, and, having killed several of them, brought the young woman back to her mother's house. Hereupon the plebeians, leaving the city in great numbers, encamped on a neighbouring hill, and from thence sent out parties to lay waste the lands of the nobility. The mutineers, being joined by the *Volsi*, chose themselves a commander, named *Cluilius*, and laid siege to *Ardea*. In this distress the nobility applied to the *Romans*, and the senate sent immediately an army to their relief, under the command of the consul *Geganus*, who invested the besiegers, obliged them to surrender their arms, and made them pass under the yoke. After this, the consul returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, with uncommon pomp and solemnity.

THE succeeding consuls, *M. Fabius* and *Posthumius Ebutius*, made the *Ardeates* some amends for the wrongs the *Romans* had done them, on occasion of their contest with the *Aricians*; for they sent a colony to repeople their city, much depopulated by the civil war; and privately agreed, that no lands, except those formerly in dispute, should be divided among the new colony, and even of those only a small part; and that the rest should be restored to their ancient proprietors. As this was disannulling the judgment of the people, *Agrippa Mennius*, *F. Clælius*, and *M. Ebutius*, who had put the decree in execution, were cited to appear before the people; but these three patricians, to avoid the prosecution, declared themselves citizens of *Ardea*, and continued there. The following year, when the government was in the hands of *C. Furius* and *M. Papirius*, proved a year of peace. But the succeeding consulate of *Proculus Geganius* and *L. Mennius*, great disturbances arose, occasioned by a *Roman* knight, named *Sp. Mælius*, who had the confidence to aspire to the sovereign power. A dreadful famine happening in *Rome*, the people, to prevent the evil consequences of it, created, with the consent of the senate, an extraordinary magistrate, with the title of *superintendent of provisions*. The person they named for this office, was one

† Liv. l. iv. c. 9, 10.

L. Minutius, an active and prudent man, who immediately sent his agents into the neighbouring countries to buy corn, but with little success, *Sp. Mælius*, who was one of the richest men in *Rome*, having been beforehand with him at the markets. The corn *Mælius* bought, was, by his order, distributed among the meaner people; so that his house quickly became the place of refuge for the poor, the idle, and those who had undone themselves by debauchery.

MINUTIUS, who was continued in his office under the new consuls *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* the sixth time, and *Agrippa Menenius*, found out, that *Mælius*, under cover of an extraordinary liberality held assemblies at his house, and that great quantities of arms had been conveyed thither by night. Upon this intelligence, he inquired further into the matter, and at length discovered, that a conspiracy was formed to subvert the present government; that *Mælius* aspired to the sovereign power; that the people were to take arms in his favour; and that even some of the tribunes had consented to sell the public liberty. *Minutius*, without loss of time, gave an account of his discoveries to the senate; and the senate, following the advice of *Quinctius Capitolinus*, impowered him to name his brother *Quinctius Cincinnatus* dictator. It was thought necessary to take this step in so critical a juncture, to prevent *Mælius* from escaping the punishment due to his wicked attempt. He might have appealed from the consuls to the people, who, as they were intirely devoted to him, would have saved him; but from the dictator there was no appeal. *Cincinnatus*, being then past fourscore, would have declined the office; but the consuls and the whole senate insisting upon his charging himself with the care of the commonwealth, he at length acquiesced, and named *Servilius Ahala* to be his general of the horse, and the next day placed guards in all the quarters of the city. This precaution surpris'd those who knew nothing of the conspiracy; but *Mælius*, and his associates, being well apprised, that the power of the supreme magistrate was wholly bent against them, used their utmost endeavours to engage the multitude in their favour.

Mælius HEREUPON the dictator, having caused his tribunal to be carried into the forum, sent his master of the horse to cite *Mælius* to appear before him. *Mælius*, instead of obeying the summons, attempted to make his escape. Whereupon *Servilius* commanded a lictor to seize him; and his orders were put in execution: but the multitude having rescued him out of the lictor's hands, he was very near making his escape, when *Servilius*, throwing himself into the croud, overtook

him, and killed him on the spot. This action pleased the dictator, who, on seeing his master of the horse all sprinkled with the blood of the criminal, told him, that to him *Rome* was indebted for her liberty. He then convened a general assembly of the people, and, having acquainted them with the conspiracy, declared, that *Mælius* had been justly slain. His house was, by the dictator's orders, raised to the ground, and the prodigious quantities of corn, found in it, sold to the people at low rates. As for *Menenius*, a statue was erected to him without the gate *Trigemina*, as a reward of his vigilance; but three of the tribunes, provoked at the murder of *Mælius*, made loud complaints in the assembly of the people, and obstinately opposed the election of the consuls; insomuch that the patricians, to avoid a tumult, were forced to consent, that military tribunes should be chosen for the next year. The tribunes hoped, that the people would now divide the government between the patricians and plebeians; but they chose only three patricians, to wit, *Mamercus Æmilius*, *L. Quinctius*, the son of the dictator, and *Julius Iulus* *. During their administration, the city of *Fidenæ* not only revolted from *Rome*, but, putting themselves under the protection of *Tolumnius* king of the *Veientes*, murdered four ambassadors sent by the senate to ask the reason of their conduct. As a war was unavoidable, it was thought more proper to choose consuls than military tribunes for the next year; and accordingly *M. Geganius* a third time, and *L. Sergius*, were elected. It fell to the latter to make war upon the *Veientes*; but though he gained some advantages over them, he lost a great number of men; which determined the senate to remove him from the command of the army, and to create a dictator in his room.

THE consuls named *Mamercus Æmilius* for that dignity, who chose young *Quinctius Cincinnatus* for his general of the horse, and appointed *Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, two great commanders, his lieutenant-generals. He soon after took the field, came to an engagement with the united forces of the *Falisci*, *Fidenates*, and *Veientes*, and gave them a total overthrow. *Tolumnius* himself was slain in the battle by *Cornelius Cossus*, a legions' and tribune, who stripped him of his armour and royal robes, and carried these spoils, called *spolia opima*, on his shoulders in the dictator's triumph. When the triumph was over, he deposited them in the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, they being the second of the sort known in *Rome*. In the following consulate of *M. Cornelius* and *L. Papirius*, one *Sp. Mælius*, a tribune of the people, and a near

* LIV. l. iv. c. 17. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 3.

Year of the flood 1912. relation of the famous *Mælius*, cited *Minutius*, and *Servilius Ahala*, to answer for his death * (C).

1912. THE *Veientes* and *Fidenates* renewed the war in the following
Bef. Chr. 436. consulate of *Julius Iulus* the second time, and *L. Virginius*, while
Of Rome 312. the *Romans* were greatly distressed by a plague; but *Q. Servilius Priscus*, being created dictator, gave them battle near *Numentum*, routed them, and took the city of *Fidenæ*. This

Fidenæ
taken by
the Ro-
mans.

Mamer-
cus *Æmi-*
dictator a
second
time.

The cen-
sorship short-
ened.

Æmilius.
persecuted
by the cen-
sors.

Military
tribunes
created for
two years
successive-
ly.

success was followed by a census of the *Roman* people, which, after the establishment of the censors, never failed to be renewed every five years. The following year, when *C. Julius* was consul the third time, and *Virginius* the second, *Mamercus Æmilius* was named to the dictatorship a second time, upon a report, that all *Hetruria* was preparing for war; but these fears proving vain, *Æmilius*, who had no hopes of gaining glory abroad, resolved to do something remarkable at home, and proposed to the people the shortening the duration of the censorship, and reducing it from five years to eighteen months. This motion was received with applause, and passed into a law. Then *Æmilius*, to shew the dislike he had to magistracies of long continuance, resigned his own, and retired to his house, amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude. However, this wise law cost him dear; the censors, who were the inspectors of the manners of the people, struck him out of the roll of his tribe, took from him the privilege of voting, deprived him of all the rights of a *Roman* citizen, and loaded him with a tribute eight times greater than he used to pay; but this persecution gave him a new lustre, and stirred up the people against his persecutors, *Furius* and *Geganus*, to such a degree, that they would have torn them in pieces, if *Æmilius* had not been so generous as to use his interest with the multitude to save them.

THE tribunes of the people, by renewing their ordinary harangues against the electing of consuls, prevailed to have military tribunes chosen for the next year. However, the people raised to that dignity only three patricians, *M. Fabius*, *M. Fastius*, and *L. Sergius*. Nothing memorable happened during their administration, but a plague, which ceased in the following year, when the republic was again governed by three mili-

* Liv. l. iv. c. 21. † Liv. ibid. c. 23.

(C) Some historians tell us, that these prosecutions served only to bring the tribune into contempt (3); but the greater part say, that *Servilius* was con-

(3) Liv. l. iv. c. 21. (4) Cic. orat. pro domo, n. 86. Val. Max. l. v. c. 3, &c.

tary

tary tribunes, all patricians; to wit, *L. Pinarius*, *L. Furius*, and *Sp. Posthumius*. Hereupon the rich plebeians complained of the poorer sort, for not choosing any but patricians to that magistracy, notwithstanding the law which allowed three plebeians to be elected. They met at the houses of the tribunes of the people to consult upon this matter, and there resolved to propose a law, forbidding any pretenders to the superior offices to go about in garments of an extraordinary whiteness, to solicit the votes of the people. It was customary for those who aspired to any office, to shew themselves to the people, on market-days, in an habit of an extraordinary whiteness, and, in that dress, to court the meanest of the citizens, to call them by their names, to shake hands with them, &c. From this habit they were called *candidati*, or *candidates*, a word derived from the *Latin candidus*, signifying *white*.

As this way of canvassing for offices was used only by the nobility, the principal plebeians undertook the abolishing of such a custom, hoping thereby to put an end to the various arts used by the patricians to gain the favour of the people. The law prohibiting the use of white garments passed, in spite of the opposition of the patricians, who, seeing the people highly incensed against the nobility, began to fear, that they would no longer refuse their voices to the chief plebeians for the military tribuneship: wherefore, to avert this danger, they turned their thoughts on getting consuls chosen for the next year, the formidable preparations which the *Æqui* and *Volsi* were making at this time for war, favouring their design.

As no plebeians had ever commanded armies, the people were quite indifferent, whether consuls or military tribunes were chosen; for they were determined to give their suffrages to none but old captains, and consequently to patricians. Thus the election being left to the senate, the consulship was restored, and *T. Quinctius*, the son of *Lucius*, and *C. Julius Iulius* were promoted to that dignity. They were both officers of great experience and courage; but a misunderstanding arising between them, they were defeated by the enemy near the mount *Algidus*. Hereupon the senate thought it necessary to name a dictator; but the consuls obstinately refusing to comply with their desire in this particular, as being piqued at the diminution of their abilities, the senators had recourse to the tribunes of the people, exhorting them to interpose their authority, and oblige the consuls to name a dictator. The tribunes, who were then in the senate, charmed with a motion which tended to increase their authority, having withdrawn a while to consult, returned with this declaration, that it was the pleasure of the tribunes, that the consuls should obey the senate, or be led to prison, if they persisted in their disobedience.

Posthumus Tubertus, dictator, defeats the Æqui and Volsci.

dience. Hereupon the consuls submitted; but justly reproached the senators with betraying the interests of their own body, and subjecting the consular authority to the tribunitian power. Another difficulty still remained: the consuls could not agree about the person who should be dictator; so that they were obliged to draw lots for the privilege of nominating. It fell to *Quintilius*, and he named his father-in-law *Posthumus Tubertus*, who appointed *L. Julius Vopiscus* to be his general of the horse. The dictator soon raised an army, with which he marched against the enemy; and, having defeated them in a bloody battle, returned in triumph to *Rome*, and laid down his employment ^a.

Truce of eight years granted to the Æqui.

THE next year, when *C. Papirius* and *L. Julius Vopiscus* were consuls, the *Æqui* desired to enter into an alliance with the *Romans*, on the same foot with the *Latins* and *Hernici*; but all they could obtain was a truce for eight years ^a. Nothing remarkable happened at *Rome* during the present consulship, but the making a law to settle the value of oxen and sheep paid by way of fines for disobedience to magistrates. The fines were ordered to be paid in money for the future, each ox being valued at an hundred asces of brass, and each sheep at ten.

- The tribunes were the first projectors of this new law; but the consuls, having notice of their design, proposed the new regulation themselves, and by that means gained the favour of the people. The next year the republic enjoyed a profound peace, under the administration of *L. Sergius* a second time consul, and *Hosius Lucretius*, which was not disturbed even by the tribunes. The next year, when *T. Quintilius* a second time, and *Cornelius Cossus*, were raised to the consulate, was remarkable

A drought, famine and plague at Rome.

able for nothing but an extraordinary drought, which occasioned a famine, that was followed by a dreadful plague. On this occasion the *Romans* had recourse to deities unknown, and introduced new superstitions; but the senate, apprised of the danger of innovations in religion, ordered the ædiles to take care, that no gods were worshipped but those of the country; and by this means a stop was put to all foreign superstitions. The *Veientes* had obtained a truce for eight years, after their defeat near *Nomentum*, as we have related above; but, before the time was expired, had ravaged the lands of the republic. The senate therefore, in the consulate of *L. Papirius Mugilanus* and *Servilius Abala*, resolved to punish them; but a dispute arising between the people and the senate, concerning the right of declaring war, those enemies of the republic escaped vengeance this year ^b. The next, the tribunes insisted upon having the government placed in the hands of military tribunes;

^a Liv. l. iv. c. 26—29.

^a Idem ibid. c. 30—34.

^b Idem ibid.

and accordingly four patricians were chosen, *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *C. Furius*, *M. Posthumius*, and *A. Cornelius Cossus*.

THE latter staid at *Rome*, and the other three marched against the *Veientes*; but as they did not act in concert, they were routed, and obliged to keep within their camp. The people, upon the news of their defeat, insisted upon their being deposed, and a dictator appointed in their room; but as there were then no consuls, whose prerogative it was to nominate a dictator, recourse was had to the augurs, who declared, that *Cossus*, who had had no share in the late shameful disaster, might nominate a dictator. Accordingly he named *Mamercus Æmilius*, who had been in the same post twice before, and whom the censors had degraded. The new dictator appointed *Cossus* his general of the horse, and soon after took the field against the *Veientes*, whom the *Fidenates* had joined, after having massacred the *Roman* colony in their city. The dictator coming up with them near the city of *Fidenæ*, gained a complete victory over their united forces, and made himself master both of the city of *Fidenæ*, and of the camp of the *Veientes* (D).

NOTWITHSTANDING the ill conduct of the last military tribunes, the tribunes of the people prevailed so far as to have the same government continued the two following years; but had still the mortification to see patricians only elected. These were, the first year, *A. Sempronius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Quinctius*, and *L. Horatius*; the second, *Ap. Claudius*, *Sp. Nautius*,

Liv. *ibid.* c. 30--34.

(D) We are told, that the left wing of the *Roman* army was at first greatly terrified, and put into confusion, by the enemy's new manner of fighting; for the *Fidenates*, having all on a sudden opened one of the gates of their city, sent out some soldiers with lighted torches in their hands, and dressed like furies. These, running through the *Roman* battalions, and threatening them with fire and sword at the same time, occasioned no small disorder; but the dictator upbraiding his men with cowardice, "What," said he, are you as much afraid

" of smoke, as a swarm of bees?
" Make use of your swords to
" wrest the torches out of the
" enemy's hands, and then go
" and set fire to their city with
" them." These words inspired the *Romans* with new courage; and *Cossus* falling upon the enemy at the same time with his cavalry, the latter were intirely defeated. This glorious expedition being finished in sixteen days, *Æmilius* led back his troops to *Rome*, had the honours of a triumph, and then laid down his employment (5).

The Romans defeated by the *Veientes*.

The *Veientes* and *Fidenates* defeated by *Mamercus Æmilius* dictator.
Fidenæ taken.

Year of the flood
1923.
Bef. Chr.

425.
Of Rome
323.

L. Sergius, and *Sex. Iulus*. The tribunes of the people their utmost endeavours to dissuade them from this preference of the patricians to them in the elections. The richest most eminent men among the plebeians gave out, that if could be once chosen, they would not fail to get the p lands divided among the poor citizens. This made no impression upon the multitude; but the patricians, who then in possession of the military tribuneship, to avoid shame of having plebeians for their successors, agreed, among themselves, to lead out of *Rome* those who aspired to that dignity, under pretence of making an incursion into the territory of the *Volsci*. In their absence, *Appius Claudius*, son of decemvir, and one of the military tribunes, held an assembly for electing consuls, when *C. Sempronius Atratinus*, and *C. Vibulanus*, were chosen.

A bloody battle between the Romans and the Volsci. Gallant behaviour of Tempanius.

THEY had scarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to *Rome*, that the *Volsci* had taken the field with a numerous army, and were advancing towards the frontiers, with a design to lay waste the lands of the republic. The consul *Sempronius*, a man of greater courage than conduct, was set against them; but he, despising an enemy whom the *Romans* had so often vanquished, and attacking them with the infantry alone, was surrounded on all sides, and would have been cut off with all his men, if one *Tempanius*, an old officer of the horse, had not taken upon him the command of the cavalry. This brave officer, observing the danger the legions were in, leaped from his horse; and, addressing himself to his companions, *Follow my lance*, said he, *as if it were a standard*; and *let us shew the enemy, that we can fight on foot as well as on horseback*. At these words the whole body of horse dismounted, and, following their leader, fell upon the enemy with incredible fury. The general of the *Volsci* ordered his men to retire in good order to a neighbouring hill; but *Tempanius*, after having rescued the legions from the danger they were in, continued to press the enemy with such vigour, that they could no longer withstand him. Then the *Volsci*, who was a man of great experience in war, sent orders to his troops to open their ranks, and give passage to the troops *Tempanius* led, and then to close again, in order to separate them from the rest of the *Roman* army.

His orders were obeyed, and *Tempanius*, rushing still forwards, found himself at last cut off from the *Roman* main body. He did his utmost to force his way through the enemy's ranks; but not being able to break their order, he retired to an eminence and there drawing up his men in a circle,

defended himself with incredible bravery, till night coming on, put an end to the conflict. The brave Roman did not doubt but the enemy would renew the attack as soon as the darkness was dispelled; and therefore encouraged his men to behave like Romans, and, since they must perish, to sell their lives dear: but he was much surpris'd, when at day-break he neither saw friends nor enemies. He could not imagine what was become of the two great armies, which, a few hours before, had covered the plain. He went down with a few of his men to take a view, first of the *Volsians*, and afterwards of the *Roman* camp. Not a man was to be seen in either, except such of the wounded as had not been able to follow the main body of their respective armies. Both the *Romans* and *Volsians* had fought till night; and, being equally afraid to renew the fight the next morning, had quitted their camps, leaving many of their wounded, and a great part of their baggage, behind them, and retired to the nearest mountains. *Tempanius*, not knowing to what place the consul was retired with his troops, took up the wounded *Romans*, and marched strait to *Rome*, where he found the people actually assembled. Some runaways, having got to the city before him, had given out, that the consul was defeated, and the whole body of cavalry cut in pieces. The tribunes of the people, thinking this to be a favourable opportunity of humbling a consul, obliged *Tempanius* to appear in the assembly, before he set foot in his own house, and asked him aloud several questions concerning the conduct of *Sempronius*. *Tempanius* answered, That it did not become a private officer to judge of the capacity of his general; that he had seen him fight at the head of his legions with great bravery; and that, by what appeared to him upon a view of the field of battle, he could assure them, that the *Volsi* had lost at least as many men as the *Romans*.

NOTWITHSTANDING this favourable testimony of *Tempanius*, *L. Hortensius*, the tribunes of the people, cited *Sempronius*, as soon as his year of his consulate was expired, to answer to answer for his conduct in the late battle; but, when he appeared upon his trial, *Tempanius*, who had been chosen tribune of the people, with three other officers of the *liber*, reward of their services, generously made themselves his advocates, and asked their colleague, why he prosecuted a brave general, whom he could reproach with nothing but bad fortune. *Sempronius*, said they, was our general, and our father; and therefore, like true children, we will appear in the habit of criminals as well as he; and, as we have share in his fortune, partake of his disgrace, if any befalls him. Next replied *Hortensius*, that shall never be; the Roman people shall never see their tribunes in mourning. I have done; I have nothing further

The accusation is dropped. to say against a general, who understood so well how to gain the affection of his soldiers. And thus he dropped his accusation ^e. Sempronius, and his colleague Fabius, had been succeeded by military tribunes, L. Manlius, Q. Antonius, L. Papirius, and L. Servilius; but this year Rome, having such moderate tribunes of the people, returned to her antient form of government, and chose, without any disturbance, T. Quinctius Capitolinus, son of the famous Quinctius Capitolinus, and Numerius Fabius, consuls ^f.

New disturbances about the quæstorship.

THE peace, which continued this year, gave the new tribunes an opportunity of raising disturbances about the quæstorship. Hitherto there had been only two quæstors, and those chosen annually from among the patricians. Their office was, to collect the taxes, defray the expences of the war, and to keep exact accompts of the receipts and disbursements of the public money, for which they were answerable. To this time they had never stirred out of Rome: the consuls therefore proposed, that two new quæstors should be added, to attend the generals in the field, take an account of the spoils, sell the booty, and, above all, provide for the subsistence of the army. This motion was received with great applause both by the senate and people; but when it came to be passed into a law, the tribunes demanded, that two of those magistrates should always indispensably be plebeians. The senate was willing, that, in the election of quæstors, as in that of military tribunes, the people should, if they thought fit, choose as many plebeians as patricians; but the tribunes obstinately requiring, that the people should not be left at liberty to choose plebeians or patricians, the senate thought it adviseable, rather than to submit to this, to drop the motion. The tribunes, by way of revenge, protested against holding the comitia for electing consuls, and insisted on having military tribunes for the next year. The obstinacy of the two parties threw the republic into a kind of anarchy, the tribunes opposing ~~every~~ the senate's meetings to name an interrex.

An interrex chosen.

AFTER warm disputes, the senate agreed to the naming of an interrex; and the people chose that office L. Papirius Mursellanus, who, by insinuations and soft persuasions, brought the contending parties to this compromise, that the senate should suffer the people to choose military tribunes instead of consuls; and that the tribunes of the people should allow the tribes to bestow the quæstorship on patricians or plebeians, as they thought fit. Notwithstanding all the cabals and seditious intrigues of the tribunes of the people, not only

^e Liv. l. i. c. 38—41. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 5.

^f Liv. *ibid.*

the military tribunes, but the quæstors too, were chosen out of the patricians only, though one of the tribunes had proposed his brother, and the other his son. The tribunes, enraged at this preference, were for accusing *A. Sempronius*, who had presided at the election, of some unfair dealing in taking the votes; but, as he was a man of known probity, and then one of the military tribunes, they turned all their fury against *C. Sempronius* his cousin-german, who had not been acquitted on his former trial, though the prosecution had been dropped at the request of *Tempanius*. He was again cited to appear at C. Sempronius the end of twenty-seven days, during which time he constantly attended the senate, and zealously opposed the request of the tribunes concerning the distribution of lands. With the same steadiness he behaved on his trial, and pleaded his cause with great eloquence. But, notwithstanding all the solicitations of the senate in his favour, and the united testimonies of many officers, who had served under him, he was fined fifteen thousand asces of brass. Soon after, a vestal, who, by her levity, and too free airs, had brought herself under a suspicion of incontinency, was tried before the pontifices, and acquitted; but the *pontifex maximus* admonished her to be more reserved for the future. In the following military tribuneship of *Agrippa Menenius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *P. Lucretius*, and *C. Servilius*, a plot was formed by the slaves to set fire to the city, and seize the capitol; but the secret being discovered by some of the conspirators, the evil consequences of it were prevented. The next year, when the republic was governed by three military tribunes only, *M. Papirius*, *C. Servilius*, and *L. Sergius*, *Labicum*, a city of *Latium*, about fifteen miles distance from *Rome*, revolted, and entered into an alliance with the *Æqui*; who, after having pillaged the territory of *Tusculum*, encamped at the foot of mount *Algidus*. Hereupon two of the military tribunes were ordered to take the field, and the third to remain in *Rome*; but the three, thinking himself the most capable of commanding the army, despised the less glorious employment of governing the city. The senate was highly offended to see three magistrates, whose duty it was to take care of the interest of the republic, sacrifice it to their private ambition; but no one of that body had weight enough to put an end to the dispute. At length *C. Servilius*, who had been formerly dictator, interposing his paternal authority, commanded his son *C. Servilius* to stay at home; and *Caius*, though very desirous of commanding the army, and raised above his father by the office he then bore in the republic, obeyed, without shewing the least reluctance, and remained in *Rome*.

* Liv. l. iv. c. 44.

* Idem ibid.

The Roman army defeated by the Æqui; BUT the two generals agreeing no better in the field than they had done in the city, the army under their command was drawn into an ambush, and intirely defeated. Hereupon the senate ordered a dictator to be created: and young *Servilius* nominated his father, who appointed him his general of the horse. The father and son, leaving *Rome*, at the head of a new army, encamped within two miles of the enemy; and, a few days after, attacked them, put their army to flight, took *Labicum*, their place of refuge, by storm, and, returning to *Rome* eight days after he had left it, laid down his office ⁱ. *Servilius* and *Labicum* taken.

The old quarrel about the distribution of lands revived.

Some of the tribunes gained over by the patricians.

Bola taken by the Æqui, and retaken by the Romans.

THE republic enjoyed a profound peace both at home and abroad under the succeeding military tribunes, *P. Lucretius*, *L. Servilius*, *Agrippa Menenius*, and *Sp. Veturius*. But the next year, when *A. Sempronius*, *M. Papirius*, *Q. Fabius*, and *Sp. Nautius*, governed the republic, the tribunes of the people revived the old quarrel about the distribution of lands. *Sp. Mætilius*, and *Sp. Metilius*, who were at the head of the factious, pretended, that the patricians had usurped the lands they enjoyed; and therefore proposed a new division of them between the nobility and the plebeians. The senate met frequently to concert measures for defeating this proposal. *Ap-pius Claudius* proposed gaining over some of the college of the tribunes, as the only remedy against their tyranny. His advice was received with great applause, and put in execution with success; for the fathers, applying themselves to the tribunes, by intreaties and remonstrances, won over six of the ten to oppose the promulgation of the law; so that *Mætilius* and *Metilius* were obliged to drop their petition ^k. The same good understanding was maintained the next year between the senate and some of the tribunes, when *Cornelius Cossus*, *Quintilius Cincinnatus*, *Valerius Volusus*, and *Fabius Vibulanus*, were military tribunes. But in the military tribuneship of *Q. Fabius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, *P. Posthumius*, and *L. Valerius*, the affair of the agrarian law was revived.

THE *Æqui* having retaken the town, which the Romans had lately seized, *P. Posthumius*, one of the military tribunes, was sent with an army to recover it. After skirmishes with the enemy in the field, he sat down before the place, and, to encourage his men, promised to distribute the plunder among them, if they took the town. The place was soon after carried by assault; but the general, who hated the plebeians, of whom the greatest part of his army consisted, breaking his word, put all the spoil into the hands of the quæstors, and thereby alienated the hearts of the army from him. In the mean time *Sextius*, one of the tribunes of

ⁱ Liv. l. iv. c. 45-47.

Idem ibid. & c. 48.

the people, having brought on anew the affair of the agrarian law, *Posthumius* was sent for to *Rome*, to assist his colleagues in opposing the tribunes. As he was an obstinate, wrong-headed man, on his arrival, he let many inconsiderate expressions drop in the presence of the curiæ. One day *Sextius* obliges the having proposed a decree for dividing the city of *Bola*, and its people territory, among the soldiers then in the field, who had made that conquest, *Posthumius*, in a violent passion, cried out, *Woe be to my men, if any such thing be done!* *Sextius*, perceiving by this the hasty temper of the general, took pleasure in exasperating him, and making him say many things offensive to the people and soldiers. Then the crafty tribune, turning to the people, upbraided them for thinking such a brute more worthy of the military tribuneship than their own tribunes, whose whole business was to procure them lands, houses, and a comfortable retreat in their old age. His artful discourse much lessened the partiality of the people for the nobility in the elections; but when the threats of *Posthumius* were related in the camp, the soldiers began to mutiny; and because *P. The soldiers mutiny* *Sextius*, one of the quæstors, ordered a licitor to seize a soldier, who was more mutinous than the rest, his companions not only rescued him, but one of them wounded the quæstor *in the camp* with a stone. *Posthumius*, informed of this tumult, hastened to the camp; but, instead of appeasing the sedition, increased it by his unseasonable severity. He commanded the most guilty of the mutineers to be thrown into a shallow water, to be there covered with hurdles, and then pressed to death, by heaping stones upon them. As this was a slow kind of dying, which made the criminals cry out in an affecting manner, the soldiers flocked about them, and rescued them out of the hands of the executioners. Hereupon the general, in a transport of rage, came down from his tribunal, broke through the croud, and, being wounded by his licitor, endeavoured to disperse the multitude; but the soldiers, feeling their duty, opposed force with force, and, being wronged with impunity, threw stones at their general, and killed him on the spot. It was the first instance of a commander killed by his troops, from the foundation of *Rome*, and kill their general.

THE senate, fearing lest the people, in order to screen the murderers, should choose military tribunes for the next year out of the plebeians, used their utmost endeavours to get consuls elected, and, after warm debates, prevailed. *A. Cornelius Cossus* and *L. Furius Medullinus* were raised to that dignity. As they were both men of great prudence and moderation, they were unanimously named by the senate, people, and

¹ LIV. l. iv. c. 49, 50. ZONAR. annal. l. vii.

The mutinous soldiers prosecuted, and punished. army, to prosecute the soldiers who had murdered their general; which they did with such circumspection, for fear of driving the army to an open revolt, that those few who died, fell by their own hands, and not by the axes of the lictors. Nothing remarkable, except a plague and famine, happened in the three following consulates of *Q. Fabius* and *C. Furius*, of *M. Papirius* and *C. Nautius*, of *M. Æmilius* and *C. Valerius*.

Of the four quaestors three are chosen out of the plebeians. BUT in the consulate of *Cn. Cornelius*, and *L. Furius* a second time, the tribunes of the people, especially three of the *Æmilian* family, who were more active than the rest, prevailed upon the people to make use of the liberty allowed them by the laws, and to choose three plebeians into the quaestorship. The *Æmilii*, having carried this point, encouraged the plebeians to oppose the election of consuls; hoping, that some of their body might be raised to the military tribuneship, as they had been to the quaestorship. The disputes on this head grew warm, when news were brought, that the *Æqui* and *Volsci* were again in motion, and had retaken *Carventum*. It was therefore necessary to raise forces, in order to stop their further progress; but the tribunes obstinately opposed the levies, till the senate consented to the election of military tribunes; but, to disappoint the *Æmilii*, they added this clause to their decree, *that no tribune of the people should either be chosen a military tribune, or continued in his office the next year*. As the tribunes could not object to this, without discovering their ambition, troops were raised without opposition; and though *Carventum* was not recovered, the city of *Verrugo* was taken from the *Volsci*, and some other advantages gained over them^m.

Year of the flood

1937.

Bef. Chr.

411.

Of Rome

337.

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*The Volsci renew the war.*

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In the mean time the election of the military tribunes coming on, the patricians engaged some plebeians of no merit or weight to stand candidates. The plebeians disgusted at their meanness, and ashamed to see them in competition with senators and consulars of the first rank, that they all their suffrages to the nobles; and chose the patricians *Julius Iulus*, *P. Cornelius Cossus*, and *C. Servilius*. During their administration, the *Volsci* renewed the war, and having engaged some of the new allies of the republic to join them, encamped near *Antium*. The senate, apprehending the republic to be in great danger, ordered a dictator to be nominated; but as the three military tribunes had already drawn lots for the command of the army, which had fallen to *Julius* and *Cornelius*, those two generals, repelled at the distrust the fathers had shewed of their conduct, refused to name a dictator. Hereupon the senate complained to the tribunes of the people, as they had done

before upon the like occasion, and desired them to interpose their authority : but they gave them a scornful answer ; *Who are we*, said they, *but contemptible plebeians, scarce to be reckoned in the number of men, much less of Roman citizens ? When the honours and dignities of the republic shall be made common to us with the patricians, we shall take care, that no proud magistrate disobey the decrees of the senate. Till then you must expect nothing from us, but do your own business the best you can.* This refusal greatly perplexed the senate ; but at length *C. Servilius*, the third military tribune, extricated them out of the present difficulty, by taking upon him to act alone, and to name a dictator. The person he raised to that high station was *P. Cornelius Rutilus*, who appointed him to be general of the horse. The dictator took the field, gained a complete victory over the *Volsci*, and, returning to *Rome*, laid down his office. Upon his resignation, the military tribunes resumed the functions of their employment ; and, to be revenged on the senate for the treatment they had met with, without consulting the fathers, ordered the centuries to assemble for the election of military tribunes against the ensuing year. The patricians, alarmed at this step, had recourse to a new artifice, to prevent the government from falling into the hands of the plebeians. They obliged the most illustrious members of their own body to stand candidates ; so that, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the tribunes, four patricians of distinguished merit were chosen, to wit, *C. Valerius*, *C. Servilius*, *Lucius Furius*, and *Fabius Vibulanus*.

THE truce with the *Veientes* being at this time ended, the Romans sent *feciales* to demand satisfaction for the injuries they had formerly done the republic ; but the *feciales*, meeting on the road envoys from *Veii*, at their request, proceeded no farther. These envoys, being admitted into the senate, represented, that their country at present disturbed by domestic broils, was not in a condition to give the Romans satisfaction. These dissensions gave the Romans a favourable opportunity of falling upon their old enemy, but they had too much generosity, as *Livy* observes, to take advantage of the misfortune of a rival state ; and therefore did not disturb them this year. The *Volsci* retook *Verrugo* from the Romans the same year, and put the garison to the sword ; but the military tribunes, having surprised the *Volsci*, while they were dispersed about the country, in quest of booty, cut them all to pieces.

In the following tribuneship of *C. Cornelius*, *L. Valerius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, and *Fabius Ambustus*, all patricians, the *Veientes* having insulted the Roman ambassadors, and driven them out

• *Liv. l. iv. c. 58.* • *Idem ibid.*

of their city with contempt, the senate ordered a declaration of war against them to be immediately proposed to the people; but the tribunes opposed the levies, making the old affair of the agrarian law their pretence. However, it was agreed, that three of the military tribunes should lead an army against the *Volsi*; who, at the approach of the legions, betook themselves to flight, and left the country open to be pillaged. Hereupon the *Roman* generals, having divided their army into three bodies, made incursions into it on three different sides. *Fabius* laid siege to *Anxur*, and, having taken it by storm, divided the spoil equally among the soldiers of all the three armies. This piece of generosity paved the way for a reconciliation between the nobility and the people, which was intirely completed by a decree of the senate, that, for the future, the *Roman* infantry should be maintained in the field at the public expence ^p.

The Roman infantry begin to receive pay.

Year of the flood
1940.
Bef. Chr
468.
Of Rome
340.

HITHERTO all the citizens had been obliged to serve in war at their own charges, which was an exorbitant burden on the poorer plebeians, and frequently ruined their families. The senate therefore, pitying their condition, and reflecting on the many disorders which were occasioned by their refusing to list themselves even for the most necessary wars, of their own accord decreed, that the foot should have pay out of the public money; and that, to furnish this expence, a new tax should be raised, from which no citizen whatsoever should be exempt ^q (D). Upon the first news of this decree, the people, transported with joy, ran in crouds from all parts to the senate house, and, kissing the senators hands, called them the true fathers of the people; protesting, at the same time, that they would spill the last drop of their blood for their country, which they now looked upon as a tender mother; but the tribunes of the people, not liking this union of the two orders, which hindered them from making a figure in the state, endeavoured to lessen the value of the favour. They insinuated to the people, that this pay was to come out of their *treasuries*; that it was not just to make those citizens, who had completed the time of their service at their own charge, contribute to the support of the new soldiers; that they would protect all those who

p Liv. l. c. 48, 49. q Idem ibid.

(D) What pay was given at this time to each soldier we find no-where recorded, but in *Polybius's* time, that is, in the time of the second *Carthaginian* war, each foot-soldier was allowed 200 *asili* a day, a centurion

double that pay, and an horseman treble. Two *asili* were about the third part of an *Attic* drachma, which was worth sevenpence three farthings of our money.

should

should refuse to pay the tax, &c. However, as the senators began by laying great sums on themselves, which they paid readily, according to the real value of their estates, the common people followed their example, without shewing the least uneasiness.

AND now the senate, finding themselves in a condition to maintain an army abroad, as long as they pleased, began to form great designs. All opposition to the levies being over, they resolved to besiege *Veii* itself, one of the strongest places of *Italy*, in hopes of making themselves masters of a new city and territory larger than their own. Before they embarked in this great undertaking, the people being assembled, all voted for a war, and chose, for the first time, six military tribunes, all patricians; to wit, *C. Julius Iulus*, *C. Æmilius Mamercinus*, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, *Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, and *A. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus*. Some of these remained at home, while others took the field against the *Veientes*, who, declining a battle, shut themselves up in their city. The Romans invested it; but there was little action this year, and less the following, when *P. Cornelius Maluginensis*, *Sp. Nautius Rutilus*, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*, *C. Valerius Potitus*, *G. Fabius Ambustus*, and *M. Sergius Fidenas*, were military tribunes. These were obliged to divide their army into two bodies; one of which continued before *Veii*, and the other marched against the *Volsi*, defeated them, took and rased the city of *Artena*, and then rejoined the forces left at the siege.

THE succeeding military tribunes, *M. Æmilus*, *M. Furius*, *Ap. Claudius*, grandson of the decemvir, *L. Julius*, *M. Quinctius*, and *L. Valerius*, pushed on the siege with great vigour. In the mean time the *Veientes*, changing their form of government, chose themselves a king; which so displeased the other states of *Italy*, that they refused to send them any succours. It was at this time that the Romans are thought to have first invented the art of circumvallation and contravallation; at least this is the first time we find them mentioned in history. They fortified their camp both on the side of the city they invested, to prevent sallies, and on the side of the country, to guard themselves against any succours which the *Ætrurians* might send to the besieged. The military tribunes, considering likewise, that *Veii* could not be taken but after a long siege, and then not so much by force as by famine, resolved, as the troops were now more at their command, to keep the army in the field all winter, in wooden barracks covered with man skins.

* LIV. l. iv. c. 48, 49. ZONAR. l. vii. PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

† LIV. ibid. c. 61. † Idem ibid.

*kept in the
field all
winter.*

skins. To this design the foldiers made no opposition, choofing rather to live in the camp at the expence of the public, than in *Rome* at their own; but the tribunes of the people, difliking a project which kept great numbers of their adherents out of *Rome*, and consequently lessened the strength of their party in the comitia, affembled the tribes, and inveighed bitterly againſt the military tribunes, accusing them of ambitious deſigns and cruelty, in keeping the troops all winter in the field. *Appius*, whom the other military tribunes had left at *Rome*, in a long ſpeech which he made to the people, expoſed the ſeditious and unreaſonable conduct of the tribunes. The people gave no great heed to *Appius's* remonſtrances; but a loſs, which the beſiegers ſuſtained before the place, animated the plebeians, more than his prudent diſcourſe, to purſue the ſiege with vigour.

*The Veientes
make a
brisk ſally.*

THE *Veientes*, in a ſally, ſurprized the *Romans*, ſlew a great number of them, ſet fire to their machines, and ruined, in a few hours, the work of many days. This miſfortune, inſtead of ſinking the ſpirits of the *Romans*, inſpired them with new courage. The citizens, who had wealth enough to be placed in the firſt claſs among the knights, but had not yet received horſes from the republic (which ceremony was neceſſary to make a man a knight), went in a body to the ſenate, and offered to mount themſelves at their own expence, and ſerve at the ſiege of *Veii*. The fathers accepted the offer; and the people, following the example of the new knights, declared themſelves ready to ſerve, and ſupply the places of the ſoldiers who had been killed. The ſenate ordered the ſame pay to be given to the volunteers as to the reſt of the army, and decreed at the ſame time, that, for the future, the cavalry likewiſe ſhould receive pay out of the public treaſury.

The cavalry receive pay.

THE election of new military tribunes furniſhed the army with new generals. The firſt they were, *G. Servilius*, *L. Sulpitius*, *L. Servilius*, *A. Manlius*, *C. Fabius*, and *M. Valerius*. The ſiege of *Veii* was carried on by

*The generals
do not
agree.*

but as theſe two generals did not agree, each of them had a body of troops under his command, and, as it were, a ſeparate army. *Servilius* commanded the attack, and *Virginius* covered the ſiege. While the army was thus divided, the *Palifci* and *Copenates* fell upon *Servilius*, and, at the ſame time, the beſieged ſallying out, attacked him on the other ſide. The *Romans*, under his command, thinking they had all the forces of *Alatrinia* to deal with, began to loſe courage, and retire. *Virginius* could have ſaved his colleague's troops; for his forces were ranged in order of battle at a ſmall diſtance:

but *Sergius* was too proud to send to him for succour; and *Virginus*, tho' well apprised of his danger, resolved not to send him any, unless he asked it. Thus the public good was sacrificed to a private pique. The enemy made a dreadful slaughter of the *Romans* in their lines; but *Sergius* himself, mans having the good luck to escape, fled to *Rome*, not so much to justify his own conduct, as to complain of that of his colleagues. Hereupon *Virginus* was recalled, and both commanders ordered to give an account of their conduct to the senate; where they inveighed against each other with great acrimony. The conscript fathers, to quiet the matter, thought it advisable to make a decree, that all the military tribunes of that year should lay down their dignity, and the people immediately proceed to a new election. The four, who had been guilty of no fault, made no opposition to the decree; but the two, on whose account it had been made, protested against it; declaring, that they would not resign their authority before the ides of *December*, the due time for its expiration. The tribunes of the people, thinking this a favourable opportunity for them to appear again, and make some figure, threatened, with an air of authority, to send the two refractory magistrates to prison, if they did not obey the senate. But *Servilius Ahala*, one of the military tribunes, after having severely reprimanded the tribunes of the people for treating his colleagues in so haughty a manner, declared, that if *Sergius* and *Virginus* continued obstinate, he would name a dictator. Hereupon the two magistrates, finding it fruitless to resist any longer, abdicated their magistracy; and the people chose six new tribunes, to wit, *L. Calpurnius*, *L. Julius*, *M. Æmilius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, *Cæso Fabius*, and *Purcius Camillus*. These new magistrates were intended to begin anew the siege of *Veii*; but, when the time did to be raised, the tribunes of the people, dissuading the old soldiers, left them to go home, and insisted, that the taxes, as if they were new, should be raised on this occasion were so great, that the people could not agree in the choice of more than eight new tribunes of the people; however, the majority of these eight named two more, in defiance of the *Trebonian* law; which gave *C. Trebonius*, one of the present tribunes, an opportunity of drawing the displeasure of the people upon three of his colleagues; but they diverted the hatred of the public from themselves, by turning it against *Sergius* and *Virginus*, the two generals of the last year; who were both cited before the people, and condemned to pay a great fine for misconduct. This prosecution

had the designed effect; for the people were so intent upon it, that they forgot the *Trebonian* law, and their quarrel with the three tribunes *.

THE tribunes, encouraged by the success that attended them in the prosecution of *Sergius* and *Virginus*, renewed the domestic broils, and proposed two laws; the first requiring a partition of the lands as formerly; the second excusing the people from any more contributions towards the soldiers pay: and, in fact, they would not suffer them to pay the taxes; so that the legions, being deprived of their subsistence, began to mutiny. But at length all was quieted, by choosing a plebeian into the military tribuneship. His name was *P. Licinius Calvus*. The other five were, *P. Mælius*, *P. Mænius*, *Sp. Furius*, *L. Titinius*, and *L. Publius*. *Licinius*, though a plebeian, was an old senator; *for, some time since, the considerable plebeians had begun to be admitted into the senate. The tribunes of the people were so much rejoiced to see a plebeian raised to the supreme magistracy, that they dropped their opposition to the tax; so that the soldiers, receiving their pay again, took new courage, made themselves masters of *Anxur*, which belonged to the *Volsi*, and carried on the siege of *Veii* with great resolution and perseverance, though they suffered much from the severe cold of the winter †.

Five plebeians
military
tribunes.
Their administration
proves
glorious.

LICINIUS having discharged his trust with universal approbation, the centuries chose, for the year following, five military tribunes out of the plebeians, and only *M. Veturius* out of the patricians. These five were, *C. Duilius*, *L. Atinius*, *Cn. Genucius*, *M. Pomponius*, and *Volero Publius*. Their administration proved very glorious; for they carried on the siege of *Veii* with great vigour, and intirely defeated the confederate forces of the *Falisci* and *Capenates*, who came to the relief of the besieged city; but the extreme coldness of the weather, changing of a sudden to intense heat, occasioned a mortality both among men and they were.

* Liv. l. v. c. 9; † Idem ibid. c. 11;

(F) Hereupon the *Sibylline* books being consulted, the *duumviri* pretended to find there a new sort of expiation. Three beds were placed in a temple round a plentiful table; and the statues of *Jupiter*, *Latona*, *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury*, and *Neptune*, taken down from their niches, laid on the beds, and served with

sufficient repasts for eight days together. These public ceremonies were imitated in private families; every one kept open house for friends, strangers, and even enemies; all law-suits, disputes, and animosities, were suspended, and the very prisoners released, to partake of the public diversions (6).

(6) Liv. l. v. c. 13. *Sigænus* & *Pigæus* in fast. capitol.

IN the mean time the patricians, taking advantage of the present state of affairs to recover the chief offices of the public, and knowing the superstition of the people, attacked them on that side, and gave out, that the uncommon severity of the winter the last year, and the present year's plague, were punishments from the gods, who were displeased to see all distinctions of families confounded, and plebeians placed in the highest offices. By this means, and by proposing only such candidates to the centuries as were of superior merit, they disposed them to favour the nobility; and accordingly they restored the military tribuneship to the patrician order, raising to that office *L. Valerius, L. Furius, M. Valerius, Q. Servilius, Q. Sulpitius*, and the famous *Camillus*, all patricians. During their administration, *Rome* was astonished with a prodigy. It happened to be a very dry summer; nevertheless the lake of *Alba* swelled on a sudden to such an height, as to cover the tops of the rocks which surrounded it; whereas it had never before reached to the foot of them. This strange accident was much talked of in the camp before *Veii*; and as in long sieges the soldiers on both sides frequently become acquainted, they talked of the prodigy from their different camps; but an old soldier of the *Veientes* one day, while the others were making merry with the prodigy, cried out in an enthusiastic manner, *Veii shall never be taken till all the water is run out of the lake of Alba*. A Roman centinel, who had great faith in divination, hearing him, asked, who the old man was; and, being informed that he was a diviner, made him prisoner by a stratagem, and carried him before the Roman general, who sent him to the senate. The old man declared, that what he had said was agreeable to an ancient tradition written in some prophetic books of his country; and that, if the Romans could draw the water out of the lake, *Veii* would be taken: but he advised them to take particular care, that the drains, which should be made to carry it off, did not convey it to the sea. Though the senate was unwilling to trust the bare word of the diviner, yet they thought it not such a consequence, as to send a deputation of three patricians to *Delphi*, to consult the oracle.

THESE returned the next year, while *L. Julius, L. Furius, L. Sergius, A. Posthumus, A. Manlius, and P. Cornelius*, all patricians, were military tribunes. The answer of the oracle was, to the great surprize of the senate and people, perfectly agreeable to the advice and prediction of the old man. The senate, therefore, immediately sent out pioneers to make a canal, which might carry off the waters of the lake, and

^a Liv. l. v. c. 14.

^a Idem ibid. c. 15, 16.

drain the
lake.

The Ro-
mans
overcome
by the He-
trurians.
M. Furius
Camillus
dictator.

Defeats
the united
forces of
the Falisci,
Capena-
tes, and
Hetruri-
ans.

convey them all over the fields in trenches. This wonderful work subsists to this day, and the waters of the lake *Albano* run through it ^b. The election of the present military tribunes being defective with regard to the auguries, they all abdicated, and, after a short interregnum, were succeeded by six new ones, all plebeians; to wit, *L. Atinius*, *P. Mælius*, *L. Titinius*, *P. Manius*, *Cn. Genucius*, and *P. Licinius*. *Atinius* and *Genucius* marched, with some troops, to oppose a great body of *Hetrurians*, who were coming to attack the *Roman* intrenchments before *Veii*; but the two tribunes falling into an ambush, *Genucius* was killed, and his colleague driven out of the field. The news of this defeat so terrified the senate, that they had recourse, as usual in such cases, to a dictator. *M. Furius Camillus* was accordingly raised to that supreme dignity. He named *P. Cornelius Scipio* for general of the horse, and ordered new troops to be raised. The people strove who should first list themselves under the banners of so renowned a commander. The *Latins* and *Herrici*, of their own accord, sent him a strong supply of their choicest youth. On his first taking the field, he came to a battle with the united forces of the *Falisci*, *Capenates*, and *Hetrurians*; and, having intirely defeated them, sat down before *Veii*, and pushed on the siege with incredible vigour; but the besieged defending themselves with more courage than ever, *Camillus*, despairing to carry, by assault, a place which had a whole army for its garison, had recourse to mines and sapping. His pioneers, whom he divided into six companies, relieving one another, and the work continually advancing without interruption, a passage under-ground was opened to the very castle. The dictator then thinking himself sure of conquest, sent to the senate, to know how they would have the spoils of the city disposed of. The question was debated with great warmth; *Appius Claudius* was for having the rich plunder of *Veii* made a fund for the payment of the troops; but *Licinius*, thinking that this would give rise to endless murmurs and seditions, proposed, that the spoils should be divided between the army and civic citizens who should be in the camp when the town was taken. This advice prevailed, and a decree was made, giving leave to all the citizens to go to the camp, and take their share of the booty. Accordingly vast numbers flocked thither, well armed, and joined the dictator's troops in the attack ^c.

Veii taken after a ten years siege. THE signal being given for the assault, part of the army scaled the walls, while the soldiers in the mine sallied out, and spread themselves in several bodies through the town. One

^b Vide KIRCHER. vet. Lat. l. iii.

^c LIV. l. v. c. 18--20.

fell upon those who were defending the walls ; another broke down the gates ; and the whole *Roman* army, entering the city, put all those to the sword who did not surrender their arms. Thus was the rich city of *Veii* taken, like a second *Troy*, after a ten years siege. The booty, which was exceeding rich, was divided among the soldiers ; but the prisoners of free condition were sold to the best bidder, and the money arising from thence put into the public treasury ; but, though this was the only part of the spoil from which the public reaped any benefit, the people murmured at it, and inveighed both against the senate and the dictator.

Year of
the flood
1949.
Bef. Chr.
399
Of Rome
349.

THE displeasure of the multitude was increased with regard to *Camillus*, by some singularities in the pomp of his triumph ; for he entered the city in a stately chariot, drawn by four horses all milk-white, and coloured his face with vermilion. White horses, since the expulsion of the kings, had been allowed only to *Jupiter* and the *Sun* ; and the statues of the gods were commonly painted with vermilion. The people therefore, in the midst of the praises which they gave the dictator, could not, without a secret indignation, behold him affecting a pomp, which, in a manner, put him upon a level with the gods. What still more incensed the people against him, was his demanding back from them a tenth part of the spoil of *Veii*, to discharge a vow, which he had made to *Apollo* just before the assault, and afterwards forgot. This contribution, at a wrong time, irritated the people against him ; and the tribunes gladly seized so favourable an occasion of increasing their prejudice. In the mean time it was proposed to buy such a vase of gold with the produce of what the soldiers returned, as might shew *Greece* the magnificence of the *Roman* republic ; but there being little gold to be found in the city, the ladies, of their own accord, contributed all their toys and ornaments, of which a vase with two handles was made, weighing eight talents ; and three senators were sent to *Delphi* with it. In return for the ladies generosity, the republic granted them two favours : 1. That funeral orations should be made by illustrious women, as for great men : 2. That they should have leave to ride in chariots at the public games.

THE next year, the republic being under the government of six military tribunes, to wit, *P. Cornelius Cossus*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, *M. Valerius, Cæso Fabius*, *L. Furius*, and *Q. Servilius*, all patricians ; *Sicinius Dentatus*, a tribune of the *Sicinius* people, proposed, that half of the senators, knights, and people of *Rome*, should remove to *Veii*, and settle there. The proposal, according to custom, was carried before the senate ; that half

of the senators, knights, &c. should remove to Veii.

and the fathers, especially *Camillus*, opposed it with great warmth. They feared, that two such cities would, by degrees, become two different states, which, after a destructive war with each other, would at length fall a prey to their common enemies. They therefore protested, that they would sooner die than consent to so unreasonable a law. By this means, *Camillus* and the other senators, after much struggle, brought this project to nothing ^e.

NOTWITHSTANDING the opposition made by *Camillus* to this law, he was chosen one of the six military tribunes for the year following. His colleagues were, *L. Furius*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, *C. Æmilius*, *Sp. Posthumius*, and *L. Valerius*.

Falerii besieged by *Camillus*.

The conduct of the war against the *Falisci* being committed to the care of *Camillus*, he besieged *Falerii*, their capital city, and surrounded it with lines; but at so great a distance from the walls, that there was sufficient room for the besieged to take the air, without danger. The *Falisci* had brought from Greece the custom of committing all their children to the care of one man, who was to instruct them in all the branches of polite literature; to take them out a walking with him, and see them perform the exercises proper for their age. The children had used often to walk with their master without the walls of the city before the siege; and their fears of an enemy, who kept quiet, and at such a distance, were not great enough to make them discontinue that exercise afterwards. But the present schoolmaster proved a traitor; he at first led the youths only along the walls; then he carried them a little farther; and at length, when a favourable opportunity offered, he led them through the guards of the Roman camp, quite to the general's tent. As they were the children of the best families in the place, their treacherous leader, when he came into *Camillus's* presence, addressed him thus: *With these children I deliver the place you besiege into your hands: they were committed to my care and tuition; but I prefer the friendship of Rome to my employment at Falerii.*

CAMILLUS, struck with horror at this treachery, ordered his lieutenants to strip the traitor, to tie his hands behind him, and with the youths with rods to whip him back again into the city. The *Falisci*, moved by this generous action, immediately sent a deputation to *Camillus*, to treat of a surrender; though they had a little before protested, that they would rather undergo the fate of the *Veientes*, than submit to Rome. *Camillus*, out of modesty, referred the deputies to the senate, which they addressed in the following manner: *Rome, conscript fathers, has just now gained a victory over us, which can*

The *Falisci*, overcome by the generosity of *Camillus*, submit to Rome.

never be shameful to us in the sight either of gods or men. We submit to you, out of a persuasion, that we cannot live more happily, than under the laws of a republic in which justice and probity reign. The Romans and Falisci are this day giving two great examples to posterity; you, in preferring justice to victory; we, in rather yielding to the charms of virtue, than to the force of arms. We surrender ourselves into your hands. Command the Falisci to lay down their arms, to give you hostages, and to receive a Roman garison, and we will obey, and open our gates. We shall never repent of subjecting ourselves to your government; nor shall you ever have reason to complain of our being unfaithful to you. The senate heard this discourse with pleasure; but left to Camillus the terms of the peace which was to be made with the Falisci, not as a conquered people, but as with a nation which voluntarily submitted to the dominion of the republic. He therefore entered into an alliance with them, and demanded only the expences of the present campaign. He then led back his army to Rome,² where his soldiers increased the number of his enemies. They had promised themselves great riches from the plunder of Falerii; and, thinking Camillus had given the Falisci better terms than they deserved, they looked on their general as an enemy to the people, and as one who was no-way inclined to promote their interest; so that the hatred of the multitude to this hero increased as fast as his reputation¹.

WHILE Camillus was thus employed, two of his colleagues, *The Æqui* *Emilius* and *Posthumius*, having united their forces, defeated the Æqui in a pitched battle: but while the arms of the republic prospered abroad, new disturbances were raised at home. When the time came for electing tribunes of the people, the multitude was for continuing those who had proposed the law for going to Veii; and the patricians were for re-electing those who had opposed it: but the former prevailing in the comitia by tribes, the promoters of the law were rechosen. Hereupon the patricians, to revenge, resolved, if possible, to restore the consular government; and accordingly, in the comitia by centuries, where they had most sway, *L. Lucretius Flavius*, and *Severus Sulpicius Camerinus*, were chosen consuls. During their administration, *Sicinius* the tribune used his utmost endeavours to get the law passed for removing half of the people and senate to Veii. *A. Virginius* and *Q. Pomponius*, two of the tribunes of the people for the last year, who had opposed it, were cited to appear before the tribes, and fined ten thousand asces of brass. The whole senate was offended at this sentence, but especially Camillus, who advised the conscript fathers to appear in the comitium, when the tribes assem-

¹ PLUT. in Camillo. LIV. l. v. c. 26, 27.

*Consuls
created in-
stead of
military
tribunes.*

bled to determine the affair, as men prepared to defend their temples, their household gods, and their country. Accordingly the patricians, by tears, intreaties, and the more powerful arguments drawn from religion, prevailed to have the law rejected, tho' it was only by a majority of one tribe. And now the senate was so well pleased with the people, that the very next morning a decree was passed, assigning six acres of the lands of *Veii*, not only to every father of a family, but to every single person of free condition. On the other hand, the people, delighted with this liberality, made no opposition to the election of consuls. *L. Valerius Potitus*, and *M. Manlius Capitolinus*, were raised to the consulate, and began their year by performing the vow made by *Camillus*, when dictator, to celebrate the great games. Of these there were two sorts, the one celebrated every year in the month of *September*, in honour of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*; the other, called votive, or extraordinary, had no fixed day, and was celebrated in honour of *Jupiter* only.* This year the *Volturni*, one of the twelve *Latine* nations, alarmed at the fate of *Veii* and *Falerii*, took arms against *Rome*, and, being joined by the *Alatrinenses*, made incursions into the *Roman* territory; but a contagious distemper made the republic suspend her revenge. The two consuls being seized with it, the superstitious multitude imagined they had been inauspiciously chosen. They were therefore ordered by the senate to resign.

*An inter-
regnum.*

*Military
tribunes
elected a-
new.*

UPON their resignation an interregnum ensued, during which the republic was governed by three presidents, *Valerius Potitus* (not the consul), *Camillus*, and *Cornelius Scipio*, who succeeded each other for a few days. *Valerius* held an assembly for the election of six military tribunes (which sort of government was now re-established), that, in case some of the supreme magistrates were infected with the contagion, there might still be others to take care of the public welfare. By a census taken this year, it appeared, that the number of citizens, able to bear arms, amounted to one hundred fifty-two thousand five hundred and eighty-three.^b No wonder therefore, that numerous armies were often raised within the walls of *Rome* itself. The troops, since their receiving pay, were more obedient than formerly to their commanders, who kept them in the field summer and winter. They had never had a more gallant or experienced commander than *Camillus*. The frontiers of the republic were now extended above sixty miles beyond the *Tiber*; and the people seemed to be in a settled tranquillity, and perfectly reconciled to the senate; but this unusual prosperity

* LIV. l. v. c. 29—31.

^b Idem ibid. c. 31, 32.

was interrupted by the *Gauls*; a memorable event, which almost ruined the *Roman* nation.

AT this time envoys arrived at *Rome* from the inhabitants of *Clusium*, imploring the assistance of the republic against an army of *Gauls*, which had made an irruption into *Italy*, and now besieged their city. The occasion of the irruption and *What occasioned the irruption of the Gauls.* siege was this: *Arunx*, one of the chief men of *Clusium* in *Etruria*, had been guardian to a young lucumo, or lord of a lucumony, and had educated him in his house from his infancy. The lucumo, as soon as he was of an age to feel the force of a passion, fell in love with his guardian's wife; and, upon the first discovery of their intrigue, conveyed her away. *Arunx* endeavoured to obtain reparation for the injury he had received; but the lucumo, by his interest and money, gained over the magistrates; so that the injured guardian, finding no protectors in *Etruria*, resolved to make his application to the *Gauls*. The people, among all the *Celtic* nations, to whom he chose to address himself, were the *Senones*; and, in order to engage them in his quarrel, he acquainted them with the great plenty of *Italy*, and made them taste of some *Italian* wines. Upon this the *Senones* resolved to follow him; and a numerous army was immediately formed, which, passing the *Alps*, under the conduct of their *Etrurian* guide, and leaving the *Celtæ* in *Italy* unmolested, fell upon *Umbria*, and possessed themselves of all the country from *Ravenna* to *Picenum*. They were about six years in settling themselves in their new acquisitions, while the *Romans* were carrying on the siege of *Veii*. At length *Arunx* brought the *Senones* before *Clusium*, in order to besiege that place, his wife and her lover having shut themselves up there ^{Clusium besieged by the Gauls.}.

THE *Romans*, notwithstanding the daily conquests made by the *Gauls*, seem to have been under no apprehension of any danger for them; for, at this time, the great *Camillus*, the *Amalician* only general they had capable of making head against such *formidable* neighbours, was accused by *Apuleius*, one of the *tribunes* of the people, of having applied to his own *baggage* some *spoils* taken from the *Etrurians*, particularly a *brafs door* brought from *Veii*. His friends, not finding themselves strong enough to protect him, promised to pay the fine, which should be laid upon him; but *Camillus*, having too great a soul to bear the affront of a public condemnation, retired from *Rome*, and went of his own accord into banishment ^{who banishes himself.}.

HE was no sooner gone, than the envoys we have mentioned above, arrived. The senate, being unwilling to engage in an open war with a nation which had never offended them, sent

ⁱ Liv. l. v. c. 33.

^k Idem ibid. c. 32.

an embassy of three young patricians, all brothers, and of the *Fabian* family, to bring about an accommodation between the two nations. These ambassadors, being arrived at the camp of the *Gauls*, and conducted into the council, offered the mediation of *Rome*; and demanded of *Brennus*, the leader of the *Gauls*, What injury the *Clusini* had done him; or what pretensions any people from a remote country could have upon *Hetruria*. *Brennus* answered proudly, *that his right lay in his sword, and that all things belonged to the brave; but that, without having recourse to this primitive law of nature, he had a just complaint against the Clusians, who, having more lands than they could cultivate, had refused to yield to him those they left untilld: And what other motives had you yourselves, Romans* (said he), *to conquer so many neighbouring nations? You have deprived the Sabines, the Albans, the Fidcnates, the Æqui, and the Volsci, of the best part of their territories. Not that we accuse you of injustice; but it is evident, that you thought this to be the prime and most antient of all laws, to make the weak give way to the strong. Forbear therefore to interest yourselves for the Clusini, or allow us to take the part of the people you have subdued*¹.

Brennus's answer to the Roman envoys.

The imprudent behaviour of the Roman ambassadors.

THE *Fabii* were highly provoked at so haughty an answer; but, dissembling their resentment, desired leave to go into the town, under pretence of conferring with the magistrates. But they were no sooner there, than they began to stir up the inhabitants to a vigorous defence; nay, forgetting their character, they put themselves at the head of the besieged in a sally, in which *Q. Fabius*, the chief of the ambassadors, slew with his own hand one of the principal officers of the *Gauls*. Hereupon *Brennus*, calling the gods to witness the perfidiousness of the *Romans*, and their violating the law of nations, immediately broke up the siege of *Clusum*, and marched leisurely to *Rome*, having sent an herald before him to demand, that those ambassadors, who had so manifestly violated the law of nations, should be delivered up to him. The *Roman* senate was greatly perplexed between their regard for the law of nations, and their affection for the *Fabii*. The wisest of the senate thought the demand of the *Gauls* to be but just and reasonable: however, as it concerned persons of great consequence and credit, the conscript fathers referred the affair to the people assembled by *curiæ*. As the *Fabian* family was very popular, the *curiæ* were so far from condemning the three brothers, that, at the next election of military tribunes, they were chosen the first. *Brennus*, looking upon the promotion of the *Fabii* as an high affront on his nation, hastened his march to *Rome*^m.

Brennus marches to Rome

¹ LIV. l. v. c. 35. ^m Idem ibid. c. 36.

As his army was very numerous, the inhabitants of the towns and villages, through which he passed, left their habitations at his approach; but he stopped no-where, declaring that his design was only to be revenged on the *Romans*. The six military tribunes, to wit, *Q. Fabius*, *Cæso Fabius*, *Caius Fabius*, *Q. Sulpitius*, *Q. Servilius*, and *Sextus Cornelius*, marched out of *Rome* at the head of forty thousand men, without either sacrificing to the gods, or consulting the auspices; essential ceremonies among a people that drew their courage and confidence from the propitious signs which the augurs declared to them. As most of the military tribunes were young, and men of more valour than experience, they advanced boldly against the *Gauls*, whose army was seventy thousand strong. The two armies met near the river *Allia*, about sixty furlongs from *Rome*. The *Romans*, that they might not be surrounded by the enemy, extended their wings so far as to make their centre very thin. Their best troops, to the number of twenty-four thousand men, they posted between the river and the adjoining hills; the rest they placed on the hills. The *Gauls* first attacked the latter, who being soon put into confusion, the forces in the plain were struck with such terror, that they fled without drawing their swords. In this general disorder, most of the soldiers, instead of returning to *Rome*, fled to *Veii*; some were drowned as they endeavoured to swim across the *Tiber*; many fell in the pursuit by the sword of the conquerors, and some got to *Rome*, which they filled with terror and consternation, it being believed there, that all the rest were cut off. The day after the battle *Brennus* marched his troops into the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and encamped on the banks of the *Anio*. Thither his scouts brought him word, that the gates of the city lay open, and that not one *Roman* was to be seen on the ramparts. This made him apprehensive of some ambuscade, it being unreasonable to suppose, that the *Romans* would abandon their city to be plundered and sacked without making any resistance. On this consideration he advanced slowly, which gave the *Romans* an opportunity to throw into the capitol all the men who were fit to bear arms. They carried into it all the provisions they could get; and, that they might last the longer, admitted none into the place, but such as were capable of defending it.

As for the city, they had not sufficient forces to defend it; and therefore the old men, women, and children, seeing themselves abandoned, fled to the neighbouring towns. The *Vestals*, before they left *Rome*, took care to hide every thing appropriated to the gods, which they could not carry off. The two paladiums, and the sacred fire, they took with them. When they came to the *Janiculus*, one *Albinus*, a plebeian, who was conveying his wife and children in a carriage to a place of safety,

About
eighty ve-
nerable old
men de-
vote them-
selves to
death.

seeing the sacred virgins bending under their load, and their feet bloody, made his family alight, put the priestesses and their gods into the carriage, and conducted them to *Cære*, a city of *Ettruria*, where they met with a favourable reception. The *Vestals* remained at *Cære*, and there continued to perform the usual rites of religion; and hence those rites were called *cere-monies*. But while the rest of the citizens at *Rome* were providing for their safety, about fourscore of the most illustrious and venerable old men, rather than fly from their native city, chose to devote themselves to death by a vow, which *Fabius* the high pontiff pronounced in their names. The *Romans* believed, that, by these voluntary devotements to the infernal gods, disorder and confusion was brought among the enemy. Of these brave old men some were pontifices, others had been consuls, and others generals of armies, who had been honoured with triumphs. To complete their sacrifice with a solemnity and pomp becoming the magnanimity and constancy of the *Romans*, they dressed themselves in their pontifical, consular, and triumphal robes, and, repairing to the forum, seated themselves there in their curule chairs, expecting the enemy and death with the greatest constancy^a.

Brennus
enters
Rome.

At length, *Brennus*, having spent three days in useless precautions, entered the city the fourth day after the battle. He found the gates open, the walls without defence, and the houses without inhabitants. *Rome* appeared to him like a mere desert; and this solitude increased his anxiety. He could not believe, either that all the *Romans* were lodged in the capitol, or that so numerous a people should abandon the place of their nativity. On the other hand, he could no-where see any armed men but on the walls of the citadel. However, having first secured all the avenues to the capitol with strong bodies of guards, he gave the rest of his soldiers leave to disperse themselves all over the city, and plunder it. *Brennus* himself advanced into the forum with the troops under his command, in good order; and there he was struck with admiration at the unexpected sight of the venerable old men, who had devoted themselves to death. Their magnificent habits, the majesty of their countenances, the silence they kept, their modesty and constancy at the approach of his troops, made them take them for so many deities: for they continued as motionless as statues, and saw the enemy advance without shewing the least concern. The *Gauls* kept a great while at an awful distance from them, being afraid to come near them. But at length one soldier, bolder than the rest, having, out of curiosity, touched the beard of *M. Papirius*, the venerable old man, not being used

^a PLUT. in Camillo. LIV. l. v. c. 37---40.

to such familiarity, gave him a blow on the head with his ivory staff. The soldier, in revenge, immediately killed him; and the rest of the *Gauls*, following his example, slaughtered all those venerable old men without mercy.

*All the
venerable
old men
put to
death.*

AFTER this the enemy set no bounds to their rage and fury. They plundered all places, dragging such of the *Romans* as had shut themselves up in their houses, into the streets, and there putting them to the sword, without distinction of age or sex. *Brennus* then invested the capitol; but, being repulsed with great loss, in order to be revenged of the *Romans* for their resistance, he resolved to lay the city in ashes. Accordingly, by his command, the soldiers set fire to the houses, demolished the temples, and public edifices, and rased the walls to the ground. Thus was the famous city of *Rome* intirely destroyed; nothing was to be seen in the place where it stood, but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a wide waste, in which the *Gauls*, who invested the capitol, were encamped. *Brennus*, finding he should never be able to take a place, which nature had so well fortified, otherwise than by famine, turned the siege into a blockade. But, in the mean time, his army being distressed for want of provisions, he sent out parties to pillage the fields, and raise contributions in the neighbouring cities. One of these parties appeared before *Ardea*, where the great *Camillus* had now spent two years in a private life. Notwithstanding the affront he had received at *Rome*, the love he bore his country was not in the least diminished. The senate of *Ardea* being met to deliberate on the measures to be taken with relation to the *Gauls*, *Camillus*, more afflicted at the calamities of his country, than at his own banishment, desired to be admitted into the council, where, with his eloquence, he prevailed upon the *Ardeates* to arm their youth in their own defence, and refuse the *Gauls* admittance into their city.

*Rome
burnt by
the Gauls.
Year of
the flood
1965.
Bef. Chr.
383.
Of Rome
365.*

HEREUPON the *Gauls* encamped before the city; and, as they despised the *Ardeates* after they had made themselves masters of *Rome*, they preserved neither order nor discipline in the camp, but spent whole days in drinking. Hereupon *Camillus*, having easily persuaded the youth of the city to follow him, marched out of *Ardea* in a very dark night, surprised the *Gauls* drowned in wine, and made a dreadful slaughter of them. Those, who made their escape under the shelter of the night, fell next day into the hands of the peasants, by whom they were massacred without mercy. This defeat of the enemy revived the courage of the *Romans* scattered about the country, especially of those who had retired to *Veii* after the unfortunate battle of *Allia*. There was not one of them who did

*at the
head of the
Ardeates,
makes a
great
slaughter
of the
Gauls.*

not condemn himself for the exile of *Camillus*, as if he had been the author of it; and, looking upon that great man as their last resource, they resolved to choose him for their leader. Accordingly, they sent without delay ambassadors to him, beseeching him to take into his protection the fugitive *Romans*, and the wrecks of the defeat at *Allia*. But *Camillus* would not accept of the command of the troops, till the people assembled by curiæ had legally conferred it upon him. He thought the public authority was lodged in the hands of those who were shut up in the citadel, and therefore would undertake nothing at the head of the *Roman* troops, till a commission was brought him from thence.

*Camillus
nominated
dictator.*

To do this was very difficult, the place being invested on all sides by the enemy. However, one *Pontius Cominius*, a man of mean birth, but bold, and very ambitious of glory, undertook it. He put on a light habit, and, providing himself with cork to keep the longer above water, threw himself into the *Tiber* above *Rome* in the beginning of the night, and suffered himself to be carried down with the stream. At length he came to the foot of the capitol, and landed at a steep place, where the *Gauls* had not thought it necessary to post any centinels. There he mounted, with great difficulty, to the rampart of the citadel, and, having made himself known to the guard, he was admitted into the place, and conducted to the magistrates. The senate being immediately assembled, *Pontius* gave them an account of *Camillus's* victory, and, in the name of all the *Romans* at *Vei*, demanded that great captain for their general. There was not much time spent in debates: the curiæ being called together, the act of condemnation, which had been passed on *Camillus*, was abrogated, and he named dictator with one voice. *Pontius* was immediately dispatched with the decree; and the same good fortune, which had attended him to the capitol, accompanied him in his return. Thus was *Camillus*, from the state of banishment, raised at once to be sovereign magistrate of his country. He was indeed proclaimed dictator in his absence, contrary to custom: but this was a small defect in point of form only, which the necessities of the state made very excusable. His promotion to the command was no sooner known, but soldiers flocked from all parts to his camp; insomuch that he soon saw himself at the head of above forty thousand men, partly *Romans*, and partly allies, who all thought themselves invincible under so great a general.

WHILE he was taking proper measures to raise the blockade of the citadel, some *Gauls*, rambling round the place,

perceived on the side of the hill; the print of *Pontius's* hands and *The Gauls* feet. They observed likewise, that the moss on the rocks was in ^{attempt to} several places torn up. From these marks they concluded, that ^{surprised the} somebody had lately gone up to, and returned from, the capi- ^{capitol}. *The Gauls* immediately made their report to *Breunus* of what they had observed; and that experienced commander laid a design, which he imparted to nobody, of surprising the place by the same way that the *Roman* had ascended. With this view he chose out of his army such soldiers as had dwelt in mountainous countries, and been accustomed from their youth to climb precipices. These he ordered, after he had well examined the nature of the place, to ascend in the night the same way that was marked out for them, climbing two abreast, that one might support the other in getting up the steep parts of the precipice. By this means they advanced with much difficulty, and more danger, from rock to rock, till they arrived at the foot of the wall. They proceeded with such silence, that they were not discovered or heard, either by the sentinels who were upon guard in the citadel, or even by the dogs, that are usually awaked and alarmed at the least noise. But though they eluded the sagacity of the dogs, they could not escape the vigilance of the geese. A flock of these birds was kept in a court of the ^{They are} capitol, in honour of *Juno*, and near her temple. Notwith- ^{discovered} standing the want of provisions in the garison, they had been ^{by the} spared out of religion; and as these creatures are naturally ^{cackling of} quick of hearing, they were alarmed at the first approach of ^{some geese}; the *Gauls*; so that, running up and down, with their cackling, and beating of their wings, they awaked *Manlius*, a gallant ^{and re-} soldier, who some years before had been consul. He sounded ^{pulsed by} an alarm, and was the first man who mounted the rampart, ^{the brave-} where he found two *Gauls* already upon the wall. One of ^{ry of M.} these offered to discharge a blow at him with his battle-ax; ^{Manlius}; but *Manlius* cut off his right hand at one blow, and gave the other such a push with his buckler, that he threw him headlong from the top of the rock to the bottom. He, in his fall, drew many others with him; and, in the mean time, the *Romans*, crowding to the place, pressed upon the *Gauls*, and tumbled them one over another. As the nature of the ground would not suffer them to make a regular retreat, or even to fly, most of them to avoid the swords of the enemy, threw themselves down the precipice; so that very few got safe back to their camp.

As it was the custom of the *Romans* at that time not to suf- ^{who is re-} fer any commendable action to go unrewarded, the tribune ^{awarded by} *Sulpitius* assembled his troops the next morning, in order to the tri-

bune Sul-
pitius.

bestow the military rewards on those who, the night before, had deserved them. Among these *Manlius* was first named, and, in acknowledgement of the important service he had just rendered the state, every soldier gave him part of the corn which he received sparingly from the public stock, and a little measure of wine out of his scanty allowance. An inconsiderable present indeed in itself, but very acceptable at that time to the person on whom it was bestowed. The tribune's next care was to punish the negligent: accordingly, the captain of the guard, who ought to have had an eye over the centinels, was condemned to die, and, pursuant to his sentence, thrown down from the top of the capitol. The *Romans* extended their punishments and rewards even to the animals. Geese were ever after had in honour at *Rome*, and a flock of them always kept at the expence of the public. A golden image of a goose was erected in memory of them, and a goose every year carried in triumph upon a soft litter finely adorned; whilst dogs were held in abhorrence by the *Romans*, who every year impaled one of them on a branch of elder^r.

Geese had
in honour
at Rome.

Both the
Gauls and
Romans
reduced to
great
streights.

THE blockade of the capitol had already lasted seven months; so that the famine began to be very sensibly felt both by the besieged and besiegers. *Camillus*, since his nomination to the dictatorship, being master of the country, had posted strong guards on all the roads; so that the *Gauls* dared not stir out, for fear of being cut to pieces. Thus *Brennus*, who besieged the capitol, was besieged himself, and suffered the same inconveniencies which he made the *Romans* undergo. Besides, a plague raged in his camp, which was placed in the midst of the ruins of the demolished city, his men lying confusedly among the dead carcases of the *Romans*, whom they had slain, and not buried. So great a number of them died in one quarter of the city, that it was afterwards called *Busta Gallica*, or the place where the dead bodies of the *Gauls* were burnt. But, in the mean time, the *Romans* in the capitol were more pinched with want than the *Gauls*: They were reduced to the last extremity, and, at the same time, ignorant both of the lamentable condition to which the enemy's army was brought, and of the steps *Camillus* was taking to relieve them. That great general only waited for a favourable opportunity to fall upon the enemy; but, in the mean time, suffered them to pine away in their infected camp, not knowing the extreme want the *Romans* endured in the capitol, where they were so destitute of all sorts of provisions, that they could no longer subsist. Matters being brought to this sad pass on both sides, the centinels of the capitol, and those of the enemy's army, began to talk to one another of an accommodation.

^r Liv. l. v. c. 47. PLIN. & PLUT. de fortuna Rom.

Their

Their discourses came at length to the ears of their leaders, who were not averſe to the deſign.

THE ſenate, not knowing what was become of *Camillus*, *The beſieg-* and finding themſelves hard pinched by hunger, reſolved to *ed and be-* enter upon a negotiation, and impowered *Sulpitius*, one of the *siegers en-* military tribunes, to treat with the *Gauls*, who made no great *ter upon a* difficulty in coming to terms, they being no leſs deſirous than *treaty.* *the Romans* to put an end to the war. In a conference, therefore, between *Brennus* and *Sulpitius*, an agreement was made, and ſworn to. The *Romans* were to pay to the *Gauls* a thou- *The Ro-* ſand pounds weight of gold, that is, forty-five thouſand pounds *mans a-* ſterling; and the latter were to raiſe the ſiege of the capitol, *gree to* and quit all the *Roman* territories. On the day appointed, *purchase a* *Sulpitius* brought the ſum agreed on, and *Brennus* the ſcales *peace for a* and weights; for there were no gold or ſilver coins at that *thouſand* time, metals paſſing only by weight. We are told, that the *pounds* weights of the *Gauls* were falſe, and their ſcales untrue; which *weight of* *Sulpitius* complaining of, *Brennus*, inſtead of redreſſing the in- *gold.* juſtice, threw his ſword and belt into the ſcale, where the weights were; and when the tribune aſked him the meaning of ſo extraordinary a behaviour, the only anſwer he gave was, *Veniſtis! Wee to the conquered!* *Sulpitius* was ſo ſtung with this haughty anſwer, that he was for carrying the gold back into the capitol, and ſuſtaining the ſiege to the laſt extremity; but others thought it adviſeable to put up that affront, ſince they had ſubmitted to a far greater one, which was to pay any thing at all.

DURING theſe diſputes of the *Roman* deputies among them- *While the* ſelves, and with the *Gauls*, *Camillus* advanced with his army *gold is* to the very gates of the city, and being there informed of what *weighing,* was doing, he commanded the main body to follow him ſlowly, *Camillus* and in good order, while he, with the choiceſt of his men, *ſurpriſes* haſtened to the place of the parly. The *Romans*, overjoyed *Brennus,* *at his unexpected arrival,* opened to make room for him, *and drives* as the ſupreme magiſtrate of the republic, gave him an account *the Gauls* of the treaty they had made *with the Gauls*, and complained *from* of the wrong *Brennus* did them in n. execution of it. They *Rome.* had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when *Camillus* cried out, *Carry* *back this gold into the capitol, and you, Gauls, retire with your* *scales and weights.* *Rome muſt not be redeemed with gold, but with ſteel.* *Brennus* replied, that he contravened a treaty, which was concluded and confirmed with mutual oaths. *Be it ſo,* answered *Camillus*; yet it is of no force, having been made *by an inferior magiſtrate, without the privy or conſent of the* *dictator.* *I, who am inveſted with the ſupreme authority over the Romans, declare the contract void.* At theſe words *Brennus* flew into a rage, and, both ſides drawing their ſwords, a con-
fuſed

fused scuffle ensued among the ruins of the houses, and in the narrow lanes. The *Gauls*, after an inconsiderable loss, thought fit to retire within their camp, which they abandoned in the night, not caring to engage *Camillus's* whole army, and, having marched eight miles, encamped on the *Gabinian* way. *Camillus* pursued them as soon as it was day, and, coming up with them, gave them a total overthrow. The *Gauls*, according to *Livy*, made but a faint resistance, being disheartened at the loss they had sustained the day before. It was not, says that author, so much a battle as a slaughter. Many of the *Gauls* were slain in the action, more in the pursuit; but the greater number were cut off, as they wandered up and down in the fields, by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages. In short, there was not one single *Gaul* left to carry his countrymen the news of this fatal catastrophe. The camp of the barbarians was plundered; and *Camillus*, loaded with spoils, returned in triumph to the city, the soldiers, in their songs, stiling him *Romulus*,^{*} father of his country, and second founder of Rome.

The Gauls
all to a
man cut
off.

The tribunes re-
new the
proposal of
removing
to Veii.

As the houses of *Rome* were all demolished, and the walls raised, the tribunes of the people renewed, with more warmth than ever, an old project, which had occasioned great disputes. They had formerly proposed a law for dividing the senate and government between the cities of *Veii* and *Rome*. Now this law was revived, nay, most of the tribunes were for intirely abandoning their old ruined city, and making *Veii* the sole seat of the empire. The people were inclined to favour this project, *Veii* offering them a place fortified by art and nature, good houses ready built, a wholesome air, and a fruitful territory. On the other hand, they had no materials for rebuilding a whole city, were quite exhausted by misfortunes, and even their strength was greatly diminished. This gave them a reluctance to so great an undertaking, and emboldened the tribunes to utter seditious harangues against *Camillus*,^{*} as a man too ambitious of being the restorer of *Rome*. They even insinuated, that the name of *Romulus*, which had been given him, threatened the republic with a new king. But the senate took the part of *Camillus*, and, being desirous to see *Rome* rebuilt, continued him, contrary to custom, a full year in the office of dictator; during which time he made it his whole business to suppress the strong inclination of the people to remove to *Veii*. Having assembled the curiæ, he expostulated with them upon the matter, and, by arguments drawn from prudence, religion, and glory, prevailed upon them to lay aside all thoughts of leaving *Rome*. As it was necessary to

Camillus
continued
dictator.

* PLUT. de fortuna Rom. LIV. l. v. c. 49.

have the resolution of the people confirmed by the senate, the dictator reported it to the conscript fathers, leaving every one at full liberty to vote as he pleased. While *L. Lucretius*, who was to give his opinion the first, was beginning to speak, it happened, that a centurion, who, with his company, had been upon guard, and was then marching by the senate-house, cried out aloud, *Plant your colours, ensign. This is the best place to stay in.* * These words were considered as dictated by the gods themselves, and *Lucretius*, taking occasion from them to urge the necessity of staying at *Rome*, *An happy omen!* cried he; *I adore the gods who gave it.* The whole senate applauded his words, and a decree was passed without opposition for rebuilding the city †.

A decree passed for rebuilding the city.

THOUGH the tribunes of the people were defeated by *Camillus* in this point, they resolved to exercise their authority against another patrician, who had indeed deserved punishment. This was *Q. Fabius*, who had violated the law of nations, and thereby provoked the *Gauls*, and occasioned the burning of *Rome*. His crime being notorious, he was summoned by *C. Martius Rutilus* before the assembly of the people, to answer for his conduct in his embassy. The criminal had reason to fear the severest punishment; but his relations gave out, that he died suddenly; which generally happened, when the accused person had courage enough to prevent his condemnation, and the shame of a public punishment †. On the other hand, the republic gave an house situate on the capitol to *M. Manlius*, as a monument of his valour, and of the gratitude of his fellow-citizens. *Camillus* closed this year by laying down his dictatorship; whereupon an interregnum ensued, during which he governed the state alternately with *P. Cornelius Scipio*; and it fell to his lot to preside at the election of new magistrates, when *L. Valerius Poplicola*, *L. Virginius Tricostus*, *P. Cornelius Cossus*, *A. Manlius Capitolinus*, *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, and *L. Posthumius Albinus*, were chosen. The first care of these new magistrates was, to collect all the ancient monuments of the religion and civil laws of *Rome*, which could be found among the ruins of the demolished city. The laws of the twelve tables, and some of the laws of the kings, had been written on brass, and fixed up in the forum; and the treaties made with several nations had been engraved on pillars erected in the temples. Pains were therefore taken to gather up the ruins of these precious monuments; and what could not be found was supplied by memory. The pontifices, on their part, took care to re-establish the religious ceremonies, and made also a list of lucky and unlucky days ‡.

Q. Fabius is cited before the people, but lays violent hands on himself.

* *PLUT. in Camillo, LIV. l. v. c. 50. 55.*

† *LIV. l. vi. c. 1.*

‡ *Idem ibid.*

AND now the governors of the republic applied themselves wholly to rebuild the city. *Plutarch* tells us, that as the workmen were digging among the ruins of the temple of *Mars*, they found *Romulus's* augural staff untouched by the flames; and that this was looked upon as a prodigy, from whence the *Romans* inferred, that their city would continue for ever. The expence of rebuilding private houses was partly defrayed out of the public treasure. The ædiles had the direction of the works, but so little taste for order or beauty, that the city, when rebuilt, was even less regular than in the time of *Romulus*. And though in *Augustus's* time, when *Rome* became the capital of the known world, the temples, palaces, and private houses, were built in a more magnificent manner than before, yet even then these new decorations did not rectify the faults of the plan, upon which the city had been built after its first demolition.

The END of the ELEVENTH VOLUME.

